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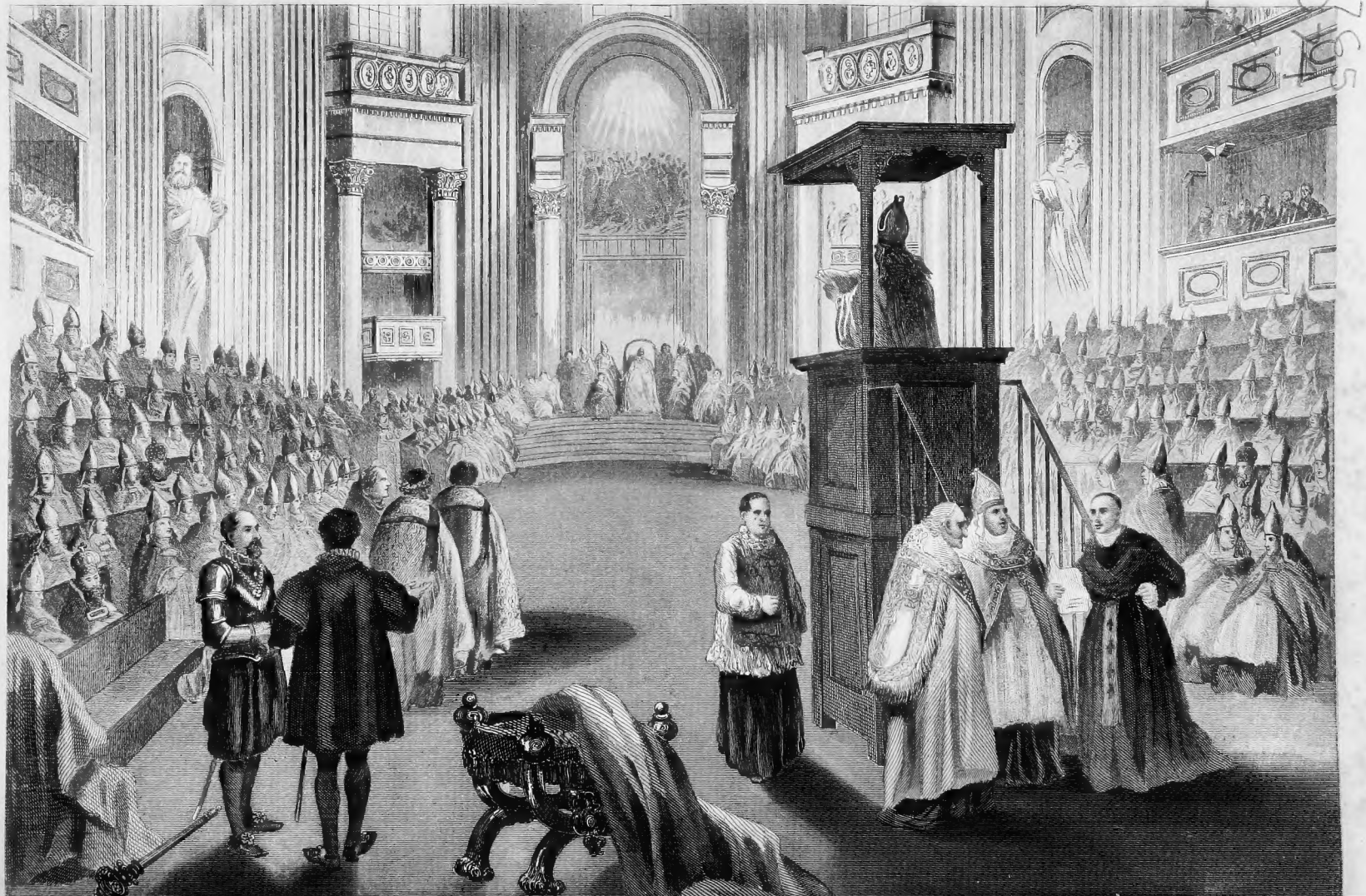

THE

HISTORY OF ROMANISM,

FROM

THE EARLIEST CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY;

WITH

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, INDEXES, GLOSSARY.

AND

Numerous Illustrative Engravings.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH SUPPLEMENTS CONTINUING THE HISTORY FROM THE ACCESSION OF POPE PIUS IX. TO HIS PROCLAMATION OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY, AND HIS DEPOSITION AS A TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN.

A.D. 1870.

BY JOHN DOWLING, D.D.

"STUDY POPERY ANEW, brethren in the ministry! The proper remedy against the threatened influx of papal power in our land, is to study afresh the tenets of the papacy; to understand its errors; to chronicle its crimes; to mark well that its character is as immutable as its pretensions are arrogant; and that everywhere and always it has proved itself to be a thing which at once insults God and degrades man."—REV. THOMAS BINNEY, D.D., LL.D., of London.

Μυστήριον; *Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν καὶ τῶν βδελυγμάτων τῆς γῆς*

REV. xvii. 5.

EDWARD WALKER, NEW-YORK.

PUBLICATION OFFICE, 140 FULTON STREET

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DESCRIPTION OF THE EMBLEMATICAL TITLE-PAGE.

THE central portion of the engraving is an emblematical representation or picture of popery as it is and has been.

On the right and left, standing upon two pedestals, are two Reformers in monkish dresses, implying that, like Luther and many other eminent reformers, they have been converted from the errors of popery. These two reformers are lifting up the curtain to exhibit to the world a genuine picture of the Romish Antichrist.

In the background is seen the Church of St. Peter's, against which the lightnings are flashing, implying that popery is destined to fall before the light of heaven. Near by are seen two martyrdoms, implying that popery has ever been "drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus."

In front is seen a pope, dressed in his tiara and pontifical robes, trampling under foot the Bible and pronouncing absolution upon a couple of devotees who are kneeling before him. These have both their rosaries in their hands, and the man has a dagger in one hand, implying that popery does not hesitate to authorize its use to remove a troublesome opponent, and that more than one assassin has been commended with priestly benedictions to the *holy* work of assassinating heretical monarchs and nobles. In the hand of the pope is a purse of money, which he has received as the price of his pontifical indulgence or absolution.

While the pope is trampling under foot the Bible, one of his soldiers is seen behind him, pointing with his sword to the Decrees of Lateran, Lyons, Constance, and Trent, the most celebrated and bloody of all the Romish Councils—as much as to say, "You must obey these decrees or suffer the consequences." Thus has popery ever set her own decrees above the inspired word of God, and enforced obedience to those decrees, *wherever she possessed the power*, at the point of the sword. Thank God that the power to persecute and "wear out the saints of the Most High" is now greatly crippled, if not forever destroyed!

On the left are seen the representatives of the four divisions of the globe, Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, with a queen, who may represent Victoria of England, looking on as interested spectators of the picture thus exhibited. In the centre is a protestant minister, with the Bible before him, pointing to and describing the scene; and on the right the living pope, a cardinal, and other dignitaries, horrified that this curtain should be removed, and this faithful picture of popery exhibited to the world.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE TO THE NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION.

A.D. 1871.

In issuing the present greatly enlarged edition of this truthful History of the Church of Rome, the publisher would beg leave to return his sincere thanks for the favor with which this thoroughly protestant but in all other respects unsectarian and undenominational work has been received by the protestant world; and would most respectfully inscribe the volume to the American Christian community of all denominations in this highly favored land.

May it be the means of awakening all our Christian churches to the necessity of uniting together in one unbroken phalanx, in order to resist the insidious encroachments of the Jesuitical priests and hierarchy of Rome in these United States; and may the circulation of the work also have a tendency to cultivate and produce a closer union and love among all sincere protestant Christians of every name throughout the land and throughout the world!

As expressive of the kind and favorable opinions of protestant journalists, scholars, and clergymen of all denominations in relation to the value of this work, a few pages of the notices which were given of the earlier editions are appended at the close of the volume. In compliance with the request of many protestant friends, a brief description of the Emblematical Title-Page is added to the present edition, and may be found on the page following this.

EDWARD WALKER,

New-York.

PREFACE.

In presenting this new and enlarged edition of The History of Romanism to the American public, the author desires to express his acknowledgments for the favor with which the work has been received by protestant ministers and intelligent laymen of every name, in consequence of which the book has already attained a circulation probably more extensive than any other large volume ever published in America upon the subject of which it treats.

The remarkable events of the year 1870 by which the history of the papacy was characterized—the establishment of the dogma of papal infallibility, and immediately afterward the destruction of the pope's temporal power—distinguish the present as a most memorable epoch in the history of Romanism, and as a most suitable time for the publication of a new edition of this work, embodying a history of these wonderful events and of the intervening years since the accession of Pius IX. to the papal throne, to the downfall of the papal kingdom. In compliance with the wish of many of the warmest friends of protestantism, the author has prepared such a history of these stirring events down to the capture of the city of Rome by King Victor Emanuel, the consequent abolition of the pope's temporal power, and the restoration of the city of Rome to its ancient glory as the proud capital of the kingdom of Italy. This, with other additions, has increased the work from about 650 pages, as originally published, to the present substantial volume of more than 900 pages.

This history was intended, as stated in the preface to the original edition, to supply a chasm that had long been felt by ministers, theological students, and other intelligent protestants, in the historical and religious literature of the age. While a multitude of works had been published on the subjects of controversy between protestants and papists, there had been no complete, yet comprehensive, History of

Romanism through the whole period of its existence, presenting in the compass of a single volume, in chronological order, the origin and history of its unscriptural doctrines and ceremonies, the biography of its most famous popes, the proceedings and decrees of its most celebrated councils, with so much of the details of its tyranny over monarchs and states in the days of its glory as might be necessary for a full exhibition of its unchanging character.

There are comparatively but few ministers or private Christians who can spare either the leisure or the expense to procure and to study the library of works—Roman Catholic as well as protestant, Latin as well as English—through which are scattered the multiplicity of facts relative to this subject, a knowledge of which is necessary to all who would understand the true character of popery, and be prepared to defend against its Jesuitical apologists and defenders the doctrines of Protestantism and of the Bible. Hence the desirableness of such a work as the present.

In its preparation, the author has availed himself of all the standard and authentic works on general and ecclesiastical history, on the Inquisition and persecutions of popery, on the reformers and the reformation, and on the points of controversy between popery and protestantism to which he could gain access, either in private collections or in public libraries. Among Roman Catholic authors, the Latin annals of Baronius and Raynaldus and the church histories of Fleury and Dupin have been freely examined, besides the works of Bellarmine, Paul Sarpi, and many others of a more special or limited scope, relating to particular pontiffs, councils, or events. Full extracts have been made from the bulls of popes and the decrees of councils, especially of the Council of Trent, illustrative of the doctrines and character of popery. These valuable and authentic documents, taken from their own standard works, are printed in this work generally in the original Latin, with the English translation, so as to permit popery to speak for itself, and to obviate the common objection of Romanists of inaccurate translations. Among Protestant writers, most of the standard ecclesiastical historians and writers on Romanism have been consulted, and from them important facts have been freely gleaned.

The engravings are not mere fancy sketches for the sake of embel-

lishment, but are illustrative of unquestionable *facts*, and intended to impress those facts more vividly upon the memory. The copious analytical and alphabetical indexes, glossary, and full chronological table have been prepared with much labor and care; and, the author hesitates not to say, from the inconvenience he has often experienced in consulting works from the want of such tables, will be found a most important and useful addition to the work.

The author would acknowledge his obligations to his valued friend, Mr. Walker, the publisher, who has amply redeemed his promise made to him prior to the publication of the first edition, to spare no expense in order to issue the work in a style of mechanical execution and artistic embellishment superior to any work ever before published in America upon the character or history of Romanism. In these respects, the present is greatly in advance of any previous edition.

It is only deemed necessary to add, that the author has endeavored to avoid all matters of controversy between the different denominations of protestant Christians. He has written as a member of the great protestant family, and not as a member of any one particular branch of that family. It is his belief that all protestants should unite in the conflict with Rome; and it has been his aim to furnish, from the armory of truth, weapons for that conflict, which shall be alike acceptable to ministers and Christians of every name who are not ashamed of the name of PROTESTANTS.

J. DOWLING.

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HISTORY OF ROMANISM.

BOOK I.

POPERY IN EMBRYO.

FROM THE EARLIEST CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PAPAL SUPREMACY, A. D., 606.

CHAPTER I.

CHRISTIANITY PRIMITIVE AND PAPAL.

§ 1.—THE blessed founder of Christianity chose to make his advent among the lowly and the despised. This was agreeable to the spirit of that Holy Religion which he came to establish. There was a time when a multitude of his followers, astonished and convinced by the omnipotence displayed in his wondrous miracles, were disposed to "take him by force to make him a king," but so far from encouraging their design, the inspired historian tells us "that he departed again, into a mountain himself alone." (John vi., 15.) In reply to the inquiries of the Roman governor, he uttered those memorable words, "MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD," and his whole conduct from the manger to the cross, and from the cross to the mount of ascension, was in strict accordance with this characteristic maxim of genuine Christianity.

§ 2.—In selecting those whom he would send forth as the apostles of his faith, he went, not to the mansions of the great or to the palaces of kings, but to the humble walks of life, and chose from the poor of this world, those who, in prosecuting their mission, were destined, like their divine master, to be despised and rejected of men. In performing the work which their Lord had given them to do, the lowly but zealous fisherman of Galilee, and the courageous tent-maker of Tarsus, with their faithful fellow-laborers, despising all earthly honors and worldly aggrandizement, were content to lay every laurel at the foot of Christ's cross, and to "count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, their Lord," for whom they had "suffered the loss of all things." (Philippians, iii., 8.)

Contrast. Effect of persecution.

§ 3.—A few centuries afterward, we find the professed successor of Peter the fisherman, dwelling in a magnificent palace, attended by troops of soldiers ready to avenge the slightest insult offered to his dignity, surrounded by all the ensigns of worldly greatness, with more than regal splendor, proudly claiming to be the sovereign ruler of the universal church, the Vicegerent of God upon earth, whose decision is infallible and whose will is law. The contrast between these two pictures of Primitive Christianity in the first century, and Papal Christianity in the seventh or eighth, is so amazing, that we are irresistibly led to the inquiry, can they be the same? If one is a faithful picture of Christianity, can it be possible that the other is worthy of the name?

Leaving the reader to answer this question for himself, after accompanying us in the present history, we proceed to remark that this transformation cannot be supposed to have taken place all at once. The change from the lowliness of the one to the lordliness of the other, required ages to complete, and it was not till the lapse of more than five centuries from the death of the last of the apostles* that the transformation was entire.

§ 4.—The apostle Paul tells us that even in his day "the mystery of iniquity" had begun to work, and had it not been for the purifying influence of the fires of persecution kindled by the emperors of pagan Rome, the advance of ecclesiastical corruption and spiritual despotism would probably have been far more rapid than it was —and at an earlier period "the man of sin" have been "revealed," even that "son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is worshipped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." For three centuries after the ascension of Christ, his disciples were exposed, with but few and brief intermissions, to a succession of cruel and bitter persecutions and sufferings. The pampered wild beasts, kept for the amusement of the Roman populace, fattened upon the bodies of the martyrs of Jesus in the amphitheatres of Rome or of other cities of the empire, and hundreds of fires were fed by the living frames of those who "loved not their lives unto the death." "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented (of whom the world was not worthy); they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."

Under such a state of things, there was of course but little inducement to the worldly minded and ambitious, to seek admission to the church; and if during a season of relaxation some such might creep within its pale, it required only the mandate of another em-

* St. John is supposed to have died about A. D. 100. "He lived," says Dr. Cave, "till the time of the Emperor Trajan, about the beginning of whose reign, he departed this life, very aged, about the ninety-eighth or ninety-ninth year of his age, as is generally thought." See Cave's Lives of the Apostles, page 104.

peror to kindle anew the fires of persecution in order to separate the dross from the gold. This opposition of the powers and potentates of the earth, constituted the most effectual barrier against the speedier progress of corruption in the church, and according to the prediction of St. Paul, before "the man of sin" could be revealed it was necessary that this let or hindrance should be removed. It can scarcely be doubted that the apostle referred to the continuance of persecuting pagan Rome, when he said, "and now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time, for the mystery of iniquity doth already work, only he who now letteth will let until he be taken out of the way; AND THEN SHALL THAT WICKED BE REVEALED."

§ 5.—It is an important fact that Popery is plainly a subject of prophetic prediction in the Sacred Scriptures, and though the almost entire subversion of true Christianity, which occurred in the course of only a few centuries, might otherwise have a tendency to stagger our faith in its divine origin, yet when it is remembered that this great antichristian Apostasy or "falling away" (αποστασια) happened in exact accordance with "the scriptures of truth," the fact serves to strengthen rather than to shake our faith in the divinity of our holy religion. Not long ago, the remark was made by a Roman Catholic, "The Bible cannot be true without Holy Mother of Rome." He meant to say that the Pope gives it all its evidence and authority. "Very true," said a Protestant: "for as the Holy Bible has predicted the rise, power, and calamities of Popery—if these predictions had not been fully manifested in the actual existence and tremendous evils of Popery, the Bible would have wanted the fulfilment of its prophecies, and therefore would not have been true!" The same thought was recently suggested in an eloquent discourse by Professor Gaussen, of Geneva, before his Theological class. "In pointing to the Pope," said he, "*we point to a miracle which calls upon us to believe the Bible!* Considered in this view, the obduracy of the Romanists, like the obduracy of the Jews, wonderfully instructs the church, *because it has been foretold;* and thus it is that the scandals of Rome are transformed into an eloquent argument. The sovereign pontiff and the Romish hierarchy become, in this way, admirable supports of the truth."

To prove that Popery is the subject of prophetic prediction, it would be easy to produce a multitude of passages, but we shall content ourselves for the present with citing entire the full length portrait of the Romish Apostasy in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. ii., v. 1, &c., and in first Timothy, chap. iv., v. 1, &c. "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself

above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." How accurate is this inspired portrait of the GREAT APOSTASY of Rome, although penned five or six centuries before its complete development! Aside from the accurate symbolical descriptions of the same power in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations, these two passages alone constitute a complete prophetical picture of the Papal anti-Christ, in which every feature, every lineament is drawn to the very life; nor is this to be wondered at, for it was sketched by the pencil of Omniscience itself.

It is obvious that the wicked power which in the former of these passages is the subject of the apostle's discourse, and denominated THE MAN OF SIN, had not then been fully displayed, and that there existed some obstacle to a complete revelation of the mystery of iniquity. The apostle uses a particular caution when hinting at it; but the Thessalonians, he says, knew of it; probably from the explanation he had given them verbally, when he was with them. It can scarcely be questioned, that the hindrance or obstacle, referred to in these words, was the heathen or pagan Roman government, which acted as a restraint upon the pride and domination of the clergy, through whom the man of sin ultimately arrived at his power and authority, as will afterwards appear. The extreme caution which the apostle manifests in speaking of this restraint, renders it not improbable that it was something relating to the higher powers; for we can easily conceive how improper it would have been to declare in plain terms, that the existing government of Rome should come to an end.

There is a remarkable passage in Tertullian's Apology, that may serve to justify the sense which Protestants put upon these verses; and since it was written long before the accomplishment of the predictions, it deserves the more attention. "Christians," says he, "are under a particular necessity of praying for the emperors, and for the continued state of the empire; because we know that dreadful

power which hangs over the world, and *the conclusion of the age, which threatens the most horrible evils, is restrained by the continuance of the time appointed for the Roman empire.* This is what we would not experience; and while we pray that it may be deferred, we hereby show our good-will to the perpetuity of the Roman state."* From this extract it is very manifest that the Christians, even in Tertullian's time, a hundred and twenty years before the pagan government of Rome came to its end, looked forward to that period as pregnant with calamity to the cause of Christ; though it is probable they did not accurately understand the manner in which the evils should be brought on the church. And this, indeed, the event proved to be the case. For while the long and harassing persecutions, which were carried on by the pagan Roman emperors, continued, and all secular advantages were on the side of Paganism, there was little encouragement for any one to embrace Christianity, who did not discern somewhat of its truth and excellence.

§ 6.—Many of the errors, indeed, of several centuries, the fruit of vain philosophy, paved the way for the events which followed; but the hindrance was not effectually removed, until Constantine the emperor, on professing himself a Christian, undertook to convert the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world, by exalting the teachers of Christianity to the same state of affluence, grandeur, and influence in the empire, as had been enjoyed by pagan priests and secular officers in the state. The professed ministers of Jesus having now a wide field opened to them for gratifying their lust of power, wealth, and dignity, the connection between the Christian faith and the cross was at an end. What followed was the kingdom of the clergy, supplanting the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

Every feature in the inspired description corresponds to that of a religious power, in the assumption of Divine authority, Divine honors, and Divine worship; a power which should arrogate the prerogatives of the Most High, having its seat in the temple or house of God, and which should be carried on by Satan's influence, with all deceit, hypocrisy, and tyranny; and with this corresponds the figurative representation given of the same power, in the thirteenth chapter of Revelations.

As many things in the Christian profession, before the reign of Constantine, made way for the kingdom of the clergy, so, after they were raised to stations of temporal dignity and power, it was not wholly at one stride that they arrived at the climax here depicted by the inspired apostle. Neither the corruption of Christianity, nor the reformation of its abuses, was effected in a day; "evil men and seducers waxed worse and worse."

In the sequel, it will appear, that when the bishops were once exalted to wealth, power, and authority, this exaltation was of itself the prolific source of every corrupt fruit. Learning, eloquence, and influence, were chiefly exerted to maintain their own personal

* Tertullian's Apology, ch. xxxii.

dominion and popularity. Contests for pre-eminence over each other, became the succedaneum of the ancient contention for the faith, and its influence over the world.

All the violent contentions, the assembling of councils, the persecutions alternately carried on by the different parties, were so many means of preparing the way for the assumption of spiritual tyranny, and the idolatry and superstition of the Roman hierarchy. In all these transactions, the substitution of human for divine authority; contentions about words instead of the faith once delivered to the saints; pomp and splendor of worship, for the primitive simplicity; and worldly power and dignity instead of the self-denied labors of love and bearing the cross;—this baneful change operated in darkening the human mind as to the real nature of true Christianity, until, in process of time, it was lost sight of.

When Jesus Christ was interrogated by the Roman governor concerning his kingdom, he replied, "My kingdom is not of this world." This is a maxim of unspeakable importance in his religion; and almost every corruption that has arisen, and by which this heavenly institution has been debased, from time to time, may be traced, in one way or other, to a departure from that great and fundamental principle of the Christian kingdom.*

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION IN ALLIANCE WITH THE STATE.

§ 7.—It was owing to forgetfulness or disregard of the important principle, mentioned at the close of the last chapter, viz., that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, that the emperor Constantine, soon after his remarkable, and as some suppose, miraculous conversion to Christianity in the year 312, took the religion of Christ to the unhallowed embraces of the state, assumed to unite in his own person the civil and ecclesiastical dominion, and claimed the power of convening councils and presiding in them, and of regulating the external affairs of the church. The account of Constantine's conversion, which is related by Eusebius in his life of the Emperor, by whom the particulars were communicated to the historian, is as follows: (Eusebius, vita Const., lib. i., chap. 28., &c.) At the head of his army, Constantine was marching from France into Italy, op-

* See Jones's Ch. Hist., ch. ii., sect. 4.

Constantine's pretended miraculous conversion. Increase of dignities in the church.

pressed with anxiety as to the result of a battle with Maxentius, and looking for the aid of some deity to assure him of success, when he suddenly beheld a luminous cross in the air, with the words inscribed thereon, "By THIS OVERCOME." Pondering on the event at night, he asserted that Jesus Christ appeared to him in a vision, and directed him to make the symbol of the cross his military ensign. Different opinions have been entertained relative to the credibility of this account. Dr. Milner receives it, though in evident inconsistency with his creed; Mosheim supposes, with the ancient writers, Sozomen and Rufinus, that the whole was a dream; Gregory, Jones, Haweis, and others reject it altogether, and Professor Gieseler, with his usual accuracy and good sense, reckons it among "the legends of the age, which had their origin in the feeling that the final struggle was come between Paganism and Christianity." For my part, I have no hesitation in regarding the whole as a fable. It was not till many years after it was said to have occurred, that Constantine related the story to Eusebius, and in all probability he did it then by the instigation of his superstitious mother Helena, the celebrated discoverer of *the wood of the true cross* (*?*) at Jerusalem, some 250 years after the total destruction of that city, and all that it contained, and the disappearance of the identity of its very foundations, under the ploughshare of the Roman conqueror Vespasian. The subsequent life of Constantine furnished no evidence that he was a peculiar favorite of Heaven; and the results of his patronage of the church, eventually so disastrous to its purity and spirituality, are sufficient to prove that God would never work a miracle to accomplish such a purpose.

§ 8.—Soon after Constantine's professed conversion to Christianity, he undertook to remodel the government of the church, so as to make it conform as much as possible to the government of the state. Hence the origin of the dignities of patriarchs, exarchs, archbishops, canons, prebendaries, &c., intended by the Emperor to correspond with the different secular offices and dignities, connected with the civil administration of the empire. Taking these newly constituted dignitaries of the church into his own special favor, he loaded them with wealth and worldly honors, and richly endowed the churches over which they presided, thus fostering in those who professed to be the followers and ministers of HIM who was "meek and lowly in heart," a spirit of worldly ambition, pride, and avarice. And thus was the let or hindrance to the progress of corruption, and the revelation of "the man of sin" spoken of by Saint Paul in the remarkable prediction, already referred to, in a great measure removed.

From this time onward, the progress of priestly domination and tyranny was far more rapid than in any previous age. The lofty title of Patriarch was assumed by the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and also of Constantinople, after the removal of the seat of empire to that city, claiming, according to Bingham (*Antiquities, B. II., chap.* 17), "the right to ordain all the

metropolitans of their own diocese; to call diocesan synods, and to preside over them; to receive appeals from metropolitan and provincial synods; to censure metropolitans and their suffragan bishops; to pronounce absolution upon great criminals, and to be absolute and independent one of another."

In relation to these five patriarchates, the Romanists, as Coleman says (*Christian Antiquities, chap.* 3, *Sect.* 5), are careful to say that "there were, at first, five patriarchs in the church; that those of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch were deservedly so called *per se et ex naturâ*, but that those of Constantinople and Jerusalem were by mere accident, *per accidens*, graced with this title." The fact that these patriarchs were absolute and independent of each other, shows that, up to this time, notwithstanding the proud pretensions of the bishop or patriarch of Rome, he was not as yet acknowledged as head of the universal church.

§ 9.—The bishops of the three great cities of the Roman Empire, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, according to the learned and accurate Gieseler, had the largest dioceses. Hence they were considered as the heads of the church, and in all general affairs, particular deference was paid to their opinion. Still, however, great stress was laid on the perfect equality of all bishops; and each, in his own diocese, was answerable only to God and his conscience. Nor were they likely to allow any peculiar authority to the supposed successor of Peter, inasmuch as they attributed to Peter no superiority over the other apostles. In the West, indeed, a certain regard was paid to the church of Rome as the largest, but by no means were any peculiar rights conceded to it over other churches. Of course, this would be still less the case in the East.*

It is true that so early as before the conclusion of the second century, Victor, bishop of Rome, had attempted to lord it over his brethren of the East, by forcing them, by his pretended laws and decrees, to follow the rule, which was observed by the Western churches, in relation to the time of keeping the paschal feast, to which, in later times, the name of *Easter* was applied. The Asiatics did not observe this festival on the same day as the Western churches, and in order to make them conform to his wishes, Victor wrote an imperious letter to the churches in Asia, commanding them to observe it on the same day as he did. The Asiatics answered this lordly summons by the pen of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who declared, in their name, and that with great spirit and resolution, that they would by no means depart, in this matter, from the custom handed down to them by their ancestors. Upon this, the thunder of excommunication began to roar. Victor, exasperated by this resolute answer of the Asiatic bishops, broke communion with them, pronounced them unworthy of the name of his brethren, and excluded them from all fellowship with the church of Rome.

* Gieseler's text-book of ecclesiastical history, translated from the German edition by F. Cunningham. Vol I., page 153.

This excommunication, indeed, extended no further; nor could it cut off the Asiatic bishops from communion with the other churches, whose bishops were far from approving the conduct of Victor. The progress of this violent dissension was stopped by the wise and moderate remonstrances, which Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, addressed to the Roman prelate upon this occasion, in which he showed him the imprudence and injustice of the step he had taken, and also by the long letter which the Asiatic Christians wrote in their own justification. In consequence therefore of this cessation of arms, the combatants retained each their own customs, until the fourth century, when the council of Nice abolished that of the Asiatics, and rendered the time of the celebration of Easter the same through all the Christian churches. "This whole affair," remarks the learned Mosheim, "furnishes a striking argument, among the multitude that may be drawn from Ecclesiastical History, against the supremacy and universal authority of the bishop of Rome."*

§ 10.—Another proof equally conclusive, that the bishop of Rome was not acknowledged as supreme head of the church, may be drawn from the dispute that arose between the imperious Stephen of Rome and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in Africa, about the middle of the third century, relative to the validity of baptism administered by *heretics*. As there was no express law which determined the manner and form, according to which those who abandoned the heretical sects were to be received into the communion of the church, the rules practised in this matter were not the same in all Christian churches. Many of the oriental and African Christians placed recanting heretics in the rank of catechumens, and admitted them, by *baptism*, into the communion of the faithful; while the greatest part of the European churches, considering the baptism of heretics as valid, used no other forms in their reception than the *imposition of hands*, accompanied with solemn prayer. This diversity prevailed for a long time without kindling contentions or animosities. But, at length, charity waxed cold, and the fire of ecclesiastical discord broke out. In this century, the Asiatic Christians came to a determination in a point that was hitherto, in some measure, undecided; and in more than one council established it as a law, that all heretics were to be rebaptized before their admission to the communion of the church.† When Stephen, bishop of Rome, was informed of this determination, he behaved with the most unchristian violence and arrogance toward the Asiatic Christians, broke communion with them, and excluded them from the communion of the church of Rome. These haughty proceedings made no impression upon Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who, notwithstanding the menaces of the Roman pontiff, assembled a council on this occasion, and with the rest of the African bishops, adopted the opinion of the Asiatics, and gave notice thereof to the imperious Stephen. The

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I., page 205, note.

† Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, B. VII., chap. 5, 7, page 273, 274. Phil. Edition.

fury of the latter was redoubled at this notification, and produced many threatenings and invectives against Cyprian, who replied, with great force and resolution, and, in a second council held at Carthage, declared the baptism, administered by heretics, void of all efficacy and validity. Upon this, the choler of Stephen swelled beyond measure, and, by a decree full of invectives, which was received with contempt, he excommunicated the African bishops, whose moderation, on the one hand, and the death of their imperious antagonist on the other, put an end to the violent controversy.*

In relating these quarrels, of course, we express no opinion as to which party was right. In all probability, the *heretics*, whose baptism they questioned, were in many cases nearer the truth than either party. Our single object in relating the dispute is to show, that so late as the year 256, when the council of Carthage was held, the decisions of the bishop of Rome, when they conflicted with the views of other bishops, were not received as authority; and that SAINT Cyprian, as he is called by Romanists themselves, could reject his decrees with contempt without forfeiting his title to the honors of subsequent canonization. What greater proof could be required that the blasphemous dogma that the bishop of Rome is supreme head of the church, and vicegerent of God upon earth, had never yet been heard of? He was travelling step by step, towards, but he had not yet reached, nor did he attain, till more than three centuries afterwards, that blasphemous eminence, when, according to the prediction of Paul, he "opposed and exalted himself above all that is called God or is worshipped."

He far surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendor of the church over which he presided; in the riches of his revenues and possessions; in the number and variety of his ministers; in his credit with the people; and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman historian, who lived during these times, adverting to this subject, says, "It was no wonder to see those who were ambitious of human greatness, contending with so much heat and animosity for that dignity, because when they had obtained it, they were sure to be enriched by the offerings of the matrons, of appearing abroad in great splendor, of being admired for their costly coaches, and sumptuous feasts, outdoing sovereign princes in the expenses of their table." This led Prœtextatus, a heathen, who was præfect of the city, to say, "*Make me bishop of Rome, and I'll be a Christian too!*"†

These dazzling marks of human power, these ambiguous proofs of true greatness and felicity, had such a mighty influence upon the minds of the multitude, that the See of Rome became, in this century, a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened, that when a new pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the presbyters and people, the city of Rome was generally agitated

* Cyprian's Epistles, lxx., lxxiii.

† Ammianus Marcellinus, Liber xxvii., cap. 3.

Bloody feud between rival bishops of Rome. Rudeness of Martin of Tours to the Emperor.

with dissensions, tumults, and cabals, whose consequences were often deplorable and fatal. The intrigues and disturbances that prevailed in that city in the year 366, when, upon the death of Liberius, another pontiff was to be chosen in his place, are a sufficient proof of what we have now advanced. Upon this occasion, one faction elected Damasus to that high dignity, while the opposite party chose Ursicinus, a deacon of the vacant church, to succeed Liberius. This double election gave rise to a dangerous schism, and to a sort of civil war within the city of Rome, which was carried on with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and desolations.

In this disgraceful contest, which ended in the victory of Damasus, according to the historian Socrates, great numbers were murdered on either side, no less than one hundred and thirty-seven persons being destroyed in the very church itself. Who does not perceive, in these wicked strifes and sanguinary struggles, a proof that now that which "let" or hindered was "taken out of the way," the full revelation of the predicted "man of sin" was rapidly hastening onward?

While such an example of worldly pride and domination was set by those who were looked up to as the heads of the church, it is not surprising that other bishops partook of the same spirit. As an instance of their haughty bearing towards earthly kings and rulers, it is related of Martin, bishop of Tours, in France, that in the year 455, he was invited to dine with the Emperor Maximus. When the cup of wine was presented to the Emperor by the servant, he directed that it should be first offered to the bishop, expecting, of course, that then he should receive it from the hand of Martin. Instead of this, however, Martin handed the cup to a priest of inferior rank who sat near him, thus by his rudeness intimating that he regarded him as of higher dignity than the Emperor.* Some time after this the queen asked her husband's consent that she might be allowed, in the character of a servant, to wait on the bishop at supper, and, strange to say, her request was granted. For this conduct, according to the superstitious notions of the times, Sulpitius, the biographer of Martin, compares her to the queen of Sheba. A Roman Catholic historian, referring to this bishop, uses the following language:—"The great St. Martin, the glory and light of Gaul, was a disciple of St. Hilary. The utter extirpation of idolatry out of the diocese of Tours, and all that part of Gaul, was the fruit of his edifying piety, *illustrious miracles*, zealous labors, and fervent exhortations and instructions. He was remarkable for his *humility*, charity, austerity, and all other heroic virtues."† Certainly this historian, to say the least, must have had singular notions of what constitutes true Christian humility.

* "Exspectans atque ambiens, ut ab illius dextera poculum sumeret. Sed Martinus ubi ebibit, pateram presbytero suo tradidit, nullum scilicet existimans digniorem, qui post se biberet." *Sulp. Severus de vita Mart. c. 20, quoted by Gieseler.*

† Gahan's History of the Church, page 153.

CHAPTER III.

STEPS TOWARDS PAPAL SUPREMACY.

§ 11.—NOTHING could be more simple and unpretending than the form of church organization and government in primitive times. Each church consisted of a company of believers in the Lord Jesus, united together in covenant relationship, for the worship of God, the maintenance of gospel doctrines, and the due administration of the ordinances appointed by Christ. "Every church," says Waddington, an Episcopalian, "in the management of its internal affairs, was essentially *independent of every other*." The same historian adds that "the churches formed a sort of federative body of *independent religious communities*, dispersed through the greater part of the empire, in continual communication and in constant harmony with each other." (*Wad. Ch. Hist., p.* 43.)

"The rulers of the church," says Mosheim, a Lutheran, "were called *either presbyters* (i. e. elders), *or bishops*, which two titles are, in the New Testament, undoubtedly applied to the same order of men."* (Acts xx., 17, 28; Phil. i., 1), &c. (*Mosheim, vol. i., p.* 99.) These were persons of eminent gravity, and such as had distinguished themselves by their superior sanctity and merit. "Let none," says the same learned author, "confound the bishops of this primitive and golden period of the church, with those of whom we read in the following ages. For, though they were both distinguished by the same name, yet they differed extremely, and that in many respects. A bishop, during the first and second century, was *a person who had the care of one Christian assembly*, which, at that time, was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house." Thus when writing to the Colossians, the apostle Paul sends a salutation to Nymphas, and "the church which is in his house." (ch. iv., 15.) In the commencement of the epistle to the Philippians, he refers to the officers of these primitive churches, when he directs his letter "to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the *bishops and deacons*." (ch. i., 1.)

§ 12.—In process of time, however, the beautiful simplicity of the primitive churches was abandoned; the independence of each particular church was lost, and as we have already seen, a variety of church dignitaries were created in the place of the primitive elders or bishops of the apostolic age; and as this change constituted the

* This is now universally admitted by all denominations, Episcopalians as well as others. Thus, in the tract "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," published by the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, New York (p. 12), the author, who is acknowledged to be one of their ablest advocates, remarks concerning the use of the title *bishop* in the New Testament, "That the name is there given to the middle order or presbyters; and *all* that we read in the New Testament concerning 'bishops,' including of course the words 'overseer' and 'oversight,' which have the same derivation," says he, "is to be regarded as pertaining to that middle grade," that is, to the presbyters or elders.

foundation stone upon which the structure of papal assumption was afterward reared, I shall relate, in the words of two distinguished historians, the account of this first step in this pernicious innovation.

It has been seen from Dr. Mosheim and others, that according to New Testament usage, the title *bishop* belonged to presbyters or elders. Soon after the death of the apostles, however, this title began to be claimed exclusively by such as sought pre-eminence over their brethren in the ministry. The words in which Gieseler relates this change, are as follows: "After the death of the apostles, and the pupils of the apostles, to whom the general direction of the churches had always been conceded, some one amongst the presbyters of each church was suffered gradually to take the lead in its affairs. In the same irregular way the title of ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) was appropriated to the first presbyter. Hence the different accounts of the order of the first bishops in the church at Rome."* Mosheim's account of the gradual assumption of authority by these early bishops, and of the early loss of the primitive independency of the churches, is as follows: "The power and jurisdiction of the bishops were not long confined to their original narrow limits, but soon extended themselves, and that by the following means. The bishops who lived in the cities, had, either by their own ministry or that of their presbyters, erected new churches in the neighboring towns and villages. These churches, continuing under the inspection and ministry of the bishops, by whose labors and counsels they had been engaged to embrace the gospel, grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, which the Greeks afterwards called *dioceses*. The churches, in those early times, were entirely independent; none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers and its own laws. For, though the churches founded by the apostles had this particular deference shown them, that they were consulted in difficult and doubtful cases; yet they had no juridical authority, no sort of supremacy over the others, nor the least right to enact laws for them. Nothing, on the contrary, is more evident than the perfect equality that reigned among the primitive churches; nor does there even appear in the first century, the smallest trace of that association of provincial churches, from which *councils* and *metropolitans* derive their origin.

"During great part of the second century, the Christian churches were independent of each other; nor were they joined together by association, confederacy, or any other bonds but those of charity. Each Christian assembly was a little state, governed by its own laws, which were either enacted, or at least approved by the society. But, in process of time, all the Christian churches of a province were formed into one large ecclesiastical body, which, like confederate states, assembled at certain times, in order to deliberate about the common interests of the whole. This institu-

* Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. i., page 65.

tion had its origin among the Greeks, with whom nothing was more common than this confederacy of independent states, and the regular assemblies which met, in consequence thereof, at fixed times, and were composed of the deputies of each respective state. But these ecclesiastical associations were not long confined to the Greeks; their great utility was no sooner perceived, than they became universal, and were formed in all places where the gospel had been planted. To these assemblies in which the deputies or commissioners of several churches consulted together, the name of *synods* was appropriated by the Greeks, and that of *councils* by the Latins; and the laws that were enacted in these general meetings, were called *canons*, i. e., *rules*.

"These *councils*, of which we find not the smallest trace before the middle of the second century, changed the whole face of the church, and gave it a new form; for by them the ancient privileges of the people were considerably diminished, and the power and authority of the bishops greatly augmented. The humility, indeed, and prudence of these pious prelates, prevented their assuming all at once, the power with which they were afterward invested. At their first appearance in these general councils, they acknowledged that they were no more than the delegates of their respective churches, and that they acted in the name, and by the appointment, of their people. But they soon changed this humble tone, imperceptibly extended the limits of their authority, turned their influence into dominion, and their counsels into laws; and openly asserted, at length, that Christ had empowered them to prescribe to his people, *authoritative rules* of *faith* and *manners*.

"Another effect of these councils was the gradual abolition of *that perfect equality* which reigned among all bishops in the primitive times. For the order and decency of these assemblies required that some one of the provincial bishops met in council, should be invested with a superior degree of power and authority; and hence the rights of metropolitans derive their origin. In the mean time, the bounds of the church were enlarged, the custom of holding councils was followed wherever the sound of the gospel had reached; and the universal church had now the appearance of one vast republic, formed by a combination of a great number of little states. This occasioned the creation of a new order of ecclesiastics, who were appointed in different parts of the world, as heads of the church, and whose office it was to preserve the consistence and union of that immense body, whose members were so widely dispersed throughout the nations. Such was the nature and office of the *patriarchs*, among whom, at length, ambition being arrived at its most insolent period, formed a new dignity, investing the bishop of Rome, and his successors, with the title and authority of prince of the patriarchs.

"The Christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people that the ministers of the Christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood; and this

Papal supremacy not established in the fourth century.

persuasion was a new source both of honors and profit to the sacred order. This notion was propagated with industry, some time after the reign of Adrian, when the second destruction of Jerusalem had extinguished among the Jews all hopes of seeing their government restored to its former lustre, and their country arising out of ruins. And accordingly the *bishops* considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the *high priest* among the Jews, while the *presbyters* represented the priests, and the *deacons* the levites. It is, indeed, highly probable, that they who first introduced this absurd comparison of offices so entirely distinct, did it rather through ignorance and error, than through artifice or design. The notion, however, once introduced, produced its natural effects; and these effects were pernicious. The errors to which it gave rise were many; and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing a greater difference between the Christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit."*

§ 13.—It was long after these innovations upon primitive simplicity, before the bishops of Rome enjoyed, or even claimed that spiritual sovereignty over other bishops, and over the universal church, which they afterwards demanded as a divine right. Notwithstanding the pomp and splendor that surrounded the Roman See, in the fourth century it is remarked by the same historian from whom we have just quoted, that the bishops of that city had not then acquired that pre-eminence of power and jurisdiction in the church which they afterwards enjoyed. In the ecclesiastical commonwealth, they were indeed the most eminent order of citizens as well as their brethren, and subject like them to the edicts and laws of the emperors. None of the bishops acknowledged that they derived their authority from the permission and appointment of the bishop of Rome, or that they were created bishops by the *favor of the apostolic see*. On the contrary, they all maintained that they were the ambassadors and ministers of Jesus Christ, and that their authority was derived from above. It must, however, be observed, that even in this century, several of those steps were partly laid by which the bishops of Rome mounted afterwards to the summit of ecclesiastical power and despotism. These steps were partly laid by the imprudence of the emperors, partly by the dexterity of the Roman prelates themselves, and partly by the inconsiderate zeal and precipitate judgment of certain bishops.†

One of these steps was a decree of a somewhat obscure council held at Sardis, during the Arian controversy, in the year 347. Among other things enacted in this council, it was provided "that in the event of any bishop considering himself aggrieved by the sentence of the bishops of his province, he might apply to the bishop of Rome, who should write to the bishops in the neighborhood of the province of the aggrieved bishop, to rehear the cause; and should

* Mosheim, cent. i., part 2, cent. ii., part 2.
† See Dupin de antiqua Ecclesiæ disciplina.

also, if it seemed desirable to do so, send some presbyters of his own church to assist at the rehearing." It is probable, indeed, as Richerius in his History of Councils observes, that this decree was only provisional, and intended for the security of the Eastern orthodox bishops against the Arians, and that the privilege conferred upon the bishop of Rome, was not meant to be given to the See of Rome, but only to the then bishop Julius, who is expressly mentioned therein; and consequently that it was only designed for the case then before the council. An attempt, however, was made, at the beginning of the fifth century, by Zosimus, bishop of Rome, to establish his authority in the African churches, by means of this decree, on the following occasion. Apiarius, a presbyter of the church of Sicca, in Africa, having been deposed by his bishop for gross immoralities, fled to Rome, A. D. 415, and was received to communion by Zosimus, who forthwith sent legates into Africa, to the bishops there, demanding that Apiarius's cause should be heard over again; asserting that the bishops of Rome had the privilege of requiring such rehearings conferred upon them in virtue of this decree of the Council of Sardis. The African bishops, however, refused to acknowledge the authority of this decree, and after a protracted controversy, sent a final letter to the bishop of Rome, "in which they assert the independence of their own, and all other churches, and deny the pretended right of hearing appeals claimed by the bishop of Rome: and further exhort him not to receive into communion persons who had been excommunicated by their own bishops, or to interfere in any way with the privileges of other churches."*

§ 14.—A second step toward the papal supremacy, was a law enacted in the year 372, by the emperor Valentinian, which favored extremely the rise and ambition of the bishops of Rome, by empowering them to examine and judge other bishops. A few years afterward, the bishops assembled in council at Rome, without considering the dangerous power they entrusted to one of their number, and intent only upon the privilege it secured to them of exemption from the jurisdiction of secular judges, declared in the strongest terms their approbation of this law, and recommended that it should be immediately carried into effect, in an address which they presented to the emperor Gratian.†

A third circumstance which contributed toward the rapidly increasing influence of the Roman bishops, was the custom which obtained somewhat extensively before the close of the fourth century, of referring to their decision in consequence of their claim to apostolic descent, all questions concerning the apostolic customs and doctrines. This gave them occasion to issue a vast number of didactic letters, generally called *Decretals*, which soon assumed a tone of apostolic authority, and were held in high estimation in

* See Hammond on the Six Councils—Oxford, 1843, p. 40.
† See Dr. Maclaine's note in Mosheim, i., p. 344.

the West, as flowing from apostolic tradition. "From this time forth, there was no controversy in the East in which each party did not seek to win the bishop of Rome, and through him the Western church, to its cause, vying with each other in flattery and servility. At the councils, his legates were always treated with the greatest deference, and at the council of Chalcedon, they, for the first time, presided."*

The council of Chalcedon was held A. D. 451, and notwithstanding the pre-eminence assumed therein by the legate of the bishop of Rome, he had not power or influence to prevent the passage of a canon which proved extremely odious to his lordly master Leo, who has been surnamed the Great, and which resulted in a protracted and bitter controversy between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople who should be greatest. Some years previous to this time, since the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, the ambition and assumption of the bishop of Constantinople had almost equalled that of Rome. He had lately usurped the spiritual government of the provinces of Asia Minor, Thrace, Pontus, and the eastern part of Illyricum, very much to the chagrin and dissatisfaction of Leo. This dissatisfaction was increased when, by the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon, it was resolved, that the same rights and honors which had been conferred upon the bishop of Rome, were due to the bishop of Constantinople on account of the equal dignity and lustre of the two cities, in which these prelates exercised their authority. The same council confirmed also, by a solemn act, the bishop of Constantinople in the spiritual government of those provinces over which he had ambitiously usurped the jurisdiction. Leo opposed with vehemence the passing of these decrees, and his opposition was seconded by that of several other prelates. But their efforts were vain, as the emperors threw in their weight into the balance, and thus supported the decisions of the Grecian bishops.

In consequence then of the decrees of this famous council, the bishop of Constantinople began to contend obstinately for the supremacy with the Roman pontiff, and to crush the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, so as to make them feel the oppressive effects of his pretended superiority. Elated with the favor and proximity of the imperial court, he cast a haughty eye on all sides where any objects were to be found on which he might exercise his ambition. After reducing under his jurisdiction these two patriarchs, as prelates only of the second order, he invaded the diocese of the Roman pontiff, and spoiled him of several provinces. The two former prelates, though they struggled with vehemence, and raised considerable tumults by their opposition, yet they struggled ineffectually, both for want of strength, and likewise on account of a variety of unfavorable circumstances. But the Roman pontiff, far superior to them in wealth and power, contended also with more vigor and

* Gieseler, Vol. i., page 260.

obstinacy, and in his turn, gave a deadly wound to the usurped supremacy of the patriarch of Constantinople. Notwithstanding the redoubled efforts of the latter, a variety of circumstances united in augmenting the power and authority of the Roman pontiff, though he had not, as yet, assumed the dignity of supreme lawgiver and judge of the whole Christian church. The bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, unable to make head against the lordly prelate of Constantinople, often fled to the Roman pontiff for succor against his violence; and the inferior order of bishops used the same method, when their rights were invaded by the prelates of Alexandria and Antioch. So that the bishop of Rome, by taking all these prelates alternately under his protection, daily added new degrees of influence and authority to the Roman See, rendered it everywhere respected, and was thus imperceptibly establishing its supremacy. This was, evidently, another of the steps by which he was rapidly ascending to the summit of ghostly dominion.*

§ 15.—One more circumstance is worthy of mention, as contributing in no small degree to the increase of the power and influence of the bishop of Rome, viz., the regard almost universally paid to him by the fierce and barbarous tribes, who now in quick succession poured in from the north, and conquered and ravaged Italy and the capital of the ancient empire. In the years 408, 409, and 410, the proud city of Rome was three times in succession subjected to a siege by the renowned Alaric, king of the Goths, who is distinguished by contemporary historians by the terrible epithets of *the scourge of God* and *the destroyer of nations.* At first he was bought off by the terrified inhabitants, but at length the city was taken and given up to be pillaged and sacked by the fierce Gothic soldiery. In the year 452, the ferocious Attila, king of the Huns, invaded the north of Italy, laid waste some of its fairest provinces, and was only prevented from marching to Rome and renewing the horrid cruelties and excesses of Alaric by an immense ransom, and the powerful influence of the Roman pontiff, Leo the Great, who, at the head of an embassy, waited on Attila, as he lay "encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus, and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil."† In the year 454, Rome was again taken and pillaged by Genseric, king of the Vandals; and in the year 476, the western empire was finally subverted, and Italy, with its renowned and time-honored capital, reduced under the dominion of the Gothic barbarians by the conquests of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, a tribe of Goths, and the deposition and banishment of Augustulus, the last of the western Roman emperors.

§ 16.—These barbarous nations, these fierce and warlike Germans who, after the defeat of the Romans, divided among them the western empire, bore, with the utmost patience and moderation, both

* See Mosheim, Cent. v. Part 2, Chap. ii.

† Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. ii., p. 303.

the dominion and vices of the bishops and priests, because, upon their conversion to Christianity, they became naturally subject to their jurisdiction; and still more, because they looked upon the ministers of Christ as invested with the same rights and privileges, which distinguished the priests of their fictitious deities. Nor is it at all to be wondered at that these superstitious barbarians, accustomed as they were to regard with a feeling amounting almost to adoration, the high priests of their own heathen gods, should manifest a readiness to transfer that veneration to the high priests of Rome, especially when they saw the multitude of heathen rites that were already introduced into Christian worship, and the willingness of the Roman pontiffs, by still further increasing the number of these pagan ceremonies, to accommodate their religion to the prejudices and inclinations of all.

In ages of ignorance and credulity, remarks a celebrated Scottish historian, "the ministers of religion are the objects of superstitious veneration. When the barbarians who overran the Roman empire first embraced the Christian faith, they found the clergy in possession of considerable power; and they naturally transferred to those new guides the profound submission and reverence, which they were accustomed to yield to the priests of that religion which they had just forsaken. They deemed their persons to be equally sacred with their function, and would have considered it as impious to subject them to the profane jurisdiction of the laity. The clergy were not blind to these advantages which the weakness of mankind afforded them. They established courts, in which every question relating to their own character, their function, their property, was tried and pleaded, and obtained an almost total exemption from the authority of civil judges."* Thus was a kind of mutual compromise effected between these barbarous heathen conquerors, and the bishop of Rome, and his clergy. The former generally agreeing to accept the Christian name, and the latter tacitly consenting to conform as much as possible to their heathen rites and ceremonies of worship.

The blind submission of these heathen tribes to the degenerate ministers of Christianity, tended much to increase the wealth and consequently the power of the clergy. On this subject remarks the elegant historian of the middle ages, "The devotion of the conquering nations, as it was still less enlightened than that of the subjects of the empire, so was it still more munificent. They left, indeed, the worship of Hesus and Taranis in their forests; but they retained the elementary principles of that, and of all barbarous idolatry, *a superstitious reverence for the priesthood*, a credulity that seemed to invite imposture, and a confidence in the efficacy of gifts to expiate offences. Of this temper it is undeniable that the ministers of religion, influenced probably not so much by personal covetousness as by zeal for the interests of their order, took advantage. Many of the peculiar and prominent characteristics in the faith and

* Robertson's Charles V., American edition, page 34.

discipline of those ages appear to have been either introduced, or sedulously promoted, for the purpose of sordid fraud. To those purposes conspired the veneration for relics, the worship of images, the idolatry of saints and martyrs, the religious inviolability of sanctuaries, the consecration of cemeteries, but, above all, the doctrine of purgatory, and masses for the relief of the dead. A creed thus contrived, operating upon the minds of barbarians, lavish, though rapacious, and devout though dissolute, naturally caused a torrent of opulence to pour in upon the church."*

CHAPTER IV.

DIVINE RIGHT OF SUPREMACY CLAIMED AND DISPROVED.

§ 17.—By general consent a kind of superiority of rank had long been conceded to the bishops of Rome, chiefly from the fact that that city was the first in rank and importance, and the ancient capital of the empire; and upon the same ground it was that the council of Chalcedon, already referred to, "proceeding on the principle that *the importance of a bishop depended alone on the political consequence of the city in which he lived*, decreed the same rights to the bishop of Constantinople in the Eastern church, which the bishop of Rome enjoyed in the Western."† After the fall of the ancient capital, however, and its consequent diminution of political importance, as compared with the Eastern capital, the bishops of Rome found it necessary to assert with renewed earnestness, the pretensions which they had occasionally hinted at before, of their *divine right* of supremacy, in consequence of their claiming to be the successors of the apostle Peter, who, they now asserted, without a shadow of scriptural or historical proof, was the first bishop of Rome, and was constituted by Jesus Christ, supreme head of the church upon earth.

§ 18.—As this is a fundamental point with the Romish church,‡

* Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. vii., pages 261, 262, American edition.

† Gieseler, vol. i., page 269.

‡ The views of Romanists on this point, so essential to their whole system, are explicitly set forth in the following translation from the Latin of an extract from the theology of Peter Dens, a standard work, prepared for the use of Romish seminaries and students of theology. Mechlin edition, 1838.

Concerning the Supreme Pontiff. (*Nos.* 90, 93, 94.)

"What is the Supreme Pontiff?

"He is Christ's Vicar upon earth, and the visible head of his church.

No proof that Peter was bishop of Rome.

it may be well, at this place, to make a short digression, for the purpose of examining the validity of this claim. In relation to the *first supposition*, that of Peter having been bishop of the church at Rome, there is no historical proof whatever. There is no mention in the New Testament that Peter ever was at Rome, and hence Scaliger, Salmasius, Spanheim, Adam Clarke, and many other learned writers, have denied that he ever visited that city. But supposing the Romanist tradition to be true, that he suffered death at Rome, in company with the apostle Paul, about A. D. 65, still, there is no proof whatever that he was bishop of Rome, or that he had any particular connection with the church or churches in that city, any more than Paul or any other of the apostles. Indeed, it would be much easier to prove that Paul was bishop of the church of Rome than that Peter was, for it is expressly mentioned in the New Testament, that Paul visited Rome, and that he remained there for "two whole years—preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ." (Acts xxviii., 30, 31.) Now if *Pope* Peter was also at Rome, and more especially if he was there in the character of "supreme head of the church universal," is it not most astonishing that Paul should take not the slightest notice of him, and that neither the Sacred

"Christ instituted the church of the New Testament upon earth, not on the plan of an aristocratic or democratic government, but on the plan of a monarchical government, yet tempered by that which is best in an aristocracy, as was said No. 81. But when Christ was about to withdraw his visible presence by his ascension into heaven, he constituted his Vicar the visible head of the church, he himself remaining the supreme, essential and visible head.

"Who is called Supreme Pontiff, and wherefore?

"The Roman Pontiff, not only because he holds the highest honor and dignity in the church, but principally, because he has supreme and universal authority, power and jurisdiction over all bishops and the whole church.

"From whom does the Pope, legitimately elected, receive his power and jurisdiction?

"*Ans.* He receives it immediately from Christ as his Vicar, just as Peter received it. Nor is it any objection that the Pope is elected by cardinals; for their election is only an essential requisite, which being supplied, he receives power and jurisdiction immediately from Christ.

"From whom do the Bishops receive the power of jurisdiction?

"*Ans.* The French contend that they receive it immediately from Christ; but it seems that it ought rather to be said that they receive it immediately from the Roman Pontiff, because the government of the church is monarchical," &c., &c.

"What power has the Roman Pontiff?

"We reply with St. Thomas, &c.: 'THE POPE HAS PLENITUDE OF POWER IN THE CHURCH;' so that his power extends to all who are in the church, and to all things which pertain to the government of the church.

"This is proved from what was said before: because the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole church, the pastor and teacher; therefore," &c. "Hence it follows, that all the faithful, even bishops and patriarchs, are obliged to obey the Roman Pontiff; also, that *he must be obeyed in all things which concern the Christian religion*, and therefore, in faith and customs, in rites, ecclesiastical discipline," &c. "*Hence, the perverse device of the Quesnellites falls to the ground; namely, that the Pope is not to be obeyed, except in those things which he enjoins conformably to Sacred Scripture.*"

No proof that Peter was constituted by Christ supreme head of the Church.

Scriptures nor any of the apostolic fathers should say one word in relation to his connection with the church in that city?

Look again, at the style in which Peter alludes to himself in his epistles; how different from that which has ever been adopted by his professed successors, the lordly Roman pontiffs, since the establishment of their supremacy! If Peter really was, as Romanists contend, the first POPE OF ROME, why do we not find him adopting a style something like the following: "We, Simon Peter, sovereign pontiff of Rome, apostolic vicar, and supreme head of the church?" &c., or something in the style of Pope Gregory's Encyclical Letter of 1832, viz.: "Encyclical Letter of our MOST HOLY FATHER, POPE PETER, by Divine Providence, the First of the name, addressed to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops."* But instead of this, we read simply "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle to them that have obtained like precious faith." (2 Pet., i., 1.)

§ 19.—The *second supposition*, viz.: that Peter was constituted by Christ, supreme head of the Church, is professedly derived from the following conversation between Christ and Peter, "When Jesus came into the coast of Cesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, who do men say that I, the Son of man, am? and they said, some say that thou art John the Baptist, some Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, but who say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. (Matt. xvi., 13, &c.) Now in reference to this passage, it is sufficient to remark that the rock πετρα (*petra*), on which Christ promised to build his church, was not, as Romanists maintain, the fallible mortal Peter, Πετρος (*Petros*), who had made this confession, but the glorious and fundamental truth which this confession embodied, or the glorious and divine personage, who was the subject of it, "THOU ART THE CHRIST, THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD." The words in the Greek are "Συ ει Πετρος, και επι ταυτη τη πετρα," "Thou art Peter, and upon this πετρα rock," which thou hast confessed, &c. So also the Latin Vulgate has "*Tu es Petrus* (mas.), *et super hanc petram* (fem.), *ædificabo ecclesiam meam.*" The interpretation which Roman Catholic writers put upon this expression, is comparatively modern in its origin, and directly opposed to the opinions of some whom they regard as the most enlightened among the ancient fathers. In their authorized creed, Romanists solemnly profess to receive no interpretations of Scripture, except "according to the *unanimous consent* of the fathers." (Nisi juxta unanimem consensum patrum. *Creed of Pope Pius.*) To prove that in their inter-

* Title of Pope Gregory's Letter, "Encyclical Letter from our most Holy Father, Pope Gregory, the Sixteenth of the name, addressed to all Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops."

Augustine, Hilary, and Bede quoted. Other apostles more worthy than Peter.

pretation of this passage, they violate their own rule, many citations from the fathers might be given. Let the following two suffice. The first is from Augustine, the celebrated bishop of Hippo (on Matt., 13. ser.) "*De verbis Domini, tu es Petrus*," &c. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock which thou hast confessed, upon this, which thou hast acknowledged, saying, 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' I will build my church; that is, *upon myself, the Son of the living God*, I will build my church," &c.

The other is from Hilary, another of the most celebrated fathers. (Can. 16, de fundam. Eccles.) "*Unum igitur hoc est immobile fundamentum*," &c. "This one foundation is immovable, that is, *that* one blessed *rock of faith*, confessed by the mouth of Peter, 'Thou art the Son of the living God.'"—(De Trinit., l. 6.) "*Super hanc confessionis petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est.*" "The building of the church is upon this rock of confession." And again, "*hæc fides*," &c. "This faith is the foundation of the church; this faith hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven: what this faith shall loose or bind is bound and loosed in heaven."

So also the venerable Bede, who, though not reckoned among the fathers, was a writer of great renown in the eighth century, remarks on this passage as follows. "It is said unto him by a metaphor, Upon this rock, i. e., *the Saviour, whom thou hast confessed*, the church is builded."

Whatever may be the weight attached to the authority of these writers, it is evident that if the promise referred to Peter, it failed of accomplishment; for when Peter with oaths and curses denied his Lord, certainly the gates of hell did prevail against him, and if he, a fallible and peccable mortal, had been the foundation of the church; when that fell, the church, the superstructure must have fallen with it. The fact is, that CHRIST ALONE is the supreme head as well as the foundation of the church, and he gave no special precedence or dignity to one of the apostles which he gave not to another. He established no earthly supreme head of the church, and his apostles ever acted toward each other in the spirit of the declaration of their Lord, "ONE IS YOUR MASTER, EVEN CHRIST, AND ALL YE ARE BRETHREN."

§ 20.—If any one were worthy of the supremacy over the rest, and to be called "PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES," there are at least three of their number who would be more worthy of the honor than Peter, viz.: either Paul, or James, or John. *Paul* was more worthy, for he publicly and deservedly rebuked Peter, and "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed" (Gal. ii., 11), and certainly Paul could not have been inferior to Peter, for Paul himself declares that IN NOTHING was he behind the very chiefest apostles." (2 Cor. xii., 11.) *James* was more worthy than Peter, for he appears to have been bishop or pastor of the first church ever established, viz.: that at Jerusalem, and presided and announced the final decision in the council held at Jerusalem, in relation to the alleged necessity of circumcision. (Acts, chap. xv.) *John* was certainly more

Peter's imaginary successors. Various and conflicting lists of them.

worthy of the supremacy than Peter, if any one were entitled to such a pre-eminence; for John never denied his Lord, but Peter did; John, "the beloved disciple," asked Jesus a question at the Supper, which Peter did not dare to ask. (John xiii., 23, 24.) John was standing near the cross, at the death of his Lord, and had the mother of Jesus confided to his care, while Peter was probably at a distance, weeping over his cowardly denial. (John xix., 25, &c.) John lived longer than Peter, was the last survivor of all the apostles, and penned more of the volume of Inspiration than either Peter, or any other of the twelve.

§ 21.—But in relation to *the other supposition;* supposing that it could be proved, which we have shown it cannot, that Peter, during his life, was the supreme head of the church on earth, still it would be impossible to prove that this supremacy descended down from one generation to another, through the long line of popes, many of whom, as we shall show, in the progress of this work, were monsters of vice and impurity. There is no evidence that the apostles had the slightest expectation of any such regular line of descent. The New Testament does not say a single word about it, and even the Roman bishops themselves did not make the claim to have derived their power from Peter, till several centuries after the apostolic age.

Before leaving this subject, there is one absurdity which springs from this claim of the Romanists, that deserves to be mentioned. Most Roman Catholic authors reckon Linus the second bishop of Rome, or supreme head of the church;* *pope* Linus, according to

* We are not to suppose, however, that there is any uniformity among writers, or certainty as to the three or four supposed first successors of St. Peter. Says Mr. Walch, the author of a compendious but learned history of the Popes, originally published in German: "If we may judge of the church of Rome, by the constitution of other apostolic churches, she could have had no particular bishop, before the end of the first century. The ancient lists," he adds, "are so contradictory that it would be impossible exactly to determine, either the succession of the bishops, or their chronology. Some say that Clemens, of Rome, had been ordained by the apostle Peter, and was his immediate successor. Others place Linus and Cletus betwixt them. A third set name Linus, but instead of Cletus, name ANACLETUS, ANENCLETUS, DACLETIUS. Lastly a fourth party states the succession thus: Peter, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anacletus."—*Walch's Lives of the Popes.*

Among the early fathers, Tertullian, Rufinus, and Epiphanius, say *Clement succeeded Peter.* Jerome declares that 'MOST of the Latin authors supposed the order to be *Clement* the *successor of Peter.*' But Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, and Augustine, *contradict* the above authorities, and say *Linus succeeded Peter;* Chrysostom seems to go the same way. Bishop Pearson has proved that Linus died before Peter; and therefore, on the supposition that Peter was first bishop of Rome, Linus could not succeed him. Cabassute, the learned Popish historian of the councils, says, 'it is a VERY DOUBTFUL *question* concerning Linus, Cletus, and Clemens, as to which of them succeeded Peter.' Dr. Comber, a very learned divine of the church of England, says, 'upon the whole matter there is NO CERTAINTY who was the bishop of Rome, *next to the apostles*, and therefore the ROMANISTS BUILD UPON AN ILL BOTTOM, when they *lay so great weight* on their PERSONAL SUCCESSION.'"

"The LIKE BLUNDER," remarks the same learned Episcopalian, "there is about the next bishop of Rome. The *fabulous Pontifical* makes *Cletus* succeed Linus.

Singular absurdity. The apostle John subject to the second Pope.

them, having succeeded upon the martyrdom of *pope* Peter. Now, it is not denied by any, that the apostle John outlived Peter about thirty years. If then Peter was the supreme head of the church, and Linus was his successor in the supremacy, then of course the inspired apostle John must have been inferior to Linus in rank and dignity, and subject to him in precisely the same way as Roman Catholic bishops are now subject to their pope. Now when it is remembered that Linus, of whom we know scarcely anything more than his name, was not one of the apostles, it will be seen that this supposition is directly at variance with the inspired declaration of Paul, "God hath set some in the Church, FIRST, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." (1 Cor. xii., 28.) To such strange absurdities does this doctrine of the papal supremacy lead. Of course the same conclusion will follow, whichever of the various theories is adopted, as to the supposed immediate successor of Peter.*

Notwithstanding, however, the weakness of these pretensions, after the city of Rome had fallen from its ancient dignity, into the power of the barbarians, and the superiority of its lordly bishop could no longer be quietly submitted to *from the superiority of that city to every other*, the pontiffs renewed and reiterated this arro-

and gives us several Lives of *Cletus*, and *Anacletus*, making them of several nations, and to have been popes at different times, putting Clement between them. Yet the aforesaid bishop of Chester [Pearson] PROVES these were ONLY TWO NAMES of the SAME PERSON. And every one may see the folly of the Romish church, which venerates two several saints on two several days, one of which never had a *real being*, for *Cletus* is but the *abbreviation of Anacletus's name*." (*Dr. Comber on "Roman Forgeries in Councils,"* part i., c. i.)

Amidst all these varying and opposing lists, this contradiction and confusion worse confounded, how utterly baseless must be those pretensions, whether made by the papists of Rome, or the semi-papists of Oxford, which are founded upon a supposed ascertained, and unbroken descent from the apostles? The arguments to sustain them are lighter than air. Hence we are not surprised to hear that bright luminary of the British establishment, Archbishop Whately, declare his solemn conviction, that "THERE IS NOT A MINISTER IN ALL CHRISTENDOM, WHO IS ABLE TO TRACE UP, WITH ANY APPROACH TO CERTAINTY, HIS OWN SPIRITUAL PEDIGREE. The ultimate consequence must be," remarks the same excellent prelate, "that any one who sincerely believes that his claim to the benefits of the gospel covenant depends on his own minister's claim to the supposed sacramental virtue of true ordination, and this again on apostolical succession, must be involved, in proportion as he reads, and inquires, and reflects, and reasons on the subject, in the most distressing doubt and perplexity. It is no wonder, therefore, that the advocates of this theory studiously disparage reasoning, deprecate all exercise of the mind in reflection, decry appeals to evidence, and lament that even the power of reading should be imparted to the people. It is not without cause that they dread and lament 'an age of too much light,' and wish to involve religion in a 'solemn and awful gloom.' It is not without cause that, having removed the Christian's confidence from a rock, to base it on sand, they forbid all prying curiosity to examine their foundation." (*Whately on the Kingdom of Christ, Essay ii.*, § 30.)

* Those who wish to see the argument on this subject carried out in a masterly way, are referred to the treatise of the learned Barrow, on the Pope's supremacy.

gant claim to supremacy *from divine right*, with an earnestness proportioned to the danger that existed of sinking into a second rank, from the rising political importance and splendor of the rival city of Constantinople.

CHAPTER V.

POPERY FULLY ESTABLISHED.—THE MAN OF SIN REVEALED.

§ 22.—In the course of the sixth century, the city of Rome thrice witnessed the disgraceful spectacle of rival pontiffs, with fierce hatred, bloodshed, and massacre, contending with each other for the spiritual throne. The first of these struggles occurred about the commencement of the century, "between Symmachus and Laurentius, who were on the same day elected to the pontificate by different parties, and whose dispute was at length decided by Theodoric, king of the Goths. Each of these ecclesiastics maintained obstinately the validity of his election; they reciprocally accused each other of the most detestable crimes; and to their mutual dishonor, their accusations did not appear on either side entirely destitute of foundation. Three different councils, assembled at Rome, endeavored to terminate this odious schism, but without success. A fourth was summoned by Theodoric, in 503, to examine the accusations brought against Symmachus, to whom this prince had, at the beginning of the schism, adjudged the papal chair. This council was held about the commencement of this century, and in it the Roman pontiff was acquitted of the crimes laid to his charge. But the adverse party refused to acquiesce in this decision, and this gave occasion to Ennodius, bishop of Ticinum, now Pavia, to draw up his adulatory *apology for the council* and Symmachus." It was on this occasion and in this apology, says Gieseler, that the assertion was first hazarded, that "*the bishop of Rome was subject to no earthly tribunal.* Not long afterward an attempt was made to give this principle a historical basis, by bringing forward forged acts of former pontiffs."* In subsequent ages, it will be seen that the popes not only declared themselves free from all subjection to every earthly tribunal, but boldly maintained that all earthly powers and potentates were subject to them. In this apology for Symmachus, the servile flatterer, Ennodius, styles the object of his flattery, "JUDGE IN THE PLACE OF GOD, AND VICEGERENT OF THE MOST HIGH." This was the first time so far as is known, that this blasphemous title

* Gieseler, vol. i., page 339.

More quarrels at Rome. Dispute about the title of universal bishop.

was given to man, though some centuries afterward it was commonly applied to the popes, thus fulfilling the prophetic words of Paul: "So that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." (2 Thess. ii., 4.)

About the year 530, there was another disgraceful contest, and the city of Rome was again agitated by the rival claims of Boniface II., and Dioscurus, though the premature death of the latter soon put a period to this clerical war. But the century did not close without a scene alike disgraceful. A prelate of the name of Vigilius, intrigued at court to procure the deposition of the *reigning* bishop Silverus. The latter was, in consequence, deprived of his dignities and banished. He appealed to the emperor Justinian, who interfered in his behalf, and encouraged him to return to Rome, with the delusive expectation of regaining his rights; but the artifices of Vigilius prevailed—his antagonist was resigned to his power, and immediately confined by him in the islands of Pontus and Pandatara, where, in penury and affliction, he terminated his wretched existence.

§ 23.—During the last few years of the sixth century, the contest for supremacy between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople raged with greater acrimony than at any preceding period. The bishop of Constantinople not only claimed an unrivalled sovereignty over the eastern churches, but also maintained that his church was, in point of dignity, no way inferior to that of Rome. The Roman pontiffs beheld with impatience these pretensions, and warmly asserted the pre-eminence of their church, and its undoubted superiority over that of Constantinople. Gregory the Great distinguished himself in this violent contest; and the fact that in a council held in 588, John, the *faster*, bishop of Constantinople, assumed the title of *universal bishop*, furnished Gregory with a favorable opportunity of exerting his zeal. Supposing that the design of his rival was to obtain the supremacy over all Christian churches, Gregory opposed his pretensions with the utmost vehemence, and in order to establish, more firmly, his own authority, invented the fiction of the power of the keys, as committed to the successor of St. Peter, rather than to the body of the bishops, according to the previous opinion, and, says Waddington, "He betrayed on many occasions a very ridiculous eagerness to secure their honor. Consequently he was profuse in his distribution of certain keys, endowed, as he was not ashamed to assert, with supernatural qualities; he even ventured to insult Anastasius, the patriarch of Antioch, by such a gift. 'I have sent you (he says), keys of the blessed apostle Peter, your guardian, which, when placed upon the sick, are wont to be resplendent with numerous miracles.' 'Amatoris vestri, beati Petri apostoli, vobis claves transmisi, quæ super ægros positæ multis solent miraculis coruscare.' We may attribute this absurdity to the basest superstition, or to the most impudent hypocrisy; and we would gladly have preferred the more excusable motive, if the supposed advancement of the See,

which was clearly concerned in these presents, did not rather lead us to the latter." (*Wad. Ch. Hist.* 143.)

§ 24.—Besides these vain pretensions, Gregory wrote epistles to his own ambassador at Constantinople, to the patriarch John, and to the emperor Mauritius, in which in various passages he denounces the title of universal bishop as "vain," "execrable," "anti-Christian," "blasphemous," "infernal," and "diabolical." In his letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, he pleads with him thus: "*Discipulis Dominus dicit, autem nolite vocari rabbi, unus enim Magister vester est, vos omnes fratres estis*," &c. 'Our Lord says unto his disciples, be not ye called rabbi, for one is your Master, and all ye are brethren.' What, therefore, most dear brother, are *you*, in the terrible examination of the coming Judge, to say, who, *generalis pater in mundo vocari appetis?* desire to be called, not father only, but the general father of the world?

"Beware of the sinful suggestions of the wicked. I beg, I entreat, and I beseech, with all possible suavity, that your brotherhood resist all these flatterers who offer you this NAME *of error*, and that you refuse to be designated by so *foolish* and so *proud* an *appellation*. For I indeed say it with tears, and from the inward anguish of my bowels, that to my sins I attribute it, that my brother cannot to this day be brought to humility, who was made bishop for this end, that he might lead the minds of others to humility. It is written, 'God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble:' and again it is said, 'he is unclean before God, who exalteth his heart;' hence, it is written against the *proud man*, 'Quid superbis, terra et cinis?' 'Earth and ashes, why art thou proud?'

"*Perpende, rogo, quia in hac presumptione pax totius turbatur ecclesiæ*," &c. "Consider, I entreat you, that by this *rash presumption* is the peace of the whole church disturbed, and the grace poured out in common upon all contradicted: in which you can increase only in proportion as you carefully decrease in self-esteem, and become the greater the more you restrain yourself from this *name of proud and foolish usurpation;* love humility, therefore, my dearest brother, with your whole heart, by which *concord* among all the brethren and the *unity* of the holy universal church may be preserved. Truly, when Paul, the apostle, heard some say, 'I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas,' he, vehemently abhorring this tearing asunder of the Lord's body, by which they, in some sense, united his members to other heads, cries out, Was Paul crucified for you, or were you baptized in the name of Paul? If, then, he would not suffer the members of the Lord's body to be, as it were, particularly subject to certain heads, beyond Christ, and they apostles too, what will you say to Christ the head of his universal holy church, in the trial of his last judgment, who endeavor to subject all his members under the title of *universal?* Whom, pray, do you propose to imitate by this perverse *name*, but him, who, despising the legions of angels, his companions, endeavored to break forth, and ascend to an elevation peculiar to himself, that he

Gregory says that no true saint would accept it. Writes against it to the Emperor.

might seem to be subject to none, and to be above all of them? Who also said, 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven; I will be like the Most High!' For what are all your brother bishops of the universal church, but the *stars* of heaven, whose lives and preaching give *light* among the sins and errors of men, as in the darkness of night? Above whom, when you thus desire to elevate yourself by this *haughty title*, and to tread down their name in comparison of yours, what do you say but I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven?

"*Atque ut cuncta brevi singulo locutionis astringam*," &c. And that I may sum up all in one word: the saints before the law, the saints under the law, and the saints under grace, the gospel—all these, making up the perfect body of our Lord, are constituted but members of the church; none of them would ever have himself called UNIVERSAL. Let your holiness then acknowledge how he must swell with pride, who covets to be called by this name, which no *true saint* would presume to accept. Were not, as your brotherhood knows, my predecessors in the apostolical See, which I now serve by God's providence, called by the council of Chalcedon to this offered honor? but none of them would ever allow himself to be named by such a title—none snatched at this *rash name*, lest if he should seize on *this singular glory of the pontificate, he should seem to deny it to all his brethren.*

"*Sed omnia quæ prædicta sunt, fiunt: rex superbiæ prope est et quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum est præparatus excitus* (*vel exercitus*) *ei qui cervice militant elationis.*" But all things which are foretold are come to pass; the king of pride approaches, and O, horrid to tell! the going forth of (or the army of the priests), is ready for him, who fight with the neck of pride, though appointed to lead to humility."*

§ 25.—In his letters to the emperor Mauritius, Gregory reiterates the same sentiments. On account of their importance, the following extracts from these letters are subjoined. "The care and principality of the whole church," says Gregory, "is committed to St. Peter; and yet he is not called 'universal apostle'—though this holy man, John, my fellow priest, labors to be called 'universal bishop!' I am compelled to cry out, 'O the corruption of times and manners!' Behold the barbarians are become lords of all Europe: cities are destroyed, castles are beaten down, provinces depopulated, there are no husbandmen to till the ground. Idolaters rage and domineer over Christians; and yet priests, who ought to lie weeping upon the pavement, in sackcloth and ashes, covet names of vanity, and glory in new and profane titles.

"Do I, most religious sovereign, in this plead my own cause? Do I vindicate a wrong done to myself, and not maintain the cause of Almighty God, and of the church universal? Who is he who

* Epist. Greg., lib. iv., epist. 38.

Gregory places the brand of anti-Christ upon him who usurps the title of universal bishop.

presumes to usurp this *new name* against both the law of the gospel and of the canons? We know that many priests of the church of Constantinople have been not only heretics, but even the chief leaders of them. If, then, every one of that church assumes the name by which he makes himself the head of all good men; the Catholic church, which God forbid should ever be the case, must needs be overthrown when he falls who is called UNIVERSAL. But, far from Christians be this *blasphemous name*, by which all honor is taken from all other priests, while it is foolishly arrogated by one. This man (John), contemning obedience to the canons, should be humbled by the commands of our most pious sovereign. He should be chastised who does an injury to the holy Catholic church! whose heart is puffed up, who seeks to please himself by a name of singularity, by which he would elevate himself above the Emperor! We are all scandalized at this. Let the author of this scandal reform himself, and all differences in the church will cease. I am the servant of all priests, so long as they live like themselves—but if any shall vainly set up his bristles, contrary to God Almighty, and to the canons of the fathers, I hope in God that he will never succeed in bringing my neck under his yoke—not even by force of arms."

These urgent letters of Gregory appear to have been unavailing. The patriarch John, indeed, was soon afterward removed by death from his archiepiscopal dignity; but Cynacus, who succeeded him as bishop of Constantinople, adopted the same pompous title as his predecessor. Having had occasion to despatch some agents to Rome, in the letter which he wrote to the Roman pontiff Gregory, he so much displeased him by assuming the appellation of "universal bishop," that the latter withheld from the agents somewhat of the courtesy to which they considered themselves entitled, and, of course, complaint was made to the emperor Mauritius of the neglect which had been shown them. This circumstance extorted a letter from the Emperor at Constantinople to the bishop of Rome, in which he advises him to treat them, in future, in a more friendly manner, and not to insist so far on *punctilios of style*, as to create a scandal about a title, and fall out about a few syllables. To this Gregory replies, "that the innovation in the style did not consist much in the quantity and alphabet; but the bulk of the iniquity was weighty enough to sink and destroy all. And, therefore, I am bold to say," says he, "that *whoever adopts, or affects the title of* UNIVERSAL BISHOP, *has the pride and character of anti-Christ, and is in some manner his forerunner in this haughty quality of elevating himself above the rest of his order. And, indeed, both the one and the other seem to split upon the same rock; for as* PRIDE MAKES ANTI-CHRIST STRAIN HIS PRETENSIONS UP TO GODHEAD, *so whoever is ambitious to be called the only or universal prelate, arrogates to himself a distinguished superiority, and rises, as it were, upon the ruins of the rest.*"* Let

* Epist. Greg. l. vi. Ep. 30.

Pope Boniface soon after obtains this very title for himself and successors

the reader ponder well the sentence last quoted, in this epistle of Gregory, confessedly one of the most eminent of the Roman bishops, and who has, by them, been canonized as SAINT GREGORY; in which he places the brand of anti-Christ on whoever assumes this title, and then judge whether we are not justified in pronouncing the era of the papal supremacy, when only two years after Gregory's death, pope Boniface III. sought for and obtained the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, as the date of the full revelation of ANTI-CHRIST. We do but repeat the opinion so emphatically expressed by SAINT GREGORY only a few years before the actual occurrence of this remarkable event in the history of Popery. Boniface, who succeeded to the Roman See in 605, was so far from having any scruples about adopting this "BLASPHEMOUS TITLE," that he actually applied to the emperor Phocas, a cruel and bloodthirsty tyrant, who had made his way to the throne by assassinating his predecessor; and earnestly solicited the title, with the privilege of handing it down to his successors. The profligate emperor who had a secret grudge against the bishop of Constantinople, granted the request of Boniface, and after strictly forbidding the former prelate to use the title, conferred it upon the latter in the year 606, and declared the church of Rome to be head over all other churches.* Thus was Paul's prediction accomplished, "THE MAN OF SIN" revealed, and that system of corrupted Christianity and spiritual tyranny which is properly called POPERY, fully developed and established in the world. The title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, which was then obtained by Boniface, has been worn by all succeeding popes, and the claim of supremacy, which was then established, has ever since been maintained and defended by them, and still is, down to the present day.

§ 26.—Henceforward the religion of Rome is properly styled POPERY, OR THE RELIGION OF THE POPE. Previous to the year 606, there was properly no POPE. It is true that in earlier ages the title of pope, which is derived from the Greek word *παππας*, father, in its general and inoffensive sense, had been used as a frequent title of bishops, without distinction. Siricius, bishop of Rome, was probably the first who assumed the name as an official title, toward the close of the fourth century, and it was afterward claimed exclusively by the popes of Rome, as the appropriate designation of the sovereign pontiffs.† This arrogant claim has long since been quietly conceded by other Christians, and the title has been exclusively enjoyed,

* These facts are related by Baronius and other Romish historians. "Quo tempore intercesserunt quædam odiorum fomenta inter eundem Phocam imperatorem atque Cyriacum Constantinopolitanum. Hinc igitur in Cyriacum Phocas exacerbatus in ejus odium imperiali edicto sancivit, nomen universalis decere Romanum tantum modo ecclesiam, tanquam quæ caput esset omnium ecclesiarum, solique convenire Romano pontifici; non autem episcopo Constantinopolitano, qui sibi illud usurpare præsumeret. Quod quidem hunc Bonifacium papam tertium ab imperatore Phoca obtinuisse, cum Anastasius Bibliothecarius, tum Paulus diaconus tradunt." *Spondan, Epitom. Baron. Annal. in annum* 606.

† See Coleman's Christian Antiquities, page 76.

without dispute and without envy.* When we say, therefore, that previous to A. D. 606, there was no POPE, we mean, of course, in the present exclusive sense of the word, as the supreme sovereign pontiff, and boasted head of the universal church. Till this time, notwithstanding the prior origin of many popish corruptions, Popery or the Roman Catholic religion in its present form, as a distinct and compacted system, had no existence. This is the epoch of its origin and birth. Papal supremacy then bound, and still binds its discordant elements into one, and should this claim be given up, the whole anti-Christian system would fall to pieces, like the portions of an arch, when the key-stone is removed. The historian is therefore fully justified in applying to this system, the distinctive and appropriate terms, *popish*, *popery*, and their cognates. In the words of that singular but forcible writer, John Rogers, when assigning his reasons for not employing the terms *Catholic* or *Roman Catholic*, by which papists prefer to be designated, "We are far, very far from intending or wishing to hurt the feeling, or pain the mind of any member of the kirk of Rome; but we intend to follow a plan scriptural and reasonable, and to write with grammatical and philosophical propriety. We desire not to be, and not to appear to be offensive or insulting; but to be orderly, or to conform to method and rule. We desire not to give displeasure or pain, but to have definitude or precision. We aim to be accurate or correct, and to employ words in their right and true meaning. We avoid using Catholic and Roman Catholic, on five grounds; in order to be analogical, in order to be logical, in order to oppose papal bigotry, in order to oppose papal pride, and in order to oppose papal persecution."† The word Catholic means universal, and since the Romish is not a universal church, it is evidently incorrect to call that communion the Holy Catholic church. To avoid this impropriety, some employ the terms *Roman Catholic*, but here again is a manifest impropriety, as that cannot be universal in any sense, which is not absolutely so, and to apply the term Catholic or universal, to that which must be limited by the adjective Roman, or any other word denoting speciality, is evidently a contradiction in terms. For these reasons this system will be designated in the present work, by the names, ROMANISM, POPERY, &c., and the adjectives, *Romish*, *Papal*, &c., not as terms of reproach, but simply because they are more consistent with historical accuracy and truth, than any others which could be selected. If we occasionally employ, therefore, the terms Catholic or Roman Catholic, we wish

* Father Gahan, in his History of the Church (page 335), mentions, apparently with approbation, the following whimsical derivation of the title *Papa*, or Pope: "Some writers say that the word *Papa* comes from the initial letters of these four words, *Petrus*, *Apostolus*, *Princeps*, *Apostolorum* (i. e., Peter the apostle, prince of the apostles), which being abbreviated with a punctum or colon after each of the four initial letters, coalesced in progress of time into the word *Papa*, without any intermediate punctuation."

† See "Anti-popopriestian," by John Rogers, page 76.

it to be distinctly understood that we do so, simply as a matter of courtesy or convenience, and not because we for a moment admit the propriety of the application of either of these terms to the anti-Christian system of Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

PAPAL SUPREMACY—THE ACTORS IN ITS ESTABLISHMENT—THE TYRANT PHOCAS—THE SAINT GREGORY, AND THE POPE BONIFACE.

§ 27.—THE bestowment of the title of Universal Bishop by Phocas, the tyrant, upon Boniface III., bishop of Rome, THE FIRST OF THE POPES, and the consequent establishment of papal supremacy, was the memorable event that embodied into a system and cemented into one the various false doctrines, corrupt practices, and vain and superstitious rites and ceremonies, which had arisen in earlier ages, to deface the beauty and mar the simplicity of Christian worship. Before this event, the bishop of Rome had no power to enforce his decisions upon other churches and bishops; and, as we have already seen, in many instances they might reject his decrees, without forfeiting their standing, as constituent portions of the so called Catholic church; now they were compelled to submit to his mandates, as the spiritual sovereign of the world, or be branded with the name of heretics. Before this, the false doctrines which arose, and the superstitious heathen ceremonies which were adopted into Christian worship, might be believed or practised in one church or province and rejected in another; so that the corruptions which had long since towered to a greater height at Rome than anywhere else, were still but partially diffused over the Christian world. Immediately upon the establishment of papal supremacy, the gigantic errors and corruptions of Rome were rendered binding upon all. Before this time, while there was no supreme earthly head to enforce uniformity, a variety of liturgies and forms of worship were adopted in different places, some of them in a greater and others in a less degree conformable to the spirit of the New Testament; now, by the sovereign decrees of his HOLINESS THE POPE, all must be conformed to the standard of Rome. In the ages that preceded the establishment of papal supremacy, "we are not to think," observes Mosheim, "that the same method of worship was uniformly followed in every Christian society, for this was far from being the case. Every bishop, consulting his own private judgment, and taking into consideration the nature of the times, the genius of the country in which he lived, and the character and

temper of those whom he was appointed to rule and instruct, formed such a plan of divine worship as he thought the wisest and the best. Hence that variety of *liturgies* which were in use, before the bishop of Rome had usurped the supreme power in religious matters, and persuaded the credulous and unthinking, that the model, both of doctrine and worship, was to be given by the mother church, and to be followed implicitly throughout the Christian world." (*Mosheim*, vol. i. p. 385.)

§ 28.—As it was owing to the decree of the emperor Phocas, constituting him supreme Universal Bishop and head of the universal church, that the proud prelate of Rome was thus enabled to tyrannize over the whole of Christendom, and mould and fashion the churches at his will, it may be necessary that we retrace our steps for four or five years, and relate with some minuteness the origin and character of the man who conferred on him this power, that we may see whether this doctrine, so essential to the very existence of Popery, viz.: the papal supremacy, come from heaven or of men. If I mistake not, we shall find that its origin is from beneath, and that the principal agent in establishing it, was one of the most guilty of the human race, approaching very near, if he did not altogether reach the idea of consummate or universal depravity, embodied in his great master, THE DEVIL.

This Phocas was a native of Asia Minor, of obscure and unknown parentage, who entered the army of the emperor Mauritius as a common soldier. Having attained the rank of a centurion, a petty officer, with the command of a hundred men, he happened in the year 602 to be with his company on the banks of the Danube, when he headed a mutiny against the Emperor among his troops, caused himself to be tumultuously proclaimed leader of the insurgents, and marched with them to Constantinople. "So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas," says Gibbon, "that the Emperor was quite ignorant of the *name* and character of his rival; but as soon as he had learned that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, 'Alas!' cried the prince, 'if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer.'"

§ 29.—Upon the approach of Phocas to Constantinople, the unfortunate Mauritius, with his wife and nine children, escaped in a small bark to the Asiatic shore; but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, from whence he despatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself, he refused to fly; his body was tortured with sciatic pains, his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he patiently awaited the event of the revolution, and addressed a fervent and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world, rather than in a future life. The patriarch of Constantinople "consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John the Baptist. On the third day, amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot drawn by

Cruel murder by the tyrant, of Mauritius, his wife and family.

four white horses; the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative, and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. The ministers of death were despatched to Chalcedon: they dragged the Emperor from his sanctuary; and the five sons of Mauritius were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing parent. At each stroke, which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation, '*Thou art just, O Lord! and thy judgments are righteous.*' The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the Emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third year of his age. The bodies of the father and his five sons were cast into the sea, their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude, and it was not till some signs of putrefaction appeared, that Phocas connived at the private burial of these venerable remains." The flight of Theodosius, the son of the unfortunate Emperor, to the Persian court, had been intercepted by a rapid pursuit, or a deceitful message: he was beheaded at Nice, and the last hours of the young prince were soothed by the comforts of religion, and the consciousness of innocence.

§ 30.—In the massacre of the imperial family, the usurper had spared the widow and three daughters of the late Emperor, but the suspicion or discovery of a conspiracy rekindled the fury of Phocas. These unfortunate females took refuge in one of the churches of the city, then regarded as an inviolable asylum. The patriarch, moved partly by compassion to the royal sufferers, partly by reverence for the place, would not permit them to be dragged by force from their asylum; but defended them, whilst there, with great spirit and resolution. The tyrant, one of the most vindictive and inexorable of mankind, and who could therefore ill brook this spirited opposition from the priest, thought it prudent then to dissemble his resentment, as it would have been exceedingly dangerous, in the beginning of his reign, to alarm the church. And he well knew how important, and even venerable a point it was accounted, to preserve inviolate the sacredness of such sanctuaries. He desisted, therefore, from using force, and, by means of the most solemn oaths and promises of safety, prevailed at length upon the ladies to quit their asylum. In consequence of which, they soon after became the helpless victims of his fury. "A matron," says Gibbon, "who commanded the respect and pity of mankind, the daughter, wife, and mother of emperors, was tortured like the vilest malefactor, and the empress Constantina, with three innocent daughters, was beheaded at Chalcedon, on the same ground which had been stained with the blood of her husband and five sons! The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and the liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads and limbs and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were the most sensible that neither his favor nor their services, could protect them from *a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.*"* The imperial family

* Decline and Fall, chap. xlvi.

being now entirely cut off, the bloodthirsty tyrant began to proceed with the same inexorable cruelty against all their friends, and all who had betrayed the least compassion for them, or had borne any civil or military employments in the late reign. Thus, throughout the empire were men of the first rank and distinction either daily executed or publicly or privately massacred. Some were first inhumanly tortured; others had their hands and feet cut off; and some were set up as marks for the raw soldiery to shoot at, in learning the exercise and use of the bow. The populace met with no better treatment than the nobility, great numbers of them being daily seized for speaking disrespectfully of the tyrant, and either killed by his guards on the spot, or tied up in sacks and thrown into the sea, or dragged to prison, which by that means was so crowded that they soon died, suffocated with the stench and noisomeness of the place.

Such, then, was the character of the monster in the shape of a man, as recorded by the pen of impartial history, by whose sovereign decree pope Boniface was constituted Universal Bishop, and supreme head of the church on earth; and such is the foundation, and the only foundation, upon which this lordly title rests, which has been claimed by all the successors of Boniface; the Gregorys, the Innocents, and the Leos, down to the imbecile old man, Gregory XVI., who, in the nineteenth century, issues his mandates from the Vatican at Rome, demanding the unlimited submission and obedience of the faithful in the United States, and all other nations of the earth. So much for the source of this usurped spiritual sovereignty. Whether *any* human power possessed the right thus to elevate a mortal to the station of Universal Bishop, supreme head and absolute monarch of Christ's church, and if so, whether so atrocious a villain, and so bloody a murderer, as this Phocas, possessed such a right, must be left to the common sense of the reader to decide.

§ 31.—I have named the famous Romish bishop, GREGORY THE GREAT, as he is called by papists, as one actor in establishing the papal supremacy. Notwithstanding his artful epistle to Mauritius, in which he condemns the title of Universal Bishop, *because it had been assumed by a rival*, he is worthy of the honor in this affair of being placed side by side with Phocas, partly because no man before him had done so much in defence of the proud prerogatives of the Roman See, but chiefly because by the base and servile flatteries he bestowed upon that weak-minded but bloodthirsty tyrant, he paved the way for the success of Boniface, a few years later, in his application to Phocas, for the title of Universal Bishop.

At the accession of Phocas, Gregory was still bishop of Rome, and with the hope, doubtless, that he should be more successful with this bloody tyrant than he had been with Mauritius, in causing him to restrain the rising greatness and ambition of his rival patriarch at Constantinople, he immediately wrote to him a letter of congratulation, full of the vilest and most venal flatteries, so that it has been truly said, were we to learn the character of Phocas

The rapture of *Saint* Gregory at the accession of the murderous tyrant.

from this pontiff's letters, we should certainly conclude him to have been "rather an angel than a man."

§ 32.—It is humiliating in the extreme to record the deep debasement of such a man as Gregory, when he could so far descend from the dignity of his high and holy calling, as to address this usurper, while his hands were yet reeking with the blood of his slaughtered victims, in language like the following: "Glory to God in the highest; who, according as it is written, changes times and transfers kingdoms. And because he would have that made known to all men, which he hath vouchsafed to speak by his own prophets, saying, that the Most High rules in the kingdoms of men, and to whom he will he gives it." He then goes on to observe that God, in his incomprehensible providence, sometimes sends kings to afflict his people and punish them for their sins. This, says he, we have known of late to our woful experience. Sometimes, on the other hand, God, in his mercy, raises good men to the throne, for the relief and exultation of his servants. Then applying this remark to existing circumstances, he adds: "In the abundance of our exultation, on which account, we think ourselves the more speedily confirmed, rejoicing to find the gentleness of your piety equal to your imperial dignity." Then, breaking out into rapture, no longer to be restrained, he exclaims, "Let the heavens rejoice and the earth be glad; and, for your illustrious deeds, let the people of every realm hitherto so vehemently afflicted, now be filled with gladness. May the necks of your enemies be subjected to the yoke of your supreme rule, and the hearts of your subjects, hitherto broken and depressed, be relieved by your clemency." Proceeding to paint their former miseries, he concludes with wishing that the commonwealth may long enjoy its present happiness. Thus, in language evidently borrowed from the inspired writers, and in which they anticipate the joy and gladness that should pervade universal nature at the birth of the Messiah, does this pope celebrate the march of the tyrant and usurper through seas of blood to the imperial throne.

"As a subject and a Christian," says Gibbon (chap. xlvi.), "it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government; but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has sullied, with indelible disgrace, the character of the saint. The successor of the apostles might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood, and the necessity of repentance: he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people, and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by Providence to the imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, that after a long triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom."

§ 33.—The unmeasured abuse with which this *Saint* Gregory loads the murdered Emperor, after his death, in his congratulatory letters to Phocas, naturally leads to an inquiry into the character of the unfortunate Mauritius. The fault with which he is princi-

pally accused by contemporary historians, and which, doubtless proved the cause of his untimely fate, was too much parsimony, than which no vice could render him more odious to the soldiery, who were, in those degenerate times of the empire, lazy, undisciplined, debauched, rapacious, and seditious. As the government was become military, the affection of the army was the principal bulwark of the throne. It was ever consequently the interest of the reigning family to secure the fidelity of the legions as much as possible. This, in times so corrupt, when military discipline was extinct, was to be effected only by an unbounded indulgence, and by frequent largesses. These the prince was not in a condition to bestow, without laying exorbitant exactions on the people. For levying these, the army were, as long as they shared in the spoil, always ready to lend their assistance. Hence it happened, that, among the Emperors, the greatest oppressors of the people were commonly the greatest favorites of the army. The revolt of the legions, therefore, could be but a slender proof of mal-administrations. It was even, in many cases, an evidence of the contrary.

But it is more to our present purpose to consider the character which this very *Saint* Gregory gave of Mauritius, when in possession of the imperial diadem. For if the former and latter accounts given by the pontiff cannot be rendered consistent, we must admit, that, first or last, his *holiness* made a sacrifice of truth to politics. Now it is certain that nothing can be more contradictory than those accounts. In some of his letters to that Emperor, we find the man whom he now treats as a perfect monster, extolled to the skies, as one of the most pious, most religious, most Christian princes that ever lived. In one of these letters, the Emperor's "pious zeal, solicitude, and vigilance for the preservation of the Christian faith," are represented as "the glory of his reign, as a subject of joy, not to the pontiff only, but to all the world." In another, after the warmest expressions of gratitude, on account of the pious liberality and munificence of his imperial majesty, and after telling how much the priests, the poor, the strangers, and all the faithful were indebted to his paternal care, he adds that for these reasons "all should pray for the preservation of his life, that Almighty God might grant to him a long and quiet reign, and that after his death, as the reward of his piety, a happy race of his descendants might long flourish as sovereigns of the Roman empire."*

Yet he no sooner hears (says Dr. Campbell) of the successful treason of Phocas in the barbarous murder of the sovereign family, an event, the mention of which, even at this distance, makes a humane person shudder with horror, than he exclaims with rapture, "Glory to God in the highest." He invites heaven and earth, men and angels, to join in the general triumph. How happy is he that the

* "Unde actum est, ut simul omnes pro vita dominorum concorditer orarent, quatenus omnipotens Deus longa vobis et quieta tempora tribuat, et pietatis vestræ felicissimam sobolem diu in Romana republica florere concedat." (*Epist. Greg.*, lib. viii., epist 2.)

Invites all the angels of heaven to rejoice in the success of Phocas.

royal race is totally exterminated, from whom, but a little before, he told us, that he poured out incessant and tearful prayers (*lachrymabili prece* is one of his expressions), that they might, to the latest ages, flourish on the throne, for the felicity of the Roman commonwealth! An honest heathen would, at least for some time, have avoided any intercourse or correspondence with such a ruffian as Phocas; but this Christian bishop, before he had the regular and customary notice of his accession to the purple, is forward to congratulate him on the success of his crimes. His very crimes he canonizes (an easy matter for false religion to effect), and transforms into shining virtues, and the criminal himself into a second Messiah, he that should come for the salvation and comfort of God's people. And all this was purely that he might pre-engage the favor of the new Emperor, who (he well knew), entertained a secret grudge against the Constantinopolitan bishop, for his attachment to the preceding emperor Mauritius; a grudge which, when he saw with what spirit the patriarch protected the empress dowager and her daughters, soon settled into implacable hatred.*

"Does it not hence appear but too plain," inquires the learned historian of the popes,† "that Gregory, however conscientious, just, and religious in his principles and conduct, when he did not apprehend the dignity or interest of his See to be concerned, acted upon very different notions and principles, when he apprehended they were concerned? For how can we reconcile with conscience, justice, or religion, his bestowing on the worst of tyrants the highest praises that can be bestowed on the best of princes? His courting the favor of a cruel and wicked usurper, by painting and reviling, as an absolute tyrant, the excellent prince, whose crown he had usurped? His ascribing (which I leave Baronius to excuse from blasphemy), to a particular Providence the revolt of a rebellious subject, and seizing the crown; though he opened himself a way to it by the murder of his lawful sovereign, and his six children, all the male issue of the imperial family? And finally, by his inviting all mankind, nay, and the angels of heaven, to rejoice with him, and return thanks to God, for the good success of so wicked an attempt, perhaps the most wicked and cruel that is recorded in history? Gregory had often declared that he was ready to sacrifice his life to the honor of his See; but whether he did not sacrifice, on this occasion, what ought to have been dearer to him than his life, or even the honor of his See, I leave the world to judge; and only observe here, that his reflecting in the manner he did on the memory of the unhappy Mauritius, was in him an instance of the utmost ingratitude, if what he himself formerly wrote, and frequently repeated, be true, viz.: That his tongue could not express the good he had received of the Almighty, and his lord the Emperor; that he thought himself bound in gratitude to pray incessantly for the life

* See Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, lect. xvi.
† Bower, in vita Greg. i., vol. ii., page 326.

Pope Boniface assembles a council, in which he exercises his newly obtained power.

of his most pious and most Christian lord; and that, in return for the goodness of his most religious lord to him, he could do no less than love the very ground on which he trod."

§ 34.—Perhaps we may not be warranted in asserting (as Dr. Campbell seems to suppose), that Gregory, by these vile flatteries, intended to secure for himself the title which had been assumed by his rival at the East. It is possible he would have been content could he have lived to see him deprived of it; still, if he indulged such a wish in secret, consistency itself must have forbidden its utterance, when he had just before pronounced the assumption of such a title—the badge and the brand of anti-Christ. Perhaps Gregory would have been more cautious in the expression of such an opinion, could he have foreseen that in so short a time it would be importunately sought and obtained by one of his own successors, and that upon the foreheads of these very successors in the boasted chair of St. Peter, would descend from generation to generation, the brand indelibly stamped by the hand of SAINT GREGORY—"WHOEVER ADOPTS OR AFFECTS THE TITLE OF UNIVERSAL BISHOP, HATH THE PRIDE AND CHARACTER OF ANTI-CHRIST."

No sooner had Boniface obtained this title, says Bower, than he took upon him to exercise an answerable jurisdiction and power, to an extent at that time unknown and unheard of in the Catholic church. No sooner was the imperial edict of Phocas, vesting him with the title of Universal Bishop, and declaring him head of the church, brought to Rome, than, assembling a council in the basilic of St. Peter, consisting of seventy-two bishops, thirty-four presbyters, and all the deacons and inferior clergy of that city, he acted there as if he had not been vested with the title alone, but with all the power of an Universal Bishop, with all the authority of a supreme head, or rather absolute monarch of the church. For by a decree, which he issued in that council, it was pronounced, declared, and defined, that no election of a bishop should thenceforth be deemed lawful and good, unless made by the people and clergy, approved by the prince, or lord of the city, and *confirmed by the Pope*, interposing his authority in the following terms: We will and command, 'volumus et jubemus.' The imperial edict, therefore, if we may so call the edict of an usurper and a tyrant, "was not, as popish writers pretend," says Bower, "a bare *confirmation* of the primacy of the See of Rome; but the grant of a new title, which the pope immediately improved into a power answering that title. And thus was the power of the pope as Universal Bishop, as head of the church, or, in other words, the papal supremacy, first introduced. It owed its original to the worst of men; was procured by the basest means, by flattering a tyrant in his wickedness and tyranny, and was in itself, if we stand to the judgment of Gregory the Great, anti-Christian, heretical, blasphemous, diabolical."*

* Bower, in vita Bonifac iii.

BOOK II.

POPERY AT ITS BIRTH, A.D. 606.

ITS DOCTRINAL AND RITUAL CHARACTER AT THIS EPOCH.

CHAPTER I.

ROMISH ERRORS TRACED TO THEIR ORIGIN.—THEIR EARLY GROWTH NO ARGUMENT IN THEIR FAVOR.

§ 1.—As we have now traced the gradual march of *hierarchal* assumption to the period of the full establishment of Popery, it is important to inquire what was its *doctrinal* and *ritual* character, at the time of its complete development and introduction to the world, under the sanction and authority of its newly created sovereign and Universal Bishop; and also to trace to their first origin such of the unscriptural doctrines and rites of the Romish church as were at that time embodied in the system of Popery; and which, though all invented long after the death of the apostles, yet boast an earlier date than the establishment of the papal supremacy.

There is scarcely anything which strikes the mind of the careful student of ancient ecclesiastical history with greater surprise, than the comparatively early period at which many of the corruptions of Christianity, which are embodied in the Romish system, took their rise; yet it is not to be supposed that when the first originators of many of these unscriptural notions and practices, planted those germs of corruption, they anticipated or even imagined that they would ever grow into such a vast and hideous system of superstition and error, as is that of Popery. Thus remarks a learned and sagacious writer, "Each of the great corruptions of later ages took its rise in a manner which it would be harsh to say was deserving of strong reprehension. Thus the secular domination exercised by the bishops, and at length exclusively by the bishop of Rome, may be traced very distinctly to the proper respect paid by the people to the disinterested wisdom of their bishops in deciding their worldly differences. The worship of images, the invocation of saints, and the superstition of relics, were but expansions of the natural feelings of veneration and affection cherished toward the memory of those who had suffered and died for the truth. And thus, in like manner, the errors and abuses of monkery all sprang by imperceptible augmentations from sentiments perfectly natural

Chillingworth's immortal sentiment, "The Bible only, is the religion of Protestants."

to the sincere and devout Christian in times of persecution, disorder, and general corruption of morals. The very abuses which make the twelfth century abhorrent on the page of history, were, in the fourth, fragrant with the practice and suffrage of a blessed company of primitive confessors. The remembered saints, who had given their bodies to the flames, had also lent their voice and example to those unwise excesses which at length drove true religion from the earth. Untaught by experience, the ancient church surmised not of the occult tendencies of the course it pursued, nor should it be loaded with consequences which human sagacity could not well have foreseen."*

§ 2.—At the epoch of the papal supremacy a gigantic system of error and superstition had sprung up, formed of the union of many errors in doctrine and practice, the successive growth of preceding centuries, but which were then cemented into a regular system, and rendered obligatory upon all. To understand the character of Popery at its birth, it will be necessary to specify the principal of those errors, with the time and circumstances, so far as can be ascertained of their origin and growth. And if, in perusing the chapters devoted to this inquiry, the protestant reader shall sometimes be startled to find at how early a date the germs of some of these errors were planted, let him remember that the origin of all of them is subsequent to the times of the apostles, and let him call to mind the immortal words of Chillingworth: "The BIBLE, I say, the BIBLE only, is the religion of protestants! Whatsoever else they believe beside it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable *consequences* of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion; but as matter of faith and religion, neither can they, with coherence to their own grounds, believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I for my part, after a long and (as I verily believe and hope), impartial search of the *true way to eternal happiness*, do profess plainly, that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only.

"Traditive interpretations of Scripture are pretended; but there are few or none to be found: no tradition, but only of Scripture, can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved either to have been brought in, in such an age after Christ, or that in such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient *certainty* but of Scripture only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe: this I will profess; according to this I will live, and for this, if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but even gladly, lose my life, though I should be sorry that *Christians* should take it from me."†

§ 3.—Protestantism, as opposed to Popery, has been defined by Isaac Taylor, in his Ancient Christianity, as "A REFUSAL TO AC-

* Natural History of Enthusiasm, page 181.
† Works of Chillingworth, Philadelphia edition, page 481.

Great question, is the Bible only the rule of faith, or the Bible and tradition together.

KNOWLEDGE INNOVATIONS BEARING AN ASCERTAINED DATE," and to this definition we have no particular objection, inasmuch as the date of most, if not all of the popish innovations, both doctrinal and ritual, can be ascertained with considerable accuracy. Still we must be allowed to add, that should innovations be discovered, either in that or any other communion, the date of the admission of which is entirely unknown; if they are contrary to the doctrine and spirit of the Bible, if they are not found in God's word; that is to say, if they are innovations at all, then true Protestantism requires their unqualified rejection, just as much as if their date were as clearly ascertained as is the date of the papal supremacy, or the absurd dogma of transubstantiation. "THE BIBLE, I SAY, THE BIBLE ONLY, IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS!" Nor is it of any account in the estimation of the genuine protestant, *how early* a doctrine originated, if it is not found in the Bible. He learns from the New Testament itself, that there were errors in the time of the apostles, and that their pens were frequently employed in combating those errors. Hence if a doctrine be propounded for his acceptance, he asks, is it to be found in the inspired word? was it taught by the Lord Jesus Christ, and his apostles? If they knew nothing of it, no matter to him, whether it be discovered in the musty folio of some ancient visionary of the third or fourth century, or whether it spring from the fertile brain of some modern visionary of the nineteenth, if it is not found in the sacred Scriptures, it presents no valid claim to be received as an article of his religious creed. More than this, we will add, that though Cyprian, or Jerome, or Augustine, or even the fathers of an earlier age, Tertullian, Ignatius, or Irenæus, could be plainly shown to teach the unscriptural doctrines and dogmas of Popery, which, however, is by no means admitted, still the consistent protestant would simply ask, is the doctrine to be found in the Bible? was it taught by Christ and his apostles? and if truth compelled an answer in the negative, he would esteem it of no greater authority as an article of his faith, than the vagaries of John of Munster, the dreams of Joanna Southcote, or the pretended revelations of Joe Smith, of Nauvoo. The Bible, and not as has recently been asserted, "*the Bible and tradition*," but "THE BIBLE ONLY, IS THE RELIGION OF PROTESTANTS."

§ 4.—The great question at issue between Popery and Protestantism, is this: Is the Bible only to be received as the rule of faith, or *the Bible and tradition together?* Is no doctrine to be received as matter of faith, unless it is found in the Bible, or may a doctrine be received upon the mere authority of tradition, when it is confessedly not to be found in the sacred Scriptures? The whole Christian world, both nominal and real, are divided by this question into two great divisions: the consistent and true-hearted protestant, standing upon this rock—"THE BIBLE, AND THE BIBLE ONLY," can admit no doctrine upon the authority of tradition; the papist and the Puseyite place tradition side by side with the Bible, and listen to its dictates with a reverence equal to, or even greater than

that which they pay to the sacred Scriptures themselves; and he who receives a single doctrine upon the mere authority of tradition, let him be called by what name he will, by so doing, steps down from the protestant rock, passes over the line which separates Protestantism from Popery,* and can give no valid reason why he should not receive all the earlier doctrines and ceremonies of Romanism, upon the same authority. Hence to the protestant who understands his principles, it will constitute no argument in favor of the errors of Popery that the germs of many of them were planted at a period not more distant from the first establishment of Christianity, than is the age at which we live from the time when the pilgrim fathers landed on the shores of New England. We are not to suppose, however, that *all* the corrupt doctrines and practices of modern Popery had been invented at so early a period as the third or fourth, or even the seventh century. Thus, the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation was never dreamed of till two or three centuries later than the age of Gregory I. or Boniface III.; the practice of selling indulgences had not then arisen, and the services of public worship were everywhere performed, not exclusively in Latin, as in after times, but in the vernacular languages of the various nations of Christendom; still it must be confessed, that a large portion of these errors, including the enforced celibacy of the clergy, the practice of monkery, the worship of saints and relics, &c., had sprung up amidst the darkness of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and were extensively believed and practised, prior to their consolidation into a system, in consequence of the establishment of the papal supremacy.

* It is not to be wondered at, that the professed advocates of Popery should claim a place for tradition equal, if not superior, in authority to the written word of God; but it is truly lamentable to hear members and ministers of a Christian denomination, which has heretofore won many laurels as one of the most successful defenders of Protestantism (which has been adorned, in past ages, by such men as a Jewell, a Chillingworth, and a Leighton, and is now adorned by a Whately, a MacIlvaine, and a Milnor), boldly advocating the popish doctrine, that not the *Bible only*, but, in the words of Dr. Newman, "these two things, *the Bible and Catholic traditions*, form *together*, a united rule of faith." "Catholic tradition," remarks this celebrated advocate of the Oxford theology, "is *a divine informer in religious things*, it is the unwritten word;" and again, "Catholic tradition is *a divine source of knowledge in all things relating to faith*." The same sentiments are repeated in a still stronger form by Dr. Keble, another of the champions of this new theology: "*Tradition*," says he, "*is infallible, it is the unwritten word of God*, and *of necessity demands of us the same respect which his written word does*, and precisely for the same reason because it is his word." (*See D'Aubigné on the Oxford Theology.*)

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF ROMISH ERRORS CONTINUED—CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

§ 5.—One of the marks by which the great "Apostasy," predicted by St. Paul in the second epistle to Timothy, was to be known was "FORBIDDING TO MARRY." (1 Tim. iv. 3.) The same apostle, in describing the qualifications of a bishop, says, "This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. A bishop then must be blameless, THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE; given to hospitality; *one that ruleth well his own house*, having his CHILDREN in subjection, with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" (1 Tim. iii. 1, &c.) In describing to Titus the qualifications of the elders to be ordained in every city, he says, "If any be blameless, THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE, HAVING FAITHFUL CHILDREN (who are) not accused of riot or unruly. For a bishop must be blameless as the steward of God: a lover of hospitality," &c. (Titus i. 5, &c.) In these passages Paul is specially describing the qualifications of an elder or bishop. In the words of the judicious Scott, the commentator, he "showed, very particularly, what manner of persons these bishops or elders ought to be." Among other qualifications, it is said he "must be," or ought to be, (Greek, δει)—"*the husband of one wife.*" Some have inferred from this text," says Dr. Scott, "that stated pastors ought to be married as a prerequisite to their office, but this seems to be a mistake of a *general permission*, connected with a restriction—for an *express command.* It is, however, abundantly sufficient to prove that marriage is entirely consistent with the most sacred functions, and the most exemplary holiness, and to subvert the very basis of the ANTICHRISTIAN PROHIBITION of marriage to the clergy, with all its concurrent, and consequent, and INCALCULABLE MISCHIEFS."*

* See Scott on 1 Tim. iii. 2. Although, upon the whole, I am not disposed to find fault with the opinion of Dr. Scott, that this is a permission rather than a command; yet, in order to show that others have thought differently, I will venture (at the risk of hastening the diligence of some good bachelor "bishop or elder" to become "the husband of one wife") to cite the following from the recent valuable work of the Rev. Dr. Elliott on Romanism, volume i., page 399. "The terms made use of in these passages mean more than a bare *permission* to marry, or a bare *tolerance* in office to those who are married. The words used denote *duty* or *necessity.* The impersonal verb δει, *oportet, par est, necesse est, it is becoming, it is right, it is necessary.* The expression of the apostle (1 Tim. iii. 2) is δει ουν τον επισκοπον μιας γυναικος ανδρα ειναι, for a *bishop* MUST or OUGHT *to be the husband of one wife.* And, in the Epistle to Titus (ch. i., verse 7), the expression is similar, and means a bishop *must*, or *ought* to be blameless. The married state is here presented as that which is *most becoming*, *proper*, or indeed *necessary* for a man who presides over the flock of Christ. And it is considered as needful a qualification as temperance, blamelessness, aptitude to teach, and the like. And though a minister may be a good one who is not married; yet he is not *so good*, in general, as those who have pious and intelligent wives and walk worthy their voca-

Early superstitious notions on the merit of celibacy, and the discredit of marriage.

§ 6.—It is painful to reflect at how early a period, unscriptural notions, in relation to celibacy and marriage, began to prevail among the professed followers of Christ. Even in the time of Tertullian, who flourished about the commencement of the third century, the notion had gained some strength that celibacy was highly meritorious, and that matrimony was a dishonor and a discredit. Hence, when dissuading from second marriages, this earliest of the Latin ecclesiastical writers, uses the following language: "May it not suffice thee to have fallen from that high rank of immaculate virginity, by *once* marrying, and so descending to a second stage of honor? Must thou yet fall farther; even to a third, to a fourth, and, perhaps, yet lower?"*. . . . These unscriptural opinions were owing, in part, to the superstitious notions which began to prevail at a very early period, in relation to the influence of malignant demons. It was an almost general persuasion, says Mosheim, that they who took wives were, of all others, the most subject to their influence. And as it was of infinite importance to the interests of the church, that no impure or malevolent spirit entered into the bodies of such as were appointed to govern or to instruct others; so the people were desirous that the clergy should use their utmost efforts to abstain from the pleasures of the conjugal life.† The natural consequence of the prevalence of opinions like these was, that unmarried men began to be regarded as far more suitable for the office of the sacred ministry than such as had

tion. We do not hear the apostle say, "Although bishops and deacons are not to be prohibited from marrying, yet, whenever it can be done, it is well to prefer those who have professed virginity." No such language escapes the apostle. He represents a bishop to be one who has a wife and children, and who rules his house." I hope my unmarried brethren in the ministry will forgive me, if I cite yet another author to prove that Dr. Elliott, in this interpretation, stands not alone. It is Isaac Taylor in his Ancient Christianity, p. 526. "Not one word is there," says he, "in these clerical epistles, of 'the merit of virginity,' not a hint that celibacy is at least a 'seemly thing' in those who minister at the altar! The very contrary is what we find there. A bishop's and a deacon's qualifications for office are directly connected with their behavior as married men, and as fathers. *So pointed is this assumed connexion, that we might even consider the apostle's rule as amounting to a tacit exclusion of the unmarried from the sacerdotal office.* If a man who does not "rule well" his family, is thereby proved to be unfit to assume the government of the church; by implication then, those are to be judged unfit, or at least they are unproved as fit, who have no families to govern.—The meager, heartless, nerveless, frivolous, or abstracted and visionary cœlebs—make *him* a bishop! the very last thing he is fit for:—let him rather trim the lamps and open the church doors, or brush cobwebs from the ceiling!—how should such a one be a father to the church!" Some may think that in this closing exclamation, Mr. Taylor writes a little too much *con amore;* yet there is reason in his inquiry, and were it not for one or two brilliant exceptions, within the circle of my ministerial acquaintances, I should be almost disposed to yield an unqualified assent to his doctrine.

* See Taylor's Ancient Christianity, Philadelphia edition, page 140. The author takes this opportunity of acknowledging his indebtedness to this learned and industrious writer for some of the quotations from "the fathers," of which he has availed himself in the following pages.

† See Mosheim, vol. i., page 262.

contracted *the defilement* of matrimony. In a short time, *second marriages* were, by many, condemned in any case, and were regarded as wholly inconsistent with the purity of the sacred office, and therefore entirely inadmissible in the clergy.*

§ 7.—It is refreshing, amidst these dawnings of early corruption, to hear a cotemporary of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, raising his voice in a "*protestant* style of remonstrance" against this shocking fanaticism, pointing it out as a characteristic of Antichrist, and of the apostasy of the latter days, that there should be those who would "forbid to marry and command to abstain from meats." "What," says he, "may not self-command be preserved under the conditions of married life? May not marriage be used, and yet continence be respected, without our attempting to sever that which the Lord hath joined? God allows every man, whether priest, deacon, or layman, to be the husband of one wife, and to use matrimony without being liable to censure."† This instance of good sense and scriptural reasoning, amidst the increasing corruption on this point, is the more remarkable as it stands alone—a single star amidst the surrounding darkness. "So far as I know," says Mr. Taylor, "Clement of Alexandria is the only extant writer, of the early ages, who adheres to common sense, and apostolical Christianity, through and through. Those who, at a later date, ventured to protest against the universal error, were instantly cursed and put down as heretics, by all the great divines of their times; and were, in fact, deprived of the means of transmitting their opinions to be more equitably judged of by posterity."‡

§ 8.—In the time of Cyprian, the celebrated bishop of Carthage, who suffered martyrdom, A. D. 258, the vow of perpetual celibacy was taken or enforced upon multitudes of young women, and his pen was frequently employed in reproving or correcting the numerous scandals and irregularities which naturally sprung from this fruitful source of illicit indulgence. Addressing this description of female devotees, he says in one of his epistles, "Listen, then, to him who seeks your true welfare; lest, cast off by the Lord, ye be widows before ye be married; adulteresses, not to your husbands, but to Christ, and, after having been destined to the highest rewards, ye undergo the severest punishments. For, consider, while the hundred-fold produce is that of the martyrs, the sixty-fold is yours; and as they (the martyrs) contemn the body and its delights, so should you. Great are the wages which await you (if faithful); the high reward of virtue, the great recompense to be conferred upon chastity. Not only shall your lot and portion (in the future life) be equal to that of the other sex, but ye shall be equal to the angels of God."§

* Gieseler, vol. i. page 106.

† Τον της μιας γυναικος ανδρα παυ αποδεχεται, καν Πρεσβυτερ ς ,η καν Διακονος, αν ᾖ τος ανεπιλητπτως γαμω χρωμενος.—Clem. Alexand. I. 552.

‡ Ancient Christianity, p. 168.

§ For a fuller account of these disorders, see Cyprian in his reply to Pomponius.

Consecrating and crowning of Nuns. Prohibition of marriage after ordination.

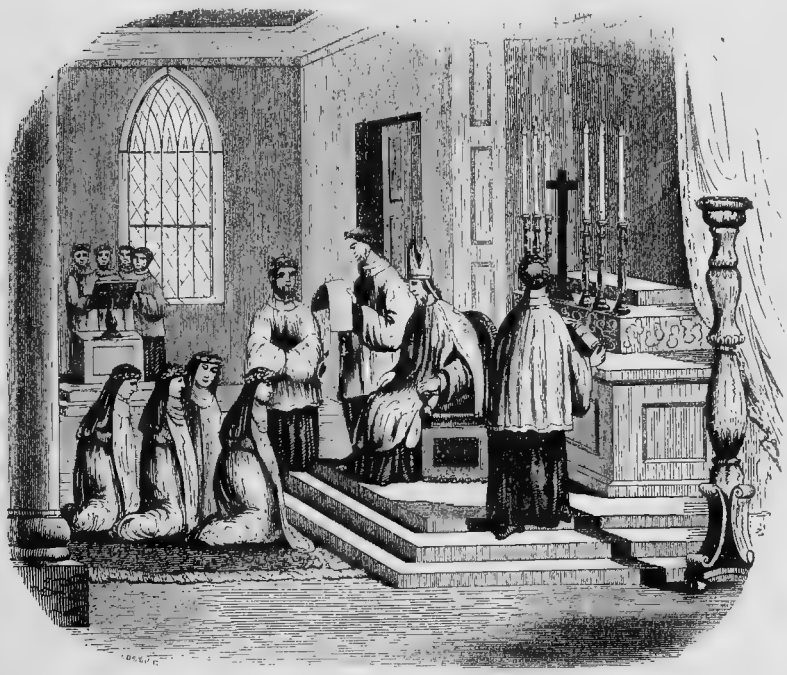
These female devotees have ever since been distinguished by the name of *Nuns*, in the Latin, *Nonna*, a word said to be of Egyptian origin, and to signify a virgin. In after ages a variety of ceremonies were observed, and still continue to be observed, upon a female taking upon herself the vow of perpetual chastity, or 'taking the veil,' as it is now called. The first of the adjoining plates represents the crowning of professed nuns, with what is called 'the crown of virginity,' during which ceremony the anthem is sung, *Veni Sponsi Christi*, &c., "Come, O spouse of Christ, and receive the crown." In former times, it was customary to place a crown upon the heads of those who died virgins, and this custom is still observed in some popish countries. The other plate represents the reading, by the officiating priests, of the anathema against false nuns, a most awful curse against such as should violate their vows of virginity, and against all who should endeavor to seduce them from their vow, or should seize upon any portion of their wealth.

§ 9.—But to return to our narrative. The next step in this pernicious innovation, after the *prohibition of second marriages to the clergy*, was *to forbid them to marry at all, after ordination.* A decree to this effect was passed at a council held at Ancyra, in Galatia, A. D. 314. By this decree, all ministers were forbidden to marry after ordination, except in the case of those who at the time of their ordination, made an explicit profession of their intention to marry, as being in their case unavoidable. In such a case a license was granted to the candidate to marry, and securing him from future censures for so doing. If, however, a candidate for ordination was already married, he was not obliged to put away his wife, unless in the following singular exceptions, viz.: if he had married "a *widow*, or a divorced person, or a harlot, or a slave, or an actress."* In either of these cases, the wife must be first put away, as a condition of ordination. The fact that a widow, when married a second time, is here placed in the same category with a harlot or a slave, shows that at this time matrimony had grown so much into disrepute, that second marriages were considered a disgrace and a reproach.

At the council of Nice, held A. D. 325, it is related by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, that a rule was proposed, requiring all clergymen who had married before their ordination, to withdraw from their wives, or cease to cohabit with them; and the color of the account leads us to suppose that this regulation, which, in respect to the church universal, was called "a new law," although not new to several of the churches, was near to have been carried, and probably would have been, had not the good sense and right feeling of one of the bishops present defeated the fanaticism of the others. Paphnutius, a bishop of the Thebais, a confessor, having lost an eye in the late persecution, and himself an ascetic, rose, and

* Can. Apost. 17: Ὁ χήραν λαβὼν, ἢ ἐκβεβλημένην, ἢ ἑταίραν, ἢ οἰκέτιν, ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς. νὺ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὅλως, τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ.

Crowning of Nuns upon taking their Vows



Reading the Anathema against such as should prove false.

Further proposal negatived at the Council of Nice. Chrysostom on the ten virgins.

with spirit asserted the honor and purity of matrimony, and insisted upon the inexpediency of any such law, likely as it was to bring many into a snare. For a moment reason triumphed; the proposal was dropped, nor anything farther attempted by the insane party, beyond the giving a fresh sanction to the established rule or tradition, that none should marry *after* ordination.*

§ 10.—Notwithstanding this decision of the council, however, the most extravagant notions prevailed, relative to the suppposed sanctity and merit of virginity, even among the most eminent of the Nicene fathers.† As a lamentable proof of this fact, as also the early corruptions of the doctrine of salvation by "grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," and the consequent danger of trusting to the most eminent of the early fathers in points of Christian doctrine, the following extract is presented from an exposition of the parable of the ten virgins, from the pen of the celebrated and eloquent Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople. Among Protestant writers, the "oil in the lamps" has generally been understood to signify the principle of divine grace in the heart, or that genuine piety which distinguishes true Christians from mere pretenders or professors. The explanation of Chrysostom is widely different: "What!" says he, "hast thou not understood from the instance of the ten virgins, in the gospel, how that those who, although they were proficients in virginity, yet not possessing the [virtue of] almsgiving, were excluded from the nuptial banquet. Truly, I am ashamed, and blush and weep when I hear of the foolish virgin. When I hear the very name, I blush to think of one who, after she had reached such a point of virtue, after she had gone through the training of virginity, after she had thus winged the body aloft toward heaven, after she had contended for the prize with the powers on high (the angels), after she had undergone the toil, and had trodden under foot the fires of pleasure, to hear such a one named, and justly named, a fool, because that, after having achieved the greater labors (of virtue), she should be wanting in the less! Now, the fire (of the lamps) is—VIRGINITY, and the oil is—ALMSGIVING. And, in like manner as the flame, unless supplied with a stream of oil, disappears, so virginity, unless it have almsgiving, is extinguished. But now, who are the vendors of this oil? The poor who, for receiving alms, sit about the doors of the church. And for how much is it to be bought?—for what you will. I set no price upon it, lest, in doing so, I should exclude the indigent. For, so much as you have, make this purchase. Hast thou a penny?—purchase heaven, *αγορασον τον ουρανον*; not, indeed, as if heaven were cheap; but the Master is indulgent. Hast thou not even a penny? give a cup of cold water, for he hath said, &c. Heaven is on sale, and in the

* Socrates Eccles. Hist., lib. i., c. 11. See Greek extract in Gieseler, vol. i., page 279, note 4.

† *Nicene fathers.* This term is generally applied to Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and other eminent ecclesiastical writers who flourished about the time of the council of Nice.

market, and yet we mind it not! Give a crust and take back paradise; give the least, and receive the greatest; give the perishable, receive the imperishable; give the corruptible, receive the incorruptible. If there were a fair, and plenty of provisions to be had, at the cheapest rate,—all to be bought for a song,—would ye not realize your means, and postpone other business, and secure to yourselves a share in such dealing? Where, then, things corruptible are in view, do ye show such diligence, and where the incorruptible, such sluggishness, and such proneness to fall behind? Give to the needy, so that, even if thou sayest nothing for thyself, a thousand tongues may speak in thy behalf; thy charities standing up and pleading for thee. Alms are the redemption of the soul, λυτρον ψυχης εστιν ελεημοσυνη. And, in like manner, as there are set vases of water at the church gates, for washing the hands; so are beggars sitting there, that thou mayest (by their means), wash the hands of thy soul. Hast thou washed thy palpable hands in water; wash the hands of thy soul in almsgiving!

§ 11.—"But what is it which, after so many labors, these virgins hear?—I know you not! which is nothing less than to say that virginity, vast treasure as it is, may be useless! Think of them (the foolish virgins), as shut out, after undergoing such labors, after reining in incontinence, after running a course of rivalry with the celestial orders, after spurning the interests of the present life, after sustaining the scorching heat, after having leapt the bound (in the gymnasium), after having winged their way from earth to heaven, after they had not broken the seal of the body (a phrase of much significance), and having obtained possession of the form of virginity (the eternal idea of divine purity), after having wrestled with angels, after trampling upon the imperative impulses of the body, after forgetting nature, after reaching, in the body, the perfections of the disembodied state, after having won, and held, the vast and unconquerable possession of virginity, after all this, then they hear —Depart from me, I know you not!

"Think then what the labor is which this course of life exacts! and yet, even those who have undergone all this, may hear the words—Depart from me, I never knew you! And see how great a virtue virginity is, seeing that she hath for her sister,—almsgiving! having nothing that can ever be more arduous, but will be above all. Wherefore it was that these (foolish virgins) entered not in, because they had not, along with their virginity—almsgiving! Thou hast then that efficacious mode of penance, almsgiving, which is able to break the chains of thy sins; but thou hast also a way of penitence, more ready, by which thou mayest rid thyself of thy sins. Pray every hour!"*

This extract is long, but valuable, on account of the proof that it furnishes, that, in what is called the Nicene age, the corruptions afterward embodied in the system of Popery had made the most

* Chrysostom, Homily iii., on Repentance.

alarming progress. Paul had said three centuries before, "the mystery of iniquity doth already work," and now the leaven of corruption was rapidly diffusing itself over the whole mass.

§ 12.—At length, toward the close of the fourth century, Siricius, who held the See of Rome from 385 to 398, issued his decrees, strictly enjoining celibacy on the clergy, and several Western synods echoed the mandates of Rome. As the bishop of Rome was not at this time regarded as the head of the church, these laws were of course not received as obligatory upon all, and in the East especially, notwithstanding the superstitious veneration attached to celibacy, these decrees, according to Gieseler (vol. i., p. 280), were rejected.

Though the decrees of Siricius and his successors were generally obeyed in Rome, and throughout Italy, yet large numbers of the French, German, Spanish, and English clergy continued, for several centuries longer, to avail themselves of that portion of their scriptural right which had been left them by the council of Nice, notwithstanding the exertions of successive bishops and popes of Rome to induce them to yield up those rights and become their obedient vassals. How blind must be that prejudice which does not perceive, in this constant warfare of the proud prelates of Rome (both before and after the epoch of the papal supremacy) against God's own institution of matrimony, a plain mark of Anti-Christ; an evident proof that Popery, when fully developed, is that Apostasy predicted by St. Paul, when he described it as "FORBIDDING TO MARRY!" In future centuries, we shall see the horrible vices, and almost universal corruption of morals among the popish clergy, which arose from thus setting aside the plain direction of inspiration—"A BISHOP MUST BE THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE."

§ 13.—The doctrine of the Romish church, forbidding the clergy to marry, is so evidently contrary to Scripture, that it is scarcely necessary to say a word in its refutation. The only wonder with the bible Christian will be, where they can find even a shadow of an argument upon which to base so unnatural and antiscriptural a prohibition. The only appearance of argument offered by Romish writers is, that mentioned by the Jesuit annotators in the Rhemish Testament* in their note on Titus iii. 6. "If the studious reader peruse all antiquity he shall find all notable bishops and priests of God's church to have been single, or continent from their wives if any were married before they came to the clergy. So were all

* *Rhemish Testament.*—As I shall have future occasion to refer to this popish version of the New Testament, I would here remark, that it appeared in 1582, and was printed at Rheims, accompanied by copious notes by Romish authors. The Old Testament was translated like the Rhemish Testament, not from the original Greek and Hebrew, but from the Latin version, called the Vulgate. It was printed at Douay, in France, in 1610, for which reason the Rhemish New and the Douay Old Testament, now generally bound together, are called the Douay Bible. The popish doctrines of the notes to the Rhemish Testament, were ably confuted in a work of Dr. William Fulke, which appeared in the year 1617.

the apostles after they followed Christ, as Jerome witnesseth, affirming that our Lord loved John specially for his virginity." In their note on 1 Tim. iii. 2, they sadly abuse those who, in the early ages, adopted the same opinion as that advocated by Taylor and Elliott in the extract quoted in the note on page 69 of this chapter. I must apologize for the grossness of the extract from these popish authors. It deserves quoting as a literary curiosity, and if at all, must be quoted as it is. The following are their words:—"Certain bishops of Vigilantius' sect, whether upon false construction of this text, or through the filthiness of their fleshly lust, would take none to the clergy, except they would be married first, not believing, said Jerome (*advers. Vigilant. cap.* 1), that any single man liveth chastely; showing how holily they live themselves, that suspect ill of every man, and will not give the Sacrament, of order, to the clergy, unless they see their wives have great bellies, and children wailing at their mothers' breasts. Our Protestants, though they be of Vigilantius'* sect, yet they are scarce to come so far, to command every priest to be married. Nevertheless they mislike them that will not marry, so much the worse, and they suspect ill of every single person in the Church, thinking the gift of chastity to be very rare among them, and they do not only make the state of marriage equal to chaste single life, with the Heretic Jovinian,* but they are bold to say sometimes, that the bishop or

* *Vigilantius and Jovinian.*—These two early reformers who are spoken of so contemptuously by these popish writers, though they lived as early as the fifth century, are, for their enlightened zeal in opposing the corruptions of Christianity, which were already rife in their age, worthy to be ranked with Wickliffe, or Luther, or Calvin. The principal heresy of *Jovinian* was, in the words of Jerome, "this *shocking doctrine*, that a virgin is no better than a married woman." The emperor Honorius cruelly ordered him to be whipped with scourges armed with lead, and banished to a desolate island, where he died about A. D. 406. *Vigilantius* flourished a few years later than Jovinian. He was a learned and eminent presbyter of a Christian church, and took up his pen to oppose the growing superstition. His book, which unfortunately has not survived the wreck of time, was directed against the institution of monkery—the celibacy of the clergy—praying for the dead, and to the martyrs—paying adoration to their relics—celebrating their vigils—and lighting up candles to them after the manner of the heathens. St Jerome, who is esteemed a luminary of the Catholic church, and who was a zealous advocate for all these superstitious rites, undertook the task of confuting Vigilantius, whom he styles "a most blasphemous heretic," and then proceeds to compare him to the hydra, to Cerberus, &c. of the Pagan mythology, and concludes with calling him the organ of the devil. The following short extract from Jerome's answer will satisfactorily explain the *heresy* of Vigilantius:—"That the honours paid to the rotten bones of the saints and martyrs by adoring, kissing, wrapping them up in silk and vessels of gold, lodging them in their churches, and lighting up wax candles before them, after the manner of the heathen, were the ensigns of idolatry—*that the celibacy of the clergy was a heresy, and their vows of chastity the seminary of lewdness*—'Dicit * * * continentiam, hæresim; pudicitiam, libidinis seminarium.' (*Jerome contra Vigilantium.*)—that to pray to the dead, or to desire the prayers of the dead, was superstitious, inasmuch as the souls of departed saints and martyrs were at present in some particular place from which they could not remove themselves at pleasure, so as to be everywhere present attending to the prayers of their votaries—that the sepulchres of the martyrs

priest may do his duty and charge better married than single." They add that the exposition given by them is "only agreeable to the practice of the whole Church, the definition of ancient councils, the doctrine of all the Fathers without exception, and the Apostle's tradition." To this it is sufficient to reply that the apostle Peter was married, for the New Testament makes mention of his wife (Matt. viii. 14), and there is no scriptural proof that any one of the apostles lived and died single, or declined to cohabit with their wives. In relation to the assertion that the clergy in the early ages of the church lived in celibacy, it will be sufficient to demonstrate its glaring falsity to cite the following few out of multitudes of instances that could easily be cited of married bishops and presbyters in the first three or four centuries.

§ 14.—Valens, presbyter of Philippi, mentioned by Polycarp, was a married man.*

Chœremon, bishop of Nilus, an exceedingly old man, was married. He fled with his wife to Arabia, in time of persecution, under Maximinus the tyrant, where they both perished together, as Eusebius informs us.†

Cyprian himself was also a married man, as Pagi, the annotator and corrector of Baronius, confesses.‡

Cæcilius, the presbyter, through whose instrumentality Cyprian was converted to Christianity, was a married man.§

So also was Numidicus, another presbyter of Carthage, of whom Cyprian tells us the following remarkable story in his thirty-fifth epistle, or, as some number it, the fortieth: "That in the Decian persecution he saw his own wife, with many other martyrs, burned by his side; while he himself lying half-burned, and covered with

ought not to be worshipped, nor their fasts and vigils to be observed—and, finally, that the signs and wonders said to be wrought by their relics, and at their sepulchres, served to no good end or purpose of religion."

These were the sacrilegious tenets, as Jerome terms them, which he could not hear with patience, or without the utmost grief, and for which he declares Vigilantius "a detestable heretic, venting his foul-mouthed blasphemies against the relics of the martyrs, which were working daily signs and wonders." He tells him to "go into the churches of those martyrs, and he would be cleansed from the evil spirit which possessed him, and feel himself burnt, not by those wax candles which so much offended him, but by invisible flames, which would force that demon that talked within him to confess himself to be the same who had personated a Mercury, perhaps, or a Bacchus, or some other of the heathen deities." (See *Introductory discourse to Dr. Conyers Middleton's free inquiry into the miraculous powers of the early ages, page* 132.) This is a long note, but it is worthy of the room it occupies, as an evidence that in very early ages there were not wanting faithful men to protest against the growing corruptions, and as a specimen of the doctrine as well as the spirit of some of the boasted fathers of the church, and consequently the danger of trusting to them as guides in relation to spiritual matters.

* Polycarp, Ep. ad Philip., n. 11.

† Euseb. Eccl. Hist. b. vi. c. 42.

‡ Pagi. Crit. in Baron. ad ann. p. 248, n. 4.

§ Pontius, Vit. Cypr.

stones, and left for dead, was found expiring by his daughter, who drew him out of the rubbish, and brought him to life again."*

Gregory of Nazianzum, a notable bishop, was father of the other Gregory who succeeded him, as appears from the oration which the latter made in his favor. He says, "That a good and diligent bishop serves in the ministry nothing the worse for being married. but rather the better, and with more ability to do good." Of his mother he says, "That she was given to his father of God, and became not only his helper, but also his leader both by word and by deeds, training him to the best things; and though in other things it was best for her to be subject to him, on account of the right of marriage, yet in religion and godliness she doubted not to become his leader and teacher."†

From the above well-authenticated instances of the marriage of the clergy in the earliest ages of the church, it is evident that Romanists are no more sustained by the example of primitive times than by the New Testament, in their antiscriptural and unnatural prohibition of marriage to the clergy.‡

CHAPTER III.

ORIGIN OF ROMISH ERRORS CONTINUED.—WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

§ 15.—We have already seen the extravagant opinions that were entertained in the fourth century, as to the merit of virginity. Before exhibiting the natural result of such unscriptural notions in the almost deification of the Virgin Mary, we shall present yet another specimen of the manner in which the graces of rhetoric and the charms of eloquence were employed in that age to exalt to the very skies, those who had devoted themselves to a virgin life. It is from a tract of the eloquent Chrysostom or *golden mouth*. "The virgin, when she goes abroad, should present herself as the bright specimen of all philosophy: and strike all with amazement, as if now an angel had descended from heaven; or just as if one of the cherubim had appeared upon earth, and were turning the eyes of all

* Numidicus, presbyter uxorem adhærentem latere suo, concrematam simul cum cæteris, vel conservatam magis dixerim, lætus aspexit.—*Cypr.*, epist. 35 or 40.

† Αλλα και αρχηγος γινεται εργῳ τε και λογῳ προς τα κρατίστα—δι' ἑαυτης αγουσα της ευσεβειας, ουκ αισχυνομενη παρεχειν ἑαυτην και διδασκαλον.—*Greg. Nazianzen, in Epitaph. Patris.*

‡ See Elliott on Romanism, ii. 427. In addition to the above, Dr. Elliott cites a large number of similar instances.

Chrysostom's description of the sanctity of a professed virgin. Singular notions about the Virgin Mary

men upon himself. So should all those who look upon the virgin be thrown into admiration, and stupor, at the sight of her sanctity. And when she advances, she moves as through a desert; or when she sits at church, it is with the profoundest silence, her eye catches nothing of the objects around her; she sees neither women nor men, but her spouse only; and who shall not marvel at her? who shall not be in ecstacy, in thus beholding the angelic life, embodied in a female form? And who is it that shall dare approach her? Where is the man who shall venture to touch this flaming spirit? Nay rather, all stand aloof, willing or unwilling; all are fixed in amazement, as if there were before their eyes a mass of incandescent and sparkling gold! Gold hath indeed by nature its splendor; but when saturate with fire, how admirable, nay even fearful is it! And thus, when a soul such as this occupies the body, not only shall the spectacle be wondered at by men, but even by angels." While such were the opinions entertained and expressed of the "angelic virtue" of virginity, we are not surprised to learn that it was regarded as the very height of presumption and impiety to doubt whether the Virgin Mary—ασιπαρθενος—ever parted with this precious jewel.

§ 16.—About the middle of the fourth century, as appears from certain expressions in Epiphanius, Gregory Nyssen, and Augustine, an opinion arose that there were in the temple at Jerusalem, virgins consecrated to God, among whom Mary grew up in vows of perpetual virginity. Her marriage with Joseph, the first named of these writers speaks of as only formal, and Jerome describes him as an ascetic from his youth.* The opinion was strenuously maintained by them, and most of their cotemporaries, that Mary continued a virgin till her death. Others, however, adopting the more natural interpretation of Matt. i., 25, and xiii., 55, 56, contended that she had afterward lived in a state of honorable matrimony with her husband, and that she had borne other children. Those who held this opinion, were enumerated among the heretics, and were called *anti-dico-marianites*, or opposers of the purity of Mary. It would be amusing, if it were not painful, to notice the fanciful and puerile conceits of the writers of this age, when endeavoring to establish the notion of the perpetual virginity of Mary. They even employed arguments to prove that in some wonderful way she gave birth to the Saviour, without losing her virginity, and some of them undertook to show in what way this was accomplished. Thus, says Ambrose, commenting on Isaiah vii., 14, "Hæc est *virgo* quæ in utero concepit," &c., "This is the virgin who hath conceived, and the virgin who hath brought forth a son. For the prophet not only saith that a virgin shall conceive, but also that a virgin shall bring forth." Then in the fanciful manner of applying Scripture current in that age, he makes a reference to Ezekiel xliv., 1, 2, and asks "but

* See Gieseler, vol. i., page 273, note 13, for references and original quotations from the fathers named.

The Collyridians or early worshippers of the Virgin. Papists all such now.

what is that gate of the sanctuary, that outward gate toward the East, through which no one shall enter, but the Lord God of Israel? Is not Mary this gate, through whom the Redeemer hath entered into the world? concerning whom it is written, quia *Dominus pertransibit per eam, et erit clausa* post partum, because a virgin hath conceived and brought forth." A similar fanciful allusion to this passage in Ezekiel, by Jerome, may be found in the note which I must be spared the task of translating.*

§ 17.—When we observe, on the one hand, the earnest manner in which these fathers contend for the perpetual virginity of Mary, and on the other the extravagant honors attached to the virgin state, we need not be surprised that the notion soon became prevalent among some that "the mother of God," as she was now frequently denominated, was herself worthy of the honors of divine worship. Accordingly, about this time, we find that a sect sprang up, whose peculiar tenet it was, that the Virgin Mary should be adored in worship, and that religious honors should be paid to her. They were called *Collyridians*, from *collyridæ*, *the cakes* which they offered to the Virgin. However naturally this error might spring from the notions maintained by those who were regarded as the orthodox fathers of the church in this age, yet it is a proof that the Popery of the present day would even in that corrupt age have been regarded as heresy, that the members of this sect were branded by Epiphanius and others of the Nicene fathers as heretics. If one of them were now to arise from his grave, and pass through any of the *Catholic* countries of Europe, he would soon discover a widespread system of idolatrous worship of the Virgin, far more debasing than that which they condemned, because accompanied with the idolatrous use of images, a flagrant impiety with which these ancient heretics were not charged.

§ 18.—In proof of this last assertion, I would refer to the fact, noticed by almost every modern traveller, that in Italy, Spain, Austria, and other popish countries of Europe, it is common to see images of the Virgin and child, not only in the churches, but also affixed in conspicuous places by the road-side, to receive the homage and adoration of the passer-by. Some of these Romish idols are regarded with greater reverence than others, and are consequently visited by a greater number of votaries. Thus in England, the land of our fathers, previous to the glorious reformation from

* Gieseler, vol. i., page 287, note 25.—"*Ambrosius Ep.* 42, *ad Siricium P.* Hæc est virgo quæ in utero concepit: virgo quæ peperit filium. Sic enim scriptum est: *Ecce virgo in utero accipiet, et pariet filium;* non enim concepturam tantummodo virginem, sed et parituram virginem dixit. Quæ autem est illa porta sanctuarii, porta illa exterior ad Orientem, quæ manet clausa; et *nemo*, inquit, *pertransibit per eam, nisi solus Deus Israel* (Ezech. xliv. 2)? Nonne hæc porta quia *Dominus pertransibit per eam, et erit clausa* post partum; quia virgo concepit et genuit. *Hieronymus adv. Pelagianos*, lib. ii. (*Opp. ed. Martian.* T. IV. P. II. p. 512): Solus enim Christus clausas portas vulvæ virginalis aperuit, quæ tamen clausæ jugiter permanserunt. Hæc est porta orientalis clausa, per quam solus Pontifex ingreditur et egreditur et nihilominus semper clausa est."

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Minstrels playing tunes to the Virgin and child as though the idols were conscious.

Popery, there was a famous image of the Virgin at Walsingham, in the county of Norfolk, which was visited by thousands of devotees, from the most distant parts of the island, notwithstanding they had similar idols in their own neighborhoods, and perhaps in their own dwellings, occupying the same place as the *penates*, or household gods of the ancient pagans of Greece and Rome. In Italy, where Popery is seen without disguise, each of these images is, by the common people, regarded as a distinct object of worship, and it is a very common sight to see a company of the Calabrese minstrels performing their national devotional airs before them, especially about the time of Christmas, and pleasing themselves with the idea that the tunes are the same that were played by the shepherds at the incarnation of the Saviour, on the plains of Bethlehem.

A recent traveller in Italy relates a fact which shows that images are looked upon as real objects of worship, and treated as though they were *really conscious* of the idolatrous honors paid to them, notwithstanding, in the expressive language of Scripture, "they have eyes but they see not, they have ears but they hear not. They that make them are like unto them; so is every one that trusteth in them." (Psalm cxv., 5, &c.) In Rome, according to this traveller,* "it is a popular opinion that the Virgin Mary is very fond and an excellent judge of music. I received this information," says he, "on a Christmas morning, when I was looking at two poor Calabrian pipers doing their utmost to please her and the infant in her arms. They played for a full hour to one of her images which stands at the corner of a street. All the other statues of the Virgin which are placed in the streets are serenaded in the same manner every Christmas morning. On my inquiring into the meaning of that ceremony, I was told the above-mentioned circumstance of her character. My informer was a pilgrim, who stood listening with great devotion to the pipers. He told me at the same time, that the Virgin's taste was too refined to have much satisfaction in the performance of these poor Calabrians, which was chiefly intended for the infant; and he desired me to remark, *that the tunes were plain and simple, and such as might naturally be supposed agreeable to the ear of a child of his time of life.*" The accompanying engraving is a beautiful representation of such a scene as is described in the foregoing interesting extract from the work of Dr. Moore.

§ 19.—Though many centuries elapsed before an idolatry so gross as this was practised, even in apostate Rome, yet as early as the fifth century, many circumstances were tending toward this idolatrous reverence of the Virgin Mary. In the fifth century, a controversy arose relative to the title which it was proper to apply to her, which in its result tended, probably, more than anything else, to increase the superstitious veneration with which she had long been regarded. The occasion of this controversy was furnished by the

* Dr. Moore, in his View of Society and Manners in Italy.

presbyter Anastasius, a friend of Nestorius. This presbyter, in a public discourse, delivered, A. D. 428, declaimed warmly against the title of Θεοτοκος, or *mother of God*, which was now frequently attributed to the Virgin Mary. He at the same time gave it as his opinion that she should rather be called Χριστοτοκος, i. e., *mother of Christ*, since the Deity can neither be born nor die, and of consequence the son of man alone could derive his birth from an earthly parent. Nestorius applauded these sentiments, and explained and defended them in several discourses.

The result of the Nestorian controversy, as it was called, was that at the third *general council*, which was held at Ephesus, in 431, and at which Cyril, the powerful and imperious antagonist of Nestorius, presided, the doctrine was condemned, and its defender branded as another Judas, deposed from his episcopal dignity, and sent into exile, where he finished his days in the deserts of Thebais in Egypt.* This dispute, as is truly remarked by Gieseler, first led men to set the Virgin Mary above all other saints as "the mother of God." To those who reflect upon the natural tendency of an exciting controversy to drive men to extremes, it will not be matter of wonder that henceforward much more was said and done in honor of the "blessed Virgin," "mother of God," and "ever a Virgin," than at any previous period. Among the images with which the magnificent churches began now to be adorned, that of the Virgin Mary holding the child Jesus in her arms, in consequence of the Nestorian controversy, obtained the first and principal place.

§ 20.—In the following century, two festivals were established in her honor, the *festum purificationis*, or festival of the "purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary," on the second of February (Candlemas day), and the *festum annunciationis*, the festival of the annunciation on the twenty-fifth day of March, which has been popularly called Lady Day.† Mosheim says, with appearance of reason, that the former festival was established with a design "to remedy the uneasiness of heathen converts, on account of the loss of their *lupercalia*, or feasts of the god Pan, which had formerly been observed in the

* An amusing anecdote is related concerning the Emperor Constantine Copronymus, who lived more than three hundred years after Nestorius, which well illustrates the unreasonable importance which was attached for ages to these vain disputes about mere words. It must be remembered that in this dispute both sides were strictly orthodox in the modern sense of the word. Both sides admitted that Jesus Christ is God as well as man; that his human nature was born of the Virgin, and that his divine nature existed from eternity; both sides admitted the distinction between the two natures, and their union in the person of Christ. Where then lay the difference? It could be nowhere but in phraseology. Yet this notable question raised a conflagration in the church, and proved, in the East, the source of infinite mischief, hatred, violence, and persecution. The Emperor happened one day to ask the patriarch of Constantinople, "What harm would there be in calling the Virgin Mary the mother of Christ?" "*God preserve your majesty*," answered the patriarch hastily, with great emotion, "*from entertaining such a thought! Do you not see how Nestorius is anathematized for this by the whole church?*" "I only asked for my own information," replied the Emperor, evidently with some alarm, "but *let it go no farther*."

† Bingham's Antiquities, vol. ix., page 170.

Egypt the birth-place of Monkery, whether heathen or Christian.

month of February."* The latter served equally well as a substitute for the festival of the ancient heathen goddess, Cybele, to whom the 25th of March, or Lady Day, was formerly dedicated. There is indeed a strong resemblance, in many points, between the pagan worship of Cybele, and the popish worship of the Virgin. The same appellation of "queen of heaven," which is frequently applied by papists to Mary, was generally applied by the ancient Romans to Cybele.

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN OF ROMISH ERRORS CONTINUED—MONKERY.

§ 21.—Monkery, like most of the characteristic marks of Antichrist, bears the most indubitable evidences of its heathen origin. Egypt, the rank soil in which it sprang up, had long been the fruitful parent of a race of gloomy and misanthropic *eremites*. It was in that country that this morose discipline had its rise; and it is observable, that Egypt has, in all times, as it were by an immutable law, or disposition of nature, abounded with persons of a melancholy complexion, and produced, in proportion to its extent, more gloomy spirits than any other part of the world. It was here that the Essenes and the Therapeutæ, those dismal and gloomy sects, dwelt principally, long before the coming of Christ; as also many others of the Ascetic tribe, who, led by a certain melancholy turn of mind, and a delusive notion of rendering themselves more acceptable to the Deity by their austerities, withdrew themselves from human society, and from all the innocent pleasures and comforts of life. Strabo, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Porphyry, as well as several of the fathers, especially Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine, have handed down incidental notices of the philosophy and manners of the Indian and Egyptian gymnosophists, such as are amply sufficient for the purpose of identifying the ancient, and the more recent—the Buddhist, and the Christian ascetic institute. These professors of a divine philosophy, like their Christian imitators, went nearly naked; they occupied caverns or chinks in the rocks; they abstained entirely from animal food; they professed inviolable virginity; they practised penance; they passed the greater part of their time in mute meditation; they imposed silence and absolute submission upon their disciples; they professed the doctrine, that the perfection of human nature consists in an annihi-

* See Mosheim, cent. vi., part 2, chapter iv.

lation of the passions, and every affection which nature has implanted, whether in the animal or the mental constitution: abnegation was, with them, the one point of wisdom and virtue, and a reabsorption of the human soul into the abyss of the divine mind, was the happy end of the present system, to the pure and wise.

§ 22.—Now, one might reasonably have supposed and expected, that a system of doctrine and practice such as this, if it were to come at all under the powerful influence of Christianity, must have admitted some extensive modifications; but it was not so in fact:—a few phrases and another dialect, or slang, adopted, make almost all the difference which serves to distinguish the ancient gymnosophist from the Christian anchoret. The more rigid and heroic of the Christian anchorets dispensed with all clothing except a rug, or a few palm-leaves round the loins. Most of them abstained from the use of water for ablution; nor did they usually wash or change the garments they had once put on; thus St. Anthony bequeathed to Athanasius a skin in which his sacred person had been wrapped for half a century. They also allowed their beards and nails to grow, and sometimes became so hirsute, as to be actually mistaken for hyænas or bears. It need not be said that celibacy was the *first* law of this institute, and that an abstinence the most rigid was its *second* law.

At what time precisely, the wilderness exchanged its pagan for a Christian tenantry, it is not easy to ascertain. In some instances, no doubt, the very individuals who had begun their course as heathen gymnosophists, ended it as Christian anchorets. But oftener, probably, the deserted cell or cavern of the savage philosopher was taken possession of by one who, having, in the neighboring cities, received the knowledge of the gospel, betook himself to the angelic life in consequence of persecutions, or of disappointments in love or in business.*

§ 23.—The most remarkable early instances of this gloomy fanaticism on record are those of Paul the hermit, who, during the persecution under Decius, about A. D. 250, betook himself to the solitary deserts of Egypt, where, for a space of more than ninety years, he lived a life more worthy of a savage animal than a human being. Anthony, an Egyptian, regarded as the founder of the monastic institution (because he first formed monks into organized bodies), who fixed his abode in the deserts of Egypt twenty or thirty years later than Paul, and died in the year 356, at the age of 105; and Hilarion, a Syrian youth, who took up his abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about eight miles from Gaza, in Palestine, where he persisted in a course of the most austere penance for about forty-eight years.

Influenced by these eminent examples, immense multitudes betook themselves to the desert, and innumerable monasteries were

* See Taylor's Ancient Christianity, page 426, &c., with references to ancient authorities.

Vast number of the monks in Egypt, &c. St. Symeon, the celebrated pillar saint.

fixed in Egypt, Ethiopia, Lybia, and Syria. Some of the Egyptian abbots are spoken of as having had five, seven, or even ten thousand monks under their personal direction; and the Thebais, as well as certain spots in Arabia, are reported to have been literally crowded with solitaries. Nearly a hundred thousand of all classes, it is said, were at one time to be found in Egypt. The western church probably could boast of no such swarms. This however is certain, that, although the enthusiasm might be at a lower ebb in one country than in another, it actually affected the church universal, so far as the extant materials of ecclesiastical history enable us to trace its rise and progress. In the west, Martin of Tours founded a monastery at Poictiers, and thus introduced monastic institutions into France. His monks were mostly of noble families, and submitted to the greatest austerities both in food and raiment; and such was the rapidity of their increase, that 2000 of them attended his funeral. In other countries, they appear to have increased in equal proportion, and the progress of monkery has been said to have equalled the rapidity and universality of Christianity itself. Every province, and, in process of time, every city of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes.

§ 24.—We may learn the character of this fanaticism from a eulogy on the monastic life, composed about the middle of the fourth century by Gregory Nazianzen. There were some of these men, he tells us, "who loaded themselves with iron chains in order to bear down their bodies—others who shut themselves up in cabins and appeared to nobody—some continued twenty days and twenty nights without eating, often practising the half of the fast of our Lord—one individual is said to have abstained entirely from speaking, not praising God except in thought—and another passed whole years in a church, with extended hands, like an animated statue, yet never allowing himself to sleep."*

One of the most renowned instances of monkish penance that is upon record is that of St. Symeon, as the papists are pleased to call him. He was a native of Syria, and devoted himself to the monkish life, in the virtues of which he is thought to have outstripped all that preceded him. We are told that he lived six-and-thirty years on a pillar erected on the summit of a high mountain in Syria, from which he obtained the name of Symeon Stylites (from στυλος, a pillar). From this pillar, it is said, he never descended except to take possession of another, which he did four times, having in the whole occupied five of them. On his last pillar, which was loftier than any of the former, being sixty feet high and three broad, he remained, according to report, fifteen years without intermission, summer and winter, day and night, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, in a climate subject to great and sudden changes, from the most sultry heat to piercing cold. It is said that he always stood; the breadth of his pillar not permitting him to lie down. He

* See Fleury's Eccles. Hist. book xvi. chap. 51.

spent the day till three in the afternoon in meditation and prayer; from that time till sunset he harangued the people who flocked to him from all countries, whom he then dismissed with his benediction. He would on no account suffer females to come within his precincts—not even his own mother, who is said, through mortification and grief at being refused admittance, to have died on the third day after her arrival. To show how indefatigable he was in whatever conduced to the glory of God, and the good of mankind, he spent much time daily in the exemplary exercise of bowing so low as to make his forehead strike his toes, and so frequently, that one who went to see him, as Theodoret, the ancient ecclesiastical historian, relates, counted no fewer than 1244 times—when, being more wearied in numbering than the saint was in bowing, he gave over the task of counting.*

For such senseless and disgusting practices as these has this poor victim of superstition been enrolled among the calendar of saints, and down to the present day, whenever Romish writers refer to this famous *pillar saint*, they speak of him with the greatest reverence as SAINT Symeon.

§ 25.—Up to nearly the close of the fifth century, the monks had generally lived only in solitary retreats, and, regarded as they were as *laymen*, they had entertained no thoughts of assuming any rank among the sacerdotal order. Now, however, they found themselves in a condition to claim an eminent station among the pillars of the Christian community. The mistaken piety of many led them to erect spacious and commodious edifices for the accommodation of the monks and holy virgins, more resembling the palaces of princes than the rude cells of the primitive monks, and at the epoch of the papal supremacy, these monasteries were numerous and powerful, especially in the neighborhood of large cities. The monks who dwelt in these convents were called Cœnobites, from two Greek words, signifying to live in common.

When these spacious edifices were supplied with a numerous fraternity, governed by an *abbot* of eminence and character, so called from a Syriac word signifying *father*, there often arose a jealousy between the abbot on the one hand, and the bishop on the other, in whose diocese the abbey was situated, and to whom, as things stood at first, the abbot and the friars owed spiritual subjection. Out of their mutual jealousies sprang umbrages; and these sometimes terminated in quarrels and injuries. In such cases, the abbots had the humiliating disadvantage to be under the obligation of canonical obedience to him, as the ordinary of the place, with whom they were at variance. That they might deliver themselves from these inconveniences, real or pretended, and might be independent

* Those who wish to peruse a fuller account of these miserable enthusiasts, and the absurd legends of their wonderful miracles, may consult Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History; Jerom. Vita Pauli Erem.; Middleton's Free Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c., p. 164–168; and Taylor's Ancient Christianity, p. 461, &c.

Monks and abbots become the tools of the pope. Gregory's inhuman severity to a poor monk

of their rivals, they applied to Rome, one after another, for a release from this slavery, as they called it, by being taken under the protection of St. Peter. The proposal was with avidity accepted at Rome. That politic court saw immediately that nothing could be better calculated for supporting papal power. Whoever obtains privileges is obliged, in order to secure his privileges, to maintain the authority of the grantor.

§ 26.—Very quickly all the monasteries, great and small, abbeys, priories, and nunneries, were exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishops. The two last were inferior sorts of monasteries, and often subordinate to some abbey. Even the chapters of cathedrals, consisting mostly of regulars, on the like pretexts, obtained exemption. Finally, whole orders, such as the Benedictines, who were established in the sixth century, and others, were exempted. This effectually procured a prodigious augmentation to the pontifical authority, which now came to have a sort of disciplined troops in every place, defended and protected by the papacy, who, in return, were its defenders and protectors, serving as spies on the bishops as well as on the secular powers.* They made the cause of the pope their own, and represented him as a sort of god, to the ignorant multitude, over whom they had gained a prodigious ascendant by the notion that generally prevailed, of the sanctity of the monastic order. It is at the same time to be observed that this *immunity* of the monks was a fruitful source of licentiousness and disorder, and occasioned the greatest part of the vices with which they were afterward so justly charged.

Previous to the elevation of Gregory I. to the See of Rome, he was himself abbot of a monastery, and exacted of the monks the strictest observance of the rules of poverty, chastity, and implicit obedience. An instance of superstitious, and, as it appears to us, inhuman severity toward one of them, is related by Gregory himself,† and is worth recording as an illustration of the character of Gregory, and of the spirit of that superstitious age. The monk's name was Justus; he had practised physic before entering the monastery, and had attended Gregory night and day during his long illness. Being himself taken ill, he discovered, at the point of death, to his brother, a layman, that he had three pieces of gold coin concealed in his cell. Some monks overheard him, and thereupon rummaging his cell, found, after a long search, which nothing could escape, the three pieces concealed in a medicament, and brought them to Gregory. As, by the laws of the monastery, no monk was to possess anything whatever in private, the abbot, to bring the dying monk to a due sense of his crime, and, at the same time, to deter the rest, by his punishment, from following his example, strictly forbade the other monks to afford him any kind of comfort or relief in the agonies of death, or even to approach him. Not

* See Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, page 325.
† Gregory's Dialogues, lib. iv., c. 55.

Monasteries fertile in pretended saints.

satisfied with that inhuman severity, he required the brother of the unhappy monk to let him know that he died avoided, detested, and abhorred, by all his brethren. He did not even stop here, but exceeding all bounds, ordered the body of the deceased, as soon as he expired, to be thrown on a dunghill, and with it the three pieces of gold, all the monks crying out, aloud, "Thy money perish with thee!"

§ 27.—In an age so dark as that which gave birth to Popery, it might be expected that the newly established monastic institutions would produce hundreds of gloomy religionists, whom the credulous devotion of an ignorant and superstitious multitude would enshrine as saints. Such we find was actually the fact. In the sixth century, according to Mosheim, such as wished to enforce the duties of Christianity, by exhibiting *examples* of piety and virtue to those for whom their instructions were designed, wrote for this purpose the *Lives of the saints;* and there was a considerable number of biographers, both among the Greeks and Latins. Ennodius, Eugippius, Cyril of Scythopolis, Dionysius the Little, Cogitosus, and others, are to be ranked in this class. But however pious the intentions of these biographers may have been, it must be acknowledged that they executed it in a most contemptible manner. No models of rational piety are to be found among those pretended worthies, whom they propose to Christians as objects of imitation. They amuse their readers with gigantic fables and trifling romances; the examples they exhibit are those of certain delirious *fanatics*, whom they call *saints*, men of corrupt and perverted judgment, who offered violence to reason and nature, by the horrors of an extravagant austerity in their own conduct, and by the severity of those singular and inhuman rules which they prescribed to others. For by what means were these men *sainted?* By starving themselves with a frantic obstinacy, and bearing the useless hardships of hunger, thirst, and inclement seasons, with steadfastness and perseverance; by running about the country like madmen, in tattered garments, and sometimes half naked, or shutting themselves up in a narrow space, where they continued motionless; by standing for a long time in certain postures, with their eyes closed, in the enthusiastic expectation of divine light. All this was saintlike and glorious; and the more that any ambitious fanatic departed from the dictates of reason and common sense, and counterfeited the wild gestures and the incoherent conduct of an idiot or a lunatic, the surer was his prospect of obtaining an eminent rank among the heroes and demigods of a corrupt and degenerate church.*

* See Mosheim, century vi., part 2, chap. iii.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF ROMISH ERRORS CONTINUED—WORSHIP OF SAINTS AND RELICS, ETC.

§ 28.—The invocation of saints is another of the unscriptural practices of Popery, which boasts of an origin anterior to the papal supremacy. In modern times this idolatrous worship of created beings has grown to such a height in the Romish church, as well nigh to exclude altogether the worship of the Creator; and whoever will take the trouble to examine a popish book of devotion will see that there are many petitions offered to the saints for every one that is offered to the Deity.

In all probability this practice grew up, by degrees, from the honors which, in the early ages, were paid to the martyrs; and those who, in the third or fourth century, thus laid the foundation of this system of idolatry, little imagined the huge fabric of superstition that would be erected thereon. Perhaps it would be too severe to pronounce an indiscriminate censure upon those early Christians, who, prompted by respect for the virtues of their martyred brethren, were accustomed to assemble around their graves, to mourn over their loss, and to send up their supplications to the common God and Father of the martyred dead and the suffering living. In process of time, however, the due reverence with which these witnesses for Jesus had been regarded, increased to a kind of idolatrous veneration, and religious services performed over their sepulchres were regarded as possessing a peculiar sanctity and virtue. The growth of this idea was so rapid, that in the age of Constantine we find that stately churches were, in some instances, erected over their graves, and where this was impracticable, some *relic*, real or imaginary, of one of these saints was enshrined, with all due solemnity, in the magnificent buildings erected to their honor.*

§ 29.—Fleury, the celebrated Roman Catholic ecclesiastical historian, relates† that on one occasion, in the year 386, St. Ambrose, being about to consecrate a church at Milan, was prevented by the fact that he had no relics of martyrs to deposit in the altars, when "immediately his heart burned within him, in presage, as he felt, of what was to happen." The historian proceeds to tell us that God revealed to him, in a dream, the place where the bodies of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius were to be found. "Having discovered their sepulchres, two skeletons were discovered of more than ordinary size, all their bones entire, a quantity of blood about, and their heads separated from their bodies. They arranged the bodies, putting every bone into its proper place, and they covered them

* Eusebius—de vita Constant., iii. 48.
† Fleury's Eccles. Hist., book xviii., chap. 48.

with cloths and laid them on litters. In this manner were they carried towards evening to the Basilica of St. Fausta, where vigils were celebrated all night, and several that were possessed received imposition of hands. That day and the next, there was a great concourse of people, and then the old men recollected that they had formerly heard the names of these martyrs, and had read the inscription on their tomb. The next day the relics were transferred to the Basilica Ambrosiana," or church of St. Ambrose at Milan.* So general had the notion become that a church could not be consecrated without relics, that it was decreed by a council at Constantinople, that those altars under which no relics were found should be demolished.

The same necessity of relics to be deposited in the altar of Romish churches, in order to their due consecration, is contended for down to the present day. No matter how minute the particle of supposed holy dust of the saint to whom the church is to be dedicated;—a tooth, a toe-nail, a hair, a *drop of the blood*, or a preserved *tear* from the eye; anything will do, so that it has been christened or declared genuine by his infallible holiness, the Pope. Upon the arrival of the duly authenticated relic, it is borne in solemn procession by priests in their robes to the altar in which it is to be deposited, and when arrived at its destination, it is placed by the hands of the bishop himself in the place prepared for its reception. The first of the adjoining plates represents the procession of relics to the church, and the other the bishop in the act of closing up the sacred deposit within the altar. Before he does this he marks the sepulchre on the four sides with the sign of the cross. This is the consecration of the sepulchre. He then deposits the relic box with all possible veneration, which must be done bare-headed, the better to testify to the congregation the reverence attached to the ceremony. After this an anthem is repeated, during which, the celebrant, still without his mitre on, incenses the relics, and afterwards puts it on, takes the stone which is to be laid over the sepulchre with his right hand, dips the thumb of the other in chrism, and makes the sign of the cross in the middle of the stone on the side that is to be towards the relics, in order to consecrate it on that side. Anthems and the *Oremus* immediately follow according to custom. After this the celebrant fixes the stone upon the sepulchre, the masons make an end of the work, and the celebrant sanctifies it by the sign of the cross which is reverently to be made on the stone.

§ 30.—To return to the origin of these superstitions. In Egypt, about the fourth and fifth centuries, another method was adopted of showing the reverence of Christians for the mortal relics of departed saints. In that country, according to Gieseler, the Christians began to embalm the bodies of reputed saints, and keep them in their houses. The communion with the martyrs being thus asso-

* Fleury's Eccles. Hist., book xviii., chap. 46.

Relics carried in procession to a church to be consecrated.

The Bishop closing up the Relics in the Altar

ciated with the presence of their material remains, these were dug up from the graves and placed in the churches, especially under the altars; and the popular feeling having now a visible object to excite it, became more extravagant and superstitious than ever. The opinion of the efficacy of the intercession of those who had died a martyr's death, was now united with the belief that it was possible to communicate with them directly; a belief founded partly on the popular heathen notion that departed souls always lingered around the bodies they had once inhabited, and partly on the views entertained of the glorified state of the martyrs, a sort of omnipresence being ascribed to them. These notions may be traced to Origen, and his followers were the first who apostrophized the martyrs in their sermons, and besought their intercession. But though the orators were somewhat extravagant in this respect, they were far outdone by the poets, who soon took up this theme, and could find no expressions strong enough to describe the power and the glory of the martyrs. Christians were now but seldom called upon to address their prayers to God; the usual mode being to pray only to some saint for his intercession. With this worship of the saints were joined many of the customs of the heathen. Men chose their patron saints, and dedicated churches to their worship. The heathen, whom the Christians used to reproach with worshipping dead men, found now ample opportunity of retort.* In proportion as men felt the need of such intercession, they strove to increase the number of the intercessors. Martyrs, before unknown, according to the legends of those times, announced themselves in visions, others revealed the place of their burial, and the populace were disposed to regard every obscure grave as the burial-place of a martyr.†

§ 31.—As specimens of the kind of invocations addressed to the saints in the latter part of the fourth century, we may refer to the funeral orations of the eloquent Gregory Nazianzen upon the martyr Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and upon his own father. At the close of the former, he addresses a prayer to St. Cyprian, in which he implores the assistance and protection of the glorified martyr "to aid him in the government of his flock." In the latter he says, I do not doubt that my departed father, "being now much nearer to God, does a great deal more for his flock by his intercession than he did on earth by his teaching." The celebrated Roman Catholic historian, Dupin, commenting upon this oration, which was delivered about A. D. 381, remarks that, "the church, in the time of St. Gregory Nazianzen, believed that the martyrs and saints enjoyed already eternal happiness and the vision of God; that they took care of men upon earth; that they interceded for them, and that it was very profitable *to pray to them* for the obtaining of spiritual and temporal favors."‡

* See Gieseler, vol. i., p. 283, with citations of ancient authorities.

† *Sulpicius Severus*, de vita Martini., cap. xi.

‡ Dupin's lives and writings of the primitive fathers, vol. ii., p. 167.

Epiphanius in the fourth century opposes images in the churches as contrary to Scripture.

It should be observed, however, that in that age this idolatrous custom of the Romish church was but in its incipient state. There is a vast difference between the impassioned addresses of orators and poets to the spirits of the departed martyrs in the age of Gregory and Basil, and the regular liturgical prayers to the saints incorporated into the set forms of devotion in a later generation, and perpetuated in their worst forms of idolatry and creature worship, down to the present time.

§ 32.—It is to be remembered too, that as yet the anti-Christian abomination of *the worship* of images had not yet arisen. "In the fourth century," says Gieseler, "the worship of images was still abominated as a heathen practice." A proof of this is furnished by a singular letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem, written near the close of the century in which he writes as follows: "Having entered into a church in a village of Palestine, named Anablatha, I found there a veil which was suspended at the door, and painted with a representation, whether of Jesus Christ or of some saint, for I do not recollect whose image it was, but seeing that *in opposition to the authority of Scripture, there was a human image in the church of Jesus Christ*, I tore it in pieces, and gave order to those who had care of that church, to bury the corpse with the veil. And as they grumbled out some answer, that 'since he has chosen to tear the veil, he might as well find another,' I promised them one, and I now discharge that promise."

From this letter we learn, not only that the *worship*, but the *use* of images in the churches was altogether condemned at this time. As the account given by Mosheim, of the progress of this and kindred degrading superstitions, from the age of the Nicene fathers, to the establishment of the papal supremacy, is so graphic, and so true, I shall present the reader with a condensation of his remarks. An enormous train of different superstitions, says he, were gradually substituted in the place of true religion and genuine piety. This odious revolution was owing to a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous *desire of imitating the pagan rites*, and of blending them with the Christian worship, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have toward a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition upon the ruins of Christianity. Accordingly, frequent *pilgrimages* were undertaken to Palestine, and to the tombs of the martyrs, as if there alone the sacred principles of virtue, and the certain hope of salvation, were to be acquired. The reins being once let loose to superstition, which knows no bounds, absurd notions and idle ceremonies multiplied every day. Quantities of dust and earth brought from Palestine, and other places remarkable for their supposed sanctity, were handed about as the most powerful remedies against the violence of wicked spirits, and were sold and bought at enormous prices.

§ 33.—The public processions and supplications, by which the pagans endeavored to appease their gods, were now adopted into the

Christian worship, and celebrated with great pomp and magnificence in several places. The virtues that had formerly been ascribed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, to the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to *holy water*, consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to the images of holy men. And the same privileges that the former enjoyed under the darkness of Paganism, were conferred upon the latter under the light of the gospel, or rather under that cloud of superstition that was obscuring its glory. It is true that as yet images were not very common; nor were there any statues at all. But it is at the same time as undoubtedly certain, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the *martyrs* was modelled, by degrees, according to the religious services that were paid to the gods before the coming of Christ.

§ 34.—Among other unhappy effects, these superstitious notions opened a wide door to the endless frauds of those odious impostors, who were so far destitute of all principle, as to enrich themselves by the ignorance and errors of the people. Rumors were artfully spread abroad of prodigies and miracles to be seen in certain places, a trick often practised by the heathen priests, and the design of these reports was to draw the populace, in multitudes, to these places, and to impose upon their credulity. These stratagems were generally successful; for the ignorance and slowness of apprehension of the people, to whom everything that is new and singular appears miraculous, rendered them easily the dupes of this abominable artifice. Nor was this all; certain tombs were falsely given out for the sepulchres of saints and confessors; the list of these saints was augmented with fictitious names, and even robbers were converted into martyrs. Some buried the bones of dead men in certain retired places, and then affirmed that they were divinely admonished by a dream, that the body of some friend of God lay there. Many, especially of the monks, travelled through the different provinces; and not only sold, with the most frontless impudence, their fictitious relics, but also deceived the eyes of the multitude with ludicrous combats with evil spirits or genii.

These shameful impostures and frauds have indeed been characteristic of Popery in all ages. One feature in the inspired description of the man of sin, is that his coming should be with "signs and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness" (2 Thess., ii., 9, 10), and all history shows the fidelity of the picture. The popish writers themselves are forced to allow, that many both of their relics and their miracles have been forged by the craft of priests, for the sake of money and lucre. Durantus, a zealous defender of all their ceremonies, gives several instances of the former; particularly of *the bones of a common thief*, which had for some time been honored with an altar, and worshipped under the title of a saint.* And for the latter, Lyra, in his comment on Bel

* S. Martinus Altare, quod in honorem Martyrio exstructum fuerat cum ossa et reliquias cujusdam latronis esse deprehendisset, submoveri jussit. (*Durant de Ritib.*, l. i., c. 25.)

and the Dragon, observes that sometimes also in the church, very great cheats are put upon the people, by false miracles, contrived or countenanced at least, by their priests, for some gain and temporal advantage.* And what their own authors confess of *some* of their miracles, we may venture, without any breach of charity, to believe of them *all;* nay, we cannot indeed believe anything else without impiety, and without supposing God to concur in an extraordinary manner, to the establishment of fraud, error, and superstition in the world.

§ 35.—Several ludicrous, but well authenticated instances of these fictitious saints are mentioned by the learned Dr. Conyers Middleton, in his letters from Rome. In one of these cases *a mountain has been converted into a saint,* by the corruption of the name of mount SORACTE, near Rome, into S. ORACTE, then S. ORESTE, or *Saint Oreste.* This is mentioned also by Addison,† who adds that a monastery has been founded in honor of this imaginary saint. This mistake is the less to be wondered at, because the Italians usually write the title of saint with the single letter S. (as S. Gregory), and thus in ages of darkness and ignorance, it was easy to transform mount Soracte, into Saint Orestes. Thus this holy mountain stands now under the protection of a patron, whose being and power is just as imaginary as that of the old guardian Apollo.

Sancti custos Soractis Apollo—Vir. Æn. 9.

No suspicion of this kind will appear extravagant to those who are at all acquainted with the history of Popery, which abounds with instances of the grossest forgeries, both of saints and relics, which, to the scandal of many even among themselves, have been imposed for genuine on the poor ignorant people. Even the learned Mabillon, himself a Roman Catholic writer, speaks of some who promulgated the feigned histories of new found saints, and who even sometimes published the inscriptions of pagans for Christians.‡ In the earlier ages of Christianity, the Christians often made free with the sepulchral stones of heathen monuments, which being ready cut to their hands, they converted to their own use; and turning downwards the side on which the old epitaph was engraved, used either to inscribe a new one on the other side, or leave it perhaps without any inscription at all, as they are often found in the catacombs of Rome. Now, this one custom has frequently been the occasion of ascribing martyrdom and saintship to persons and names of mere pagans.

* Aliquando fit in Ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus, vel eis adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale, &c. (*Nic. Lyr. in Dan.* c. 14.)

† Travels from Pesaro, &c., to Rome.

‡ * * qui sanctorum recens absque certis nominibus inventorum fictas historias comminiscuntur ad confusionem verarum historiarum imo et qui paganorum inscriptiones aliquando pro Christianis vulgant, &c. (*Mabill. Iter. Ital.*, page 225.)

§ 36.—Mabillon gives a remarkable instance of it in an old stone, found on the grave of a Christian with this inscription:

D. M.
IVLIA EVODIA
FILIA FECIT.
MATRI.

And because in the same grave there was found likewise a glass vial, or lacrymatory vessel, tinged with a reddish color, which they called blood, they regarded this circumstance as a certain proof of martyrdom, and Julia Evodia, though undoubtedly a heathen, was presently adopted both for saint and martyr, on the authority of an inscription that appears evidently to have been one of those above-mentioned, and borrowed from a heathen sepulchre. But whatever the party there buried might have been, whether heathen or Christian: it is certain that it could not be Evodia herself, but her mother only, as the meaning of the Latin inscription is, that the daughter Julia Evodia raised this stone to her mother.

The same author mentions some original papers which he found in the Barbarine library, giving a pleasant account of a negotiation between the Spaniards and pope Urban VIII., in relation to a certain SAINT VIAR. The Spaniards, it seems, have a saint, held in great reverence in some parts of Spain, called Viar; for the farther encouragement of whose worship they solicited the pope to grant some special indulgences to his altars; and upon the Pope's desiring to be better acquainted first with his character, and the proofs which they had of his saintship, they produced a stone with these antique letters, S. VIAR, which the antiquaries readily saw to be a fragment of some Roman inscription, in memory of one who had been *PræfectuS* VIAR*um*, or overseer over all the highways.

But we have in England an instance still more ridiculous, of a fictitious saintship, in the case of a certain saint called AMPHIBOLUS; who, according to our monkish historians, was bishop of the Isle of Man, and fell martyr and disciple of Saint Alban. Yet the learned archbishop Usher* has given us good reasons to convince us that he owes the honor of his saintship to a mistaken passage in the old acts or legends of St. Alban, where the *Amphibolus* mentioned, and since reverenced as a saint and martyr, was nothing more than *the cloak* which Alban happened to have at the time of his execution; being a word derived from the Greek, and signifying a *rough, shaggy cloak*, such as was worn by the monks in that age. Thus we see that Romanists can boast not only of a *Saint Mount Oracte*, but also of a *Saint Cloak Amphibolus*. But this is not the climax of Rome's worse than pagan idolatry. They have not only a *Saint Cloak*, but also a *Saint Handkerchief*, to which they actually address prayers.

They pretend to show at Rome, says Dr. Middleton, two original

* Usser. de Britan. Eccles. primord., c. 14, p. 539.

Saint true-image Veronica. Blasphemous prayer to the holy handkerchief.

impressions of our Saviour's face, on *two different handkerchiefs;* the one, sent a present by himself to Agbarus, prince of Edessa, who by letter had desired a picture of him; the other given by him at the time of his execution to a saint or holy woman, VERONICA, upon a handkerchief, which she had lent him to wipe his face on that occasion; both which handkerchiefs are preserved, as they affirm, and now kept with the utmost reverence; the first in St. Sylvester's church, the second in St. Peter's, where in honor of this sacred relic, there is a fine altar built by pope Urban VIII., with the statue of Veronica herself, with the following inscription:

SALVATORIS IMAGINEM VERONICÆ
SVDARIO EXCEPTAM
VT LOCI MAIESTAS DECENTER
CVSTODIRET URBANVS VIII.
PONT. MAX.
MARMOREVM SIGNVM
ET ALTARE ADDIDIT CONDITORIVM
EXTRVXIT ET ORNAVIT.

But notwithstanding the authority of pope Urban, and his inscription, this VERONICA (as Mabillon, one of their own best authors, has shown), like *Amphibolus*, before-mentioned, was not any real person, but the name given to the picture itself by old writers, who mention it; being formed by blundering and confounding the words VERA ICON, Latin for *true image*, the title inscribed perhaps, or given originally to the handkerchief by the first contrivers of the imposture.

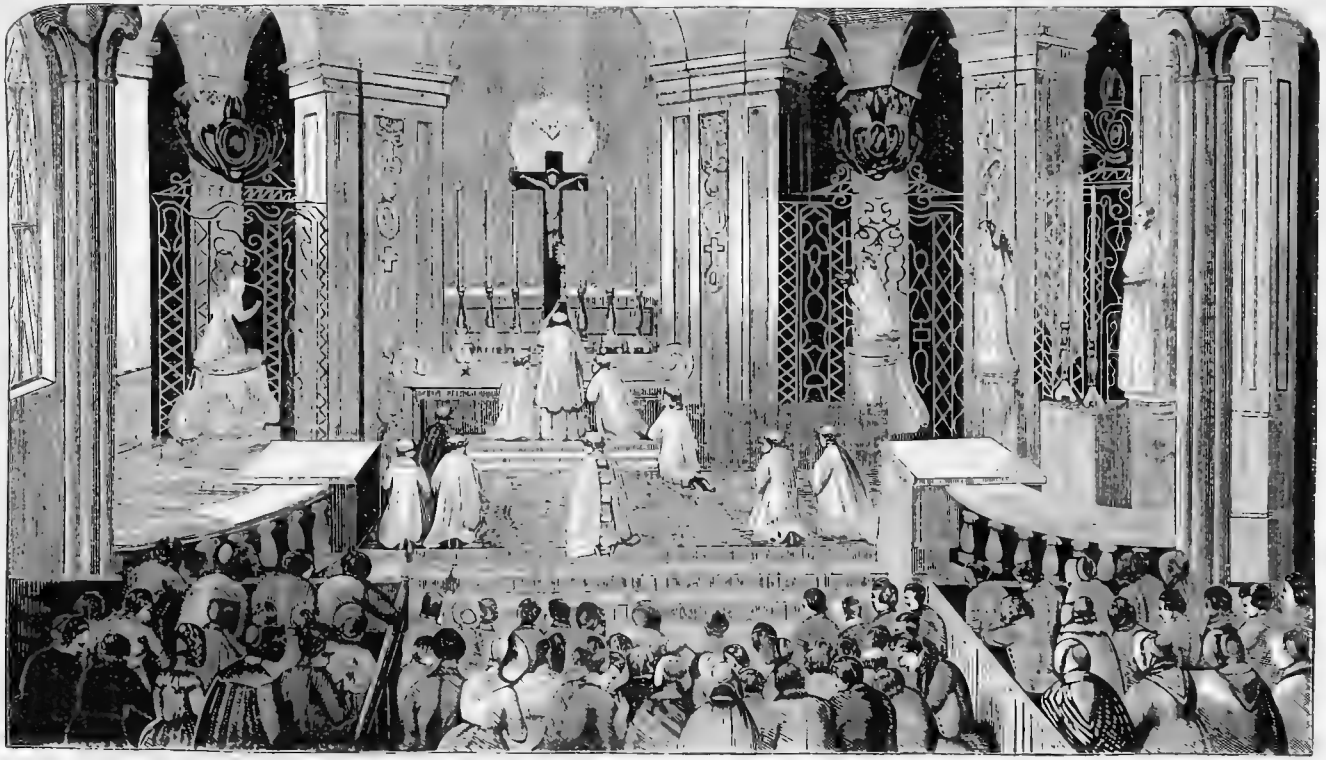
It is related by Bower, upon the authority of Mabillon, that pope Innocent III. composed a prayer in honor of this image, and granted a *ten days' indulgence* to all who should visit it, and that pope John XXII., more generous than Innocent, vouchsafed no less than ten thousand days' indulgence to every repetition of the following blasphemous prayer: "HAIL, HOLY FACE OF OUR REDEEMER, PRINTED UPON A CLOTH AS WHITE AS SNOW; PURGE US FROM ALL SPOT OF VICE, AND JOIN US TO THE COMPANY OF THE BLESSED. BRING US TO OUR COUNTRY, O HAPPY FIGURE, THERE TO SEE THE PURE FACE OF CHRIST."*

Is it possible for impious idolatry to go beyond this? and yet this prayer to the holy handkerchief, says Middleton, is inserted in the popish book of offices, and ordered by the rubric to be addressed to it, and this absurd legend, and others like it, fabulous and childish as they appear to men of sense, are urged by grave authors in defence of their image worship, as certain proofs of its divine origin, and sufficient to confound all the impious opposers of it.†

§ 37.—To return to the origin of these lying wonders, Mosheim remarks (vol. i., p. 371), that "the interests of virtue and true religion

* Bower's Lives of the Popes. In vita Innoc. III.

† Aring. Rom. subt. Tom. ii., lib. v., c. iv. Conformity of Ancient and Modern Ceremonies, page 158, referred to by Middleton, *ut supra.*



Elevation of the Host at High Mass.

suffered grievously by two monstrous errors which were almost universally adopted in the fourth century, and became a source of innumerable calamities and mischiefs in the succeeding ages. The first of these maxims was, that *it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by that means the interests of the church might be promoted;* and the second equally horrible, though in another point of view, was that *errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to, after proper admonition, were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures.* The former of these erroneous maxims was now of a long standing; it had been adopted for some ages past, and had produced an incredible number of ridiculous fables, fictitious prodigies, and pious frauds, to the unspeakable detriment of that glorious cause in which they were employed. The other maxim, relating to the justice and expediency of punishing error, was introduced with those serene and peaceful times which the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne procured to the church. It was from that period approved by many, enforced by several examples during the contests that arose with the priscillianists and donatists, confirmed and established by the authority of Augustine, and thus transmitted to the following ages."

§ 38.—In relation to the fifth century, the same historian remarks: If before this time, the lustre of religion was clouded with superstition, and its divine precepts adulterated with a mixture of human inventions, this evil, instead of diminishing, increased daily. The happy souls of departed Christians were invoked by numbers, and their aid implored by assiduous and fervent prayers; while none stood up to censure or oppose this preposterous worship. The question, *how* the prayers of mortals ascended to the celestial spirits, a question which afterward produced much wrangling and many idle fancies, did not as yet occasion any difficulty. For the Christians of this century did not imagine that the souls of the saints were so entirely confined to the celestial mansions, as to be deprived of the privilege of visiting mortals, and travelling, when they pleased, through various countries. They were further of opinion, that the places most frequented by departed spirits were those where the bodies they had formerly animated were interred; and this opinion, which the Christians borrowed from the Greeks and Romans, rendered the sepulchres of the saints the general rendezvous of suppliant multitudes.

A singular and irresistible efficacy was also attributed to *the bones of martyrs*, and to the *figure of the cross*, in defeating the attempts of Satan, removing all sorts of calamities, and in healing not only the diseases of the body, but also those of the mind. We shall not enter here into a particular account of the public supplications, the holy pilgrimages, the superstitious services paid to departed souls, the multiplication of temples, altars, penitential garments, and a multitude of other circumstances, that showed the decline of genuine piety, and the corrupt darkness that was eclipsing

the lustre of primitive Christianity. As there were none in these times to hinder the Christians from retaining the opinions of their pagan ancestors concerning departed souls, heroes, demons, temples, and such like matters, and even transferring them into their religious services; and as, instead of entirely abolishing the rites and institutions of ancient times, these institutions were still observed with only some slight alterations; all this swelled of necessity the torrent of superstition, and deformed the beauty of the Christian religion and worship with those corrupt remains of Paganism, which still subsist in the Romish church.

§ 39.—In the sixth century, the public teachers seemed to aim at nothing else than to sink the multitude into the most opprobrious ignorance and superstition, to efface in their minds all sense of the beauty and excellence of genuine piety, and to substitute, in the place of religious principles, a blind veneration for the clergy, and a stupid zeal for a senseless round of ridiculous rites and ceremonies. This, perhaps, will appear less surprising, when we consider that *the blind led the blind;* for the public ministers and teachers of religion were for the most part grossly ignorant; nay, almost as much so as the multitude whom they were appointed to instruct. To be convinced of the truth of the dismal representation we have here given of the state of religion at this time, nothing more is necessary than to cast an eye upon the doctrines now taught *concerning the worship of images and saints, the fire of purgatory, the efficacy of good works;* i. e., the observance of human rites and institutions, *toward the attainment of salvation, the power of relics to heal the diseases of body and mind;* and such like sordid and miserable fancies, which are inculcated in many of the superstitious productions of this century, and particularly in the epistles and other writings of Gregory the Great. Nothing more ridiculous on the one hand, than the solemnity and liberality with which this superstitious pontiff distributed the wonderworking relics; and nothing more lamentable on the other, than the stupid eagerness and devotion with which the deluded multitude received them, and sufferea themselves to be persuaded, that a portion of stinking oil, taken from the lamps which burned at the tombs of the martyrs, or the filings of a chain supposed to have been worn by a saint, had a supernatural efficacy to sanctify their possessors, and to defend them from all dangers both of a temporal and spiritual nature.

There was an incredible number of temples erected in honor of the saints, during the sixth century, both in the eastern and western provinces. The places set apart for public worship were already very numerous; but it was now that Christians first began to consider these sacred edifices, as the means of purchasing the favor and protection of the saints, and to be persuaded that these departed spirits defended and guarded, against evils and calamities of every kind, the provinces, lands, cities, and villages, in which they were honored with temples. The number of these temples was

The Empress writes to Gregory for a portion of the body of St. Paul. His singular letter in reply

almost equalled by that of the festivals, which were now observed in the Christian church, and many of which seemed to have been instituted upon a pagan model.*

§ 40.—In order to show that the charge above referred to in relation to Gregory's superstitious regard to relics is not made without sufficient reason, I will present the reader with a translation of an epistle which he wrote to the empress Constantina, who was building a church at Constantinople in honor of St. Paul, and had written to Gregory to grant her either the head or some other part of the body of that Apostle, which was said to be at Rome, for the purpose of enshrining it in the church when completed. After a respectful allusion to the request of the empress, Gregory proceeds—"*Major mœstitia tenuit, &c.* Great sadness hath possessed me, because you have enjoined upon me those things which I neither can or dare do; for the bodies of the holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, are so resplendent with miracles and terrific prodigies in their own churches, that no one can approach them without great awe, even for the purpose of adoring them. When my predecessor, of happy memory, wished to change some silver ornament which was placed over the most holy body of St. Peter, though at the distance of almost fifteen feet, a warning of no small terror appeared to him. Even I myself wished to make some alteration near the most holy body of St. Paul, and it was necessary to dig rather deeply near his tomb. The Superior of the place found some bones which were not at all connected with that tomb; and, having presumed to disturb and remove them to some other place, he was visited by certain fearful apparitions, and died suddenly. My predecessor, of holy memory, also undertook to make some repairs near the tomb of St. Lawrence: as they were digging, without knowing precisely where the venerable body was placed, they happened to open his sepulchre. The monks and guardians who were at the work, only because they had seen the body of that martyr, though they did not presume so much as to touch it, all died within ten days; to the end that no man might remain in life who had beheld the body of that just man.

"Be it then known to you, that it is the custom of the Romans, when they give any relics, not to venture to touch any portion of the body; only they put into a box a piece of linen (called *brandeum*), which is placed near the holy bodies; then it is withdrawn, and shut up with due veneration in the church which is to be dedicated, and as many prodigies are then wrought by it as if the bodies themselves had been carried thither; whence it happened, that in the time of St. Leo (as we learn from our ancestors), when some Greeks doubted the virtue of such relics, that Pope called for a pair of scissors, and *cut the linen, and blood flowed from the incision.* And not at Rome only, but throughout the whole of the West, it is held sacrilegious to touch the bodies of the saints, nor does such

* See Mosheim, Centuries iv., v., vi., *passim.*

temerity ever remain unpunished. For which reason we are much astonished at the custom of the Greeks to take away the bones of the saints, and we scarcely gave credit to it. But what shall I say respecting the bodies of the holy Apostles, when it is a known fact, that at the time of their martyrdom, a number of the faithful came from the East to claim them? But when they had carried them out of the city, to the second milestone, to a place called the Catacombs, the whole multitude was unable to move them farther,—such a tempest of thunder and lightning terrified and dispersed them. The napkin, too, which you wished to be sent at the same time, is with the body and cannot be touched more than the body can be approached.

"But that your religious desire may not be wholly frustrated, I will hasten to send to you some part of those chains which St. Paul wore on his neck and hands, if indeed I shall succeed in getting off any filings from them. For since many continually solicit as a blessing that they may carry off from those chains some small portion of their filings, *a priest stands by with a file;* and sometimes it happens that some portions fall off from the chains instantly, and without delay; while, at other times, the file is long drawn over the chains, and yet nothing is at last scraped off from them."*

§ 41.—Besides the superstitious and idolatrous reverence of Gregory for relics, he labored hard in exalting the merit of *pilgrimages* to holy places; encouraged the *use*, though he condemned the *worship*, of images in the churches; introduced a more imposing method of administering the communion, with a magnificent assemblage of pompous ceremonies, which institution was called *the Canon of the mass*, and which, without doubt, tended a century or two later to the conception of the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; he also seriously inculcated a belief in the pagan doctrine concerning the purification of departed souls by a certain kind of fire, which he called *Purgatory*, and which doctrine, as Gieseler asserts, was first suggested by Augustine, the bishop of Hippo, towards the close of the fourth century.† A doctrine this which, conjoined with the opinion afterwards invented of the efficacy of masses in delivering tormented souls from these fires, and the power of the Pope to grant indulgences, exempting the purchasers from a portion or from the whole of their merited period of suffering in them, was the origin of an almost inexhaustible source of wealth to the Pope

* The original of this letter may be found in Gregory's epistles, Lib. iv., epist. 30. The larger part of it is quoted in Latin by Gieseler, vol. i., p. 350, note 5. It is worthy of remark also, that Cardinal Baronius, the great Roman Catholic annalist, cites this reply of Gregory to the Empress with considerable admiration, as though he really believed the extravagant stories related by Gregory of the pretended wonders wrought by these *holy bones*. Baronius attributes the request of the Empress to ecclesiastical ambition, as though she wished to elevate the See of Constantinople to a level with that of Rome, by obtaining for her church the head of so great an apostle.

† See Gieseler, vol. i., page 352, note 14, with quotations from Augustine.

With few exceptions, Popery at its birth and Popery in its dotage, identical.

and the clergy, extorted from the credulity and the fears alike of the rich and the poor through long ages of superstition and night.

§ 42.—From the review which we have thus taken of the origin and progress of these various corruptions of Christianity, it appears that, with the exceptions of the belief in transubstantiation, the general worship of images, the practice of auricular confession, the performance of worship in an unknown tongue, and a few minor particulars, there is but little difference between the characteristic features of Popery at its birth in the seventh century, and Popery in its dotage in the nineteenth.

It is true that, as age after age rolled away, as old corruptions were strengthened and new ones added to the list, as "the man of sin," in the course of a few centuries, trampled upon the thrones of monarchs, unsheathed the sword of persecution against the suffering martyrs of Jesus, and reeled onward in the career of ages, "drunk with the blood of the saints," the title of ANTI-CHRIST became more deeply branded on his shameless front:—and yet it is equally true that Popery, at its birth in 606, was characterized by every one of the predicted marks of the great Apostasy, as truly as it bears those marks at the present day.

Then, as now, the apostate church of Rome had departed from the faith, "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." (1 Tim. iv., 1, 2.) Then, as now, that "man of sin" was revealed, even "the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God;" and his "coming was after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs and lying wonders." (2 Thess. ii., 3, 4, 9, 10.)

CHAPTER VI.

STRIKING RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN PAGAN AND PAPAL CEREMONIES — THE LATTER DERIVED FROM THE FORMER.

§ 43.—IN tracing the origin of the corrupt doctrines and practices of the Romish church, we have had frequent occasion, in the preceding chapters, to allude to the fact, that most of its anti-scriptural rites and ceremonies were adopted from the pagan worship of Greece, Rome, and other heathen nations. The scholar, familiar as he is with the classic descriptions of ancient mythology, when he directs his attention to the ceremonies of papal worship, cannot avoid

recognizing their close resemblance, if not their absolute identity. The temples of Jupiter, Diana, Venus, or Apollo, their "altars smoking with incense" ("*thure calent Aræ.*" *Virgil.*), their boys in sacred habits, holding the incense box, and attending upon the priests ("*Da mihi Thura, Puer.*" *Ovid.*), their holy water at the entrance of the temples ("*Spargens rore levi.*" *Virgil.*), with their *aspergilla* or sprinkling brushes, their *thuribula*, or vessels of incense, their ever-burning lamps before the statues of their deities ("*vigilemque sacraverat ignem.*" *Virgil.*), are irresistibly brought before his mind, whenever he visits a Roman Catholic place of worship, and witnesses precisely the same things.

If a Roman scholar of the age of the Cæsars, who, previous to his death, had formed some acquaintance with the religion of the despised Nazarenes, had in the seventh or eighth century arisen from his grave in the Campus Martius, and wandered into the spacious church of Constantine at Rome, which then stood on the spot now occupied by Saint Peter's, if he had there witnessed these institutions of Paganism, which were then and ever since have been incorporated with the worship of Rome, would he not have come to the conclusion that he had found his way into some temple dedicated to Diana, Venus, or Apollo, rather than into a Christian place of worship, where the successors of Peter the fisherman, or Paul the tentmaker, had met for the worship of Jesus of Nazareth? It is impossible to conceive of a greater contrast than that which is presented between the plain and simple rites of primitive apostolic Christian worship in the first century, and the pompous and imposing spectacle of papal worship, performed in some stately cathedral, adorned with its altars, pictures, images, and burning wax-lights, with all the array of holy water, smoking incense, tinkling bells, and priests and boys arrayed in gaudy colored vestments, as they were seen in the time of pope Boniface, of the seventh century, and as they are still seen, with but little change, after the lapse of twelve hundred years.

§ 44.—The practice of thus accommodating the forms of Christian worship to the prejudices of the heathen nations, was introduced in various places long before the establishment of Popery in 606; though, of course, as there was then no acknowledged earthly sovereign and head of the church, the observance of these heathen rites was not regarded as obligatory upon all, till enjoined by the newly established papal authority, in the seventh century. It is not unlikely that this policy, in its incipient stage, commenced by a mistaken, but well-intended desire of some good men, like the apostle Paul, to "become all things to all men," that they might "by all means save some." Yet this apology can by no means be admitted as an excuse for the almost entire subversion of Christianity in the Romish communion, by the adoption of these heathen rites, ceremonies, and superstitions. The ancient heathen nations had always been accustomed to a variety of imposing ceremonies in their religious services, hence they looked with contempt upon the simplicity

Reasons for the admission of pagan ceremonies dictated by worldly policy.

of Christian worship, destitute as it was of these pompous and magnificent rites, and it was a step pregnant with disaster to the cause of genuine Christianity, when, as early as the third century some advocated the necessity of admitting a portion of the ancient ceremonies to which the people had been accustomed, for the purpose of rendering Christian worship more striking and captivating to the outward senses.

As a proof that Christianity began thus early to be corrupted, it is related in the life of Gregory, bishop of New Cesarea, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or wonder-worker, that when he perceived that the ignorant multitude persisted in their idolatry, on account of the pleasures and sensual gratifications which they enjoyed at the pagan festivals, he granted them a permission to indulge themselves in the like pleasures, in celebrating the memory of the holy martyrs, hoping, that, in process of time, they would return, of their own accord, to a more virtuous and regular course of life."

"This addition of external rites," says Mosheim, "was also designed to remove the opprobrious calumnies which the Jewish and pagan priests cast upon the Christians, on account of the simplicity of their worship, esteeming them little better than atheists, because they had no *temples*, *altars*, *victims*, *priests*, nor anything of that external pomp in which the vulgar are so prone to place the essence of religion. The rulers of the church adopted, therefore, certain external ceremonies, that thus they might captivate the senses of the vulgar, and be able to refute the reproaches of their adversaries, thus obscuring the native lustre of the gospel, in order to extend its influence, and making it lose, in point of real excellence, what it gained in point of popular esteem."*

§ 45.—After the conversion of Constantine in the fourth century, when Christianity was taken under the protection of the state, this sinful conformity to the practices of Paganism increased to such a degree, that the beauty and simplicity of Christian worship were almost entirely obscured, and by the time these corruptions were ripe for the establishment of the Popedom, Christianity—the Christianity of the state—to judge from the institutions of its public worship—seemed but little else than a system of *Christianized Paganism.*

Here we may apply that well known saying of Augustine, that *the yoke under which the Jews formerly groaned, was more tolerable than that imposed upon many Christians in his time.* The rites and institutions, by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations, had formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. We have already mentioned the reasons alleged for this imitation, so proper to disgust all who have a just sense of the native beauty of genuine Christianity These fervent heralds of the gospel, whose

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i., page 197,

zeal outran their candor and ingenuity, imagined that the nations would receive Christianity with more facility, when they saw the rites and ceremonies to which they were accustomed, adopted in the church, and the same worship paid to Christ and his martyrs, which they had formerly offered to their idol deities. Hence it happened, that in these times, the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little, in its external appearance, from that of the Christians. They had both a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry, were equally to be seen in the heathen temples and the Christian churches.*

In the words of a distinguished member of the establishment in Great Britain, Dean Waddington, "the copious transfusion of heathen ceremonies into Christian worship, which had taken place before the end of the fourth century, had, to a certain extent, *paganized* (if we may so express it) the outward form and aspect of religion, and these ceremonies became more general and more numerous, and, so far as the calamities of the times would permit, more splendid in the age which followed. To console the convert for the loss of his favorite festival, others of a different name, but similar description, were introduced; and the simple and serious occupation of spiritual devotion was beginning to degenerate into a worship of parade and demonstration, or a mere scene of riotous festivity."†

When pope Boniface was invested, by the emperor Phocas, with supreme authority over all the churches of the empire, in the way we have seen, he not only adopted all the pagan ceremonies that had previously, in various places, been incorporated into Christian worship, but speedily issued his sovereign decrees, enjoining uniformity of worship, and thus rendered these heathen rites binding upon all who were desirous of continuing in fellowship with the Romish church, or, as it now was called, the Holy Catholic church. Thus incorporated, they became a constituent element of the anti-Christian Apostasy, and have so continued to the present day.

§ 46.—In the year 1729, a distinguished scholar and divine of the Episcopal church of England, the Rev. Convers Middleton, D.D., visited the city of Rome, and has so skilfully traced "the exact conformity of Popery and Paganism" in his celebrated "letter from Rome," to which I have already had occasion to refer, that I shall avail myself, in the present chapter, somewhat at length of that learned publication, in tracing the ceremonies of papal worship to their heathen originals.

It is worthy of remark, that Dr. Middleton visited Rome not as a theologian, but as a classical scholar; not so much for the

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, cent. iv., part 2, chap. 4.
† Waddington's History of the Church, page 118.

purpose of studying the Roman Catholic religion and worship, as for the sake of studying the remains of ancient classic antiquity, and thus gratifying the taste which he had acquired at the English universities, for the study of the poets, historians, and orators of ancient Rome ;—but that when he reached Rome, so exact did he find the resemblance between the temples, the images, and ceremonies of Popery, and those of Paganism, that he came to the just conclusion that he could in no way more effectually increase his familiarity with the latter than by directing his attention to the former. But let us hear the doctor himself.

"As for my own journey to this place," says he, "it was not any motive of devotion, which draws so many others hither, that occasioned it. My zeal was not bent on visiting the holy thresholds of the apostles, and kissing the feet of their successor. I knew that their ecclesiastical antiquities were mostly fabulous and legendary ; supported by fictions and impostures, too gross to employ the attention of a man of sense. For should we allow that Peter had been at Rome, of which many learned men however have doubted, yet they had not any authentic monuments remaining of him ; any visible footsteps subsisting to demonstrate his residence among them : and should we ask them for any evidence of that kind, they would refer to *the impression of his face on the wall of the dungeon* in which he was confined, or to a fountain in the bottom of it, raised miraculously by him out of the rock, in order to baptize his fellow prisoners ; or to *the mark of our Saviour's feet in a stone*, on which he appeared to him and stopped him as he was flying out of the city, from a persecution then raging. In memory of which, there was a church built on the spot called St. Mary delle Piante, or of the marks of the feet ; which falling into decay, was supplied by a chapel, at the expense of Cardinal Pole. But the stone itself, more valuable, as the writers say, than any of the precious ones, being *a perpetual monument and proof of the Christian religion* (*!*) is preserved with all due reverence in St. Sebastian's church ; where I purchased a print of it, with several others of the same kind. Or they would appeal perhaps to the evidence of some miracle wrought at his execution ; as they do in the case of St. Paul in a church called 'at the three Fountains ;' the place where he was beheaded : on which occasion, '*instead of blood there issued only milk from his veins ;* and his head when separated from his body, having made three jumps upon the ground, raised at each place a spring of living water, which retains still, as they would persuade us, the plain taste of milk ;' of all of which facts we have an account in Baronius, Mabillon, and all their gravest authors ; and may see printed figures of them in the description of modern Rome ! !

"It was no part of my design to spend my time abroad in attending to ridiculous fictions of this kind ; the chief pleasure which I proposed to myself, was to visit the genuine remains and venerable relics of Pagan Rome ; the authentic monuments of an-

Dr. Middleton's reason for visiting Rome. Pagan antiquities best studied through popish ceremonies.

tiquity, that demonstrate the truth of those histories, which are the entertainment as well as the instruction of our younger years.

"As therefore my general studies had furnished me with a competent knowledge of Roman history, as well as an inclination to search more particularly into some branches of its antiquities, so I had resolved to employ myself in inquiries of this sort; and to lose as little time as possible in taking notice of the fopperies and ridiculous ceremonies of the present religion of the place. But I soon found myself mistaken; for the whole form and outward dress of their worship seem so grossly idolatrous and extravagant, beyond what I had imagined, and made so strong an impression on me, that I could not help considering it with a peculiar regard; especially when the very reason, which I thought would have hindered me from any notice of it at all, was the chief cause that engaged me to pay so much attention to it; for nothing, I found, concurred so much with my original intention of conversing with the ancients: or so much helped my imagination, to find myself wandering about in old Heathen Rome, as to observe and attend to their religious worship; *all whose ceremonies appear plainly to have been copied from the rituals of primitive Paganism;* as if handed down by an uninterrupted succession from the priests of old, to the priests of new Rome; whilst each of them readily explained, and called to mind some passages of a classic author, where the same ceremony was described, as transacted in the same form and manner, and in the same place where I now saw it executed before my eyes; so that as oft as I was present at any religious exercise in the churches, it was more natural to fancy myself looking on at some solemn act of idolatry in old Rome, than assisting at a worship instituted on the principles, and founded upon the plan of Christianity."

§ 47.—As a proof that these assertions are founded in truth, the following are presented as a few instances of the way in which heathen ceremonies and superstitions were transferred from Pagan to professedly Christian worship. The first is given upon the authority of Mosheim, the others upon that of Dr. Middleton, who refers to various classical authors among the ancients, and to Montfaucon, Polydore, Virgil, Platina, Hospinian, Mabillon, &c., among the moderns, for his authorities; but those who wish to consult the original authorities, I must refer to the work of Dr. Middleton.*

(1.) *Worshipping toward the East.*—Before the coming of Christ, all the eastern nations performed divine worship with their faces turned to that part of the heavens where the sun displays his rising beams. This custom was founded upon a general opinion that God, whose *essence* they looked upon to be *light*, and whom they considered as circumscribed within certain limits, dwelt in that part of the firmament, from whence he sends forth the sun, the bright image of his

* Dr. Conyers Middleton's Letter from Rome, on the exact conformity between Popery and Paganism, London, 1761—*passim.*

Burning of incense a heathen ceremony.

benignity and glory. They who embraced the Christian religion, rejected, indeed, this gross error, but they retained the ancient and universal custom of worshipping toward the East, which sprung from it. Nor is that custom abolished even in our times, but still prevails in a great number of Christian churches.*

(2.) *The burning of incense.*—Many of our divines, says Dr. Middleton, have with much learning and solid reasoning, charged and effectually proved the crime of idolatry on the church of Rome; but these controversies where the charge is denied, and with much subtlety evaded, are not capable of giving that conviction which I immediately received from my senses; the surest witness of the fact in all cases, and which no man can fail to be furnished with, who sees Popery as it is exercised in Italy, in the full pomp and display of its pageantry; and practising all its arts and powers without caution or reserve. This similitude of the popish and pagan religion, seemed so evident and clear, and struck my imagination so forcibly, that I soon resolved to give myself the trouble of searching it to the bottom: and to explain and demonstrate the certainty of it, by comparing together the principal and most obvious part of each worship, which, as it was my first employment after I came to Rome, shall be the subject of my letter; showing the source and origin of the popish ceremonies, and the exact conformity of them with those of their pagan ancestors.

The very first thing that a stranger must necessarily take notice of, as soon as he enters their churches, is *the use of incense* or perfumes in their religious offices; the first step which he takes within the door, will be sure to make him sensible of it, by the offence that he will immediately receive from the smell as well as the smoke of this incense, with which the whole church continues filled for some time after every solemn service. A custom received directly from paganism; and which presently called to my mind the old descriptions of the heathen temples and altars, which are never mentioned by the ancients, without the epithet of perfumed or incensed.

——Thuricremis cum dona imponerit Aris.—Virg., Æn. iv., 453, 486.

Sæpe Jovem vidi cum jam sua mittere vellet
Fulmina, thure dato sustinuisse manum.—Ovid.

In some of their principal churches, where you have before you in one view, a great number of altars, and all of them smoking at once with streams of incense, how natural it is to imagine one's self transported into the temple of some heathen deity, or that of the Paphian Venus described by Virgil:

Her hundred altars there with garlands crown'd,
And richest incense smoking, breathe around
Sweet odors, &c.—Æn. i., 420.

Under the pagan emperors, *the use of incense for any purpose of religion was thought so contrary to the obligations of Christianity,*

* Mosheim, cent. ii., part 2, chap. iv.

Use of holy water derived from Paganism. The jesuit La Cerda acknowledges it.

that in their persecutions, the very method of trying and convicting a Christian, was by requiring him only to throw the least grain of it into the censer, or on the altar. Under the Christian emperors, on the other hand, it was looked upon as a rite *so peculiarly heathenish*, that the very places or houses where it could be proved to have been done, were, by a law of Theodosius, confiscated to the government.

In the old *bas-reliefs*, or pieces of sculpture, where any heathen sacrifice is represented, we never fail to see a boy in a sacred habit, which was always white, attending on the priest, with a little chest or box in his hands, in which this incense was kept for the use of the altar. And in the same manner still in the church of Rome, there is always a boy in surplice waiting on the priest at the altar, with the sacred utensils; among the rest the Thuribulum or vessel of incense, which the priest, with many ridiculous motions and crossings, waves several times, as it is smoking, around and over the altar, in different parts of the service.

(3.) *The use of holy water.*—The next thing in the Roman worship, that will, of course, strike the imagination, is the use the papists make of *the holy water*, for nobody ever goes in or out of a church, but is either sprinkled by the priest, who attends for that purpose on solemn days, or else serves himself with it from a vessel, usually of marble, placed just at the door, not unlike to one of our baptismal fonts. Now this ceremony is so notoriously and directly transmitted to them from Paganism, that their own writers make not the least scruple to own it. The jesuit La Cerda, in his notes on a passage of Virgil, where this practice is mentioned, says, "Hence was derived the custom of the holy church, to provide purifying of holy water at the entrance of their churches."

Aquaminarium or *Amula*, says the learned Montfaucon, was a vase of holy water, placed by the heathens at the entrance of their temples, to sprinkle themselves with. The same vessel was by the Greeks called *Perrirranterion;* two of which, the one of gold, the other of silver, were given by Crœsus to the temple of Apollo at Delphi; and the custom of sprinkling themselves was so necessary a part of their religious offices, that *the method of excommunication seems to have been by prohibiting to offenders the approach and use of the holy water pot.* The very composition of this holy water was the same also among the heathens, as it is now among the papists, being nothing more than a mixture of salt with common water; 'Porro singulis diebus Dominicis sacerdos missæ sacrum facturus, aquam sale adspersam, benedicendo revocare debet eaque populum adspergere' (*Durant. de Rit.*, l. 1, c. 21); and the form of the sprinkling-brush, called by the ancients *aspersorium* or *aspergillum*, which is much the same with what the priests now make use of, may be seen in the *bas-reliefs*, or ancient coins, wherever the insignia, or emblems of the pagan priesthood, are described, of which it is generally one.

Platina, in his lives of the popes, and other authors, ascribe the

Justin Martyr says that it was invented by dæmons. Festival of St. Anthony.

institution of holy water to pope Alexander I., who is said to have lived about the year of Christ 113: but it could not have been introduced so early, since for some ages after, *we find the primitive fathers speaking of it as a custom purely heathenish, condemning it as impious and detestable.* Justin Martyr says, "That it was invented by dæmons in imitation of the true baptism signified by the prophets, that their votaries might also have their pretended purifications by water" (*Apol.* 1, p. 91); and the emperor Julian, out of spite to the Christians, used to order their victuals in the markets to be sprinkled with holy water, on purpose either to starve, or force them to eat, what by their own principles they esteemed polluted. Thus we see what contrary notions the primitive and Romish church have of this ceremony; the first condemns it as superstition, abominable and irreconcilable with Christianity; the latter adopts it as highly edifying and applicable to the improvement of Christian piety; the one looks upon it as the contrivance of the devil to delude mankind; the other as the security of mankind against the delusions of the devil!!

One of the most senseless and extraordinary uses to which the papists apply this holy water, is the sprinkling and blessing of *horses, mules, asses, &c.*, on the festival of St. Anthony, observed annually on the 17th of January. On that day the inhabitants of the city of Rome and vicinity send their horses, &c., decked with ribands, to the convent of St. Anthony, which is situated near the church of St. Mary the Great. The priest, in his sacerdotal garments, stands at the church door, with a large sprinkling-brush in his hand, and as each animal is presented to him, he takes off his skull cap, mutters a few words, in Latin, intimating that through the merits of the blessed St. Anthony, they are to be preserved for the coming year from sickness and death, famine and danger, then dips his brush in a huge bucket of holy water, that stands by him, and sprinkles them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* The priest

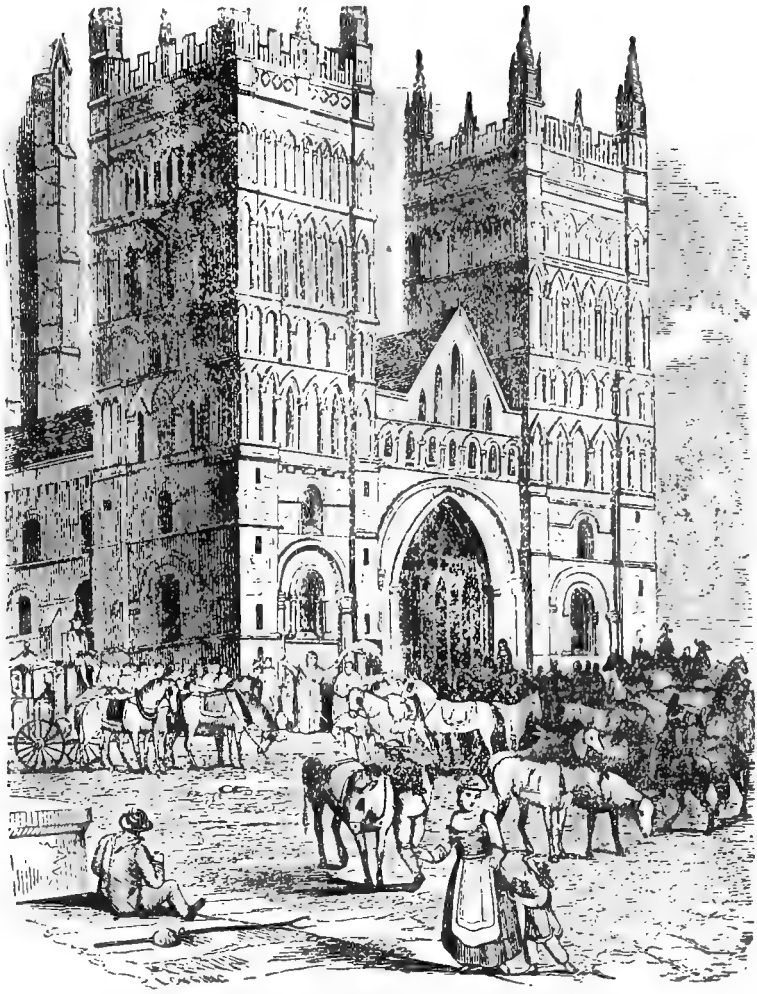
* In the preface to his letter from Rome, Dr. Middleton gives the following story from St. Jerome, as the most probable origin of this absurd custom. "A citizen of Gaza, a Christian, who kept a stable of running horses for the Circensian games, was always beaten by his antagonist, an idolator, the master of the rival stable. For the idolator, by the help of certain charms, and diabolical imprecations, constantly damped the spirits of the Christian's horses, and added courage to his own. The Christian, therefore, in despair, applied himself to St. Hilarion, and implored his assistance; but the saint was unwilling to enter into an affair so frivolous and profane, till the Christian urged it as a necessary defence against these adversaries of God, whose insults were levelled not so much at him, as the Church of Christ. And his entreaties being seconded by the monks who were present, the saint ordered his earthen jug, out of which he used to drink, to be filled with water and delivered to the man, who presently sprinkled his stable, his horses, his charioteers, his chariot, and the very boundaries of the course with it. Upon this the whole city was in wondrous expectation. The idolators derided what the Christian was doing, while the Christians took courage, and assured themselves of victory; till the signal being given for the race, the Christian's horses seemed to fly, whilst the idolator's were laboring behind and left quite out of sight! so that the pagans themselves were obliged to cry out that their god Marnas was conquered at last by Christ."—Page 17.

receives a fee for sprinkling each animal, and Dr. Middleton remarks that amongst the rest he had his own horses blessed at the expense of about eighteen pence "as well to satisfy his own curiosity, as to humor the coachman; who was persuaded, as the common people generally are, that some mischance would befall them within the year, if they wanted the benefit of this benediction." He adds, a revenue is thus provided, sufficient for the maintenance of forty or fifty of the lazy drones called monks.

Sometimes the visitor at Rome will see a splendid equipage drive up, attended by outriders, in elegant livery, to have the horses thus sprinkled with holy water, all the people remaining uncovered till the absurd and disgusting ceremony is over. On one occasion a traveller observed a countryman, whose beast having received the holy water, set off from the church door at a gallop, but had scarcely gone a hundred yards before the ungainly animal tumbled down with him, and over its head he rolled into the dust. He soon, however, arose, and so did the horse, without either seeming to have sustained much injury. The priest looked on, and though his blessing had failed, he was not out of countenance; while some of the bystanders said that but for it, the horse and his rider might have broken their necks.

A recent writer, formerly a Romish priest, and who, therefore, knows whereof he affirms, writes as follows, in relation to this ceremony, "If I could lead my readers on the 17th of January, to the church of St. Antoin in Rome, I am convinced they would *not* know whether they should laugh at the ridiculous religious performances, or *weep* over the heathenish practices of the church of Rome. He would see a priest in his sacerdotal garments, with a stole over his neck, a brush in his right hand, and sprinkling the *mules*, *asses*, and *horses*, with holy water, and praying for them and with them, and blessing them in order to be preserved the whole year from sickness and death, famine and danger, for the sake and merits of the holy Antony. All this is a grotesque scene, so grotesque that no American can have any idea of it, and heathen priests would never have thought of it. Add to that, the great mass of people, the kickings of the mules, the meetings of the lovers, the neighings of the horses, the melodious voices of the asses, the shoutings of the multitude, and mockings of the protestants, who reside in Rome, and you have a spectacle, which would be *new*, entirely *new*, not only for American protestants, but for the heathen themselves, and must be abominable in the eye of God. But enough; the subject is too serious; it is a religious exercise, practised by the priests of Rome, in the *so-called* metropolis of the Christian world, sanctioned by the self-styled infallible head of the church of Rome. All we can say is: 'Ichabod, thy glory is departed.' The priests of heathen Rome would be ashamed of such a religious display in the nineteenth century."*

* See Papal Rome as it Is, by Rev. L. Gustiniani, D. D., formerly a Roman priest.



Sprinkling and Blessing of Horses at Rome, on St. Anthony's Day

Lighting up candles in the day time a heathen custom.

(4.) *Burning wax candles in the day time.*—No sooner is a man advanced a little forward into their churches, and begins to look about him, but he will find his eyes and attention attracted by a number of *lamps and wax candles*, which are kept constantly burning before the shrines and images of their saints. In the great churches of Italy, says Mabillon, they hang up lamps at every altar; a sight which not only surprises a stranger by the novelty of it, but will furnish him with another proof and example of the conformity of the Romish with the pagan worship; by recalling to his memory many passages of the heathen writers, where their perpetual lamps and candles are described as continually burning before the altars and statues of their deities. 'Centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem.' *Virg., Æn.* iv., 200.

Herodotus tells us of the Egyptians who first introduced the use of lamps into their temples. That they had a famous yearly festival, called from the principal ceremony of it, the lighting up of candles, but there is scarcely a single festival at Rome, which might not for the same reason be called by the same name. The primitive writers frequently expose the folly and absurdity of this heathenish custom. "*They light up candles to God,*" says Lactantius, "*as if he lived in the dark; and do they not deserve to pass for madmen, who offer lamps to the author and giver of light?*"

In the collections of old inscriptions, we may find instances of presents and donations from private persons, of lamps and candlesticks to the temples and altars of their gods. A piece of zeal which continues still the same in modern Rome, where each church abounds with lamps of massive silver, and sometimes even of gold; the gifts of princes, and other persons of distinction; and it is surprising to see how great a number of this kind are perpetually before the altars of their principal saints, or miraculous images; as St. Anthony of Padua, or the lady of Loretto; as well as the vast profusion of wax candles, with which their churches are illuminated on every great festival when the high altar covered with gold and silver plate, brought out of their treasuries, and stuck full of wax lights, disposed in beautiful figures, looks more like the rich sideboard of some great prince, dressed out for a feast, than an altar to pay divine worship at.

(5.) *Votive gifts and offerings.*—But a stranger will not be more surprised at the number of lamps or wax-lights, burning before their altars, than at the number of *offerings or votive gifts*, which are hanging all around them, in consequence of vows made in the time of danger, and in gratitude for deliverance and cures wrought in sickness or distress; a practice so common among the heathens, that no one custom of antiquity is so frequently mentioned by all their writers; and many of their original donaria, or votive offerings, are preserved to this day in the cabinets of the curious; images of metal, stone, or clay, as well as legs, arms, and other parts of the body, which had formerly been hung up in their temples in testimony of some divine favor or cure effected by their titular deity

Votive offerings. Hands, feet, &c., in wax. Copies of heathen originals.

in that particular member. But the most common of all offerings were pictures representing the history of the miraculous cure or deliverance, vouchsafed upon the vow of the donor.

> Nunc dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse
> Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.—Tibul., El. i., 3.
>
> Now, goddess, help, for thou canst help bestow;
> As all these pictures round thy altars show.

A friend of Diagoras, the philosopher, called the atheist, having found him once in a temple, as the story is told by Cicero, "You," says he, "who think the gods take no notice of human affairs, do you not see here by this number of pictures, how many people, for the sake of their vows, have been saved in storms at sea, and got safe into harbor?" "Yes," says Diagoras, "I see how it is, for those are never painted who happen to be drowned." The temples of Esculapius were more especially rich in those offerings, which Livy says were the price and pay for the cures he had wrought for the sick; where they used always to hang up and expose to common view, in tables of brass or marble, a catalogue of all the miraculous cures which he had performed for his votaries. A remarkable fragment of one of these tables is still remaining and published in Gruter's Collections, having been found in the ruins of a temple of that god, in the island of the Tiber at Rome: upon which the learned Roman Catholic writer, Montfaucon, makes this reflection: *that in it are either seen the wiles of the devil, to deceive the credulous; or else the tricks of pagan priests suborning men to counterfeit diseases and miraculous cures.* Why is not this as true of Popery as Paganism?

Now this piece of superstition had been found of old so beneficial to the priesthood, that it could not fail of being taken into the scheme of the Romish worship; where it reigns at this day in its full height and vigor, as in the ages of pagan idolatry; and in so gross a manner, as to give scandal and offence even to some of their own communion. Polydore Virgil, after having described this practice of the ancients, "in the same manner," says he, "do we now offer up in our churches little images of wax; and as oft as any part of the body is hurt, as the hand or foot, &c., we presently make a vow to God, or one of his saints, to whom, upon our recovery, we make an offering of that hand or foot in wax; which custom is now come to that extravagance, that we do the same for our cattle which we do for ourselves, and make offerings on account of our oxen, horses, sheep; where a scrupulous man will question, in this we imitate the religion or the superstition of our ancestors." As oft as I have had the curiosity to look over those Donaria, or votive offerings, hanging round the shrines of their images, and consider the several stories of each, as they are either expressed in painting or related in writing, I have always found them to be mere copies, or verbal translations of the originals of heathenism; for the vow is often said to have been divinely inspired, or expressly commanded; and the

cure and deliverance to have been wrought either by the visible apparition, and immediate hand of the titular saint, or by the notice of a dream, or some other miraculous admonition from heaven. "There can be no doubt," say their writers, "but that images of our saints often work signal miracles, by procuring health to the infirm, and appearing to us often in dreams, to suggest something of great moment for our service."

And what is all this but a revival of the old impostures, and a repetition of the same old stories of which the ancient inscriptions are full, with no difference than what the pagans ascribe to the imaginary help of their deities, the papists as foolishly impute to the favor of their saints? Whether the reflection of Father Montfaucon on the pagan priests, mentioned above, be not, in the very same case, as justly applicable to the Roman priests, I must leave to the judgment of my reader.

(6.) *Adoration of idols or images.*—When a man is once engaged in reflections of this kind, imagining himself in some heathen temple, and expecting, as it were, some sacrifice or other piece of Paganism to ensue, he will not be long in suspense, before he sees the finishing act and last scene of genuine idolatry, in crowds of bigot votaries, prostrating themselves before some *image of wood or stone*, and paying divine honors to an idol of their own erecting. Should they squabble with us here, about the meaning of the word *idol*, Jerome has determined it to the very case in question, telling us, that by idols are to be understood the images of the dead: 'Idola intelligimus Imagines mortuorum.' (*Hier Com. in Isa.*, c. xxxvii.) And the worshippers of such images are used always in the style of the fathers, as terms synonymous and equivalent to heathens and pagans. As to the practice itself, it was condemned by many of the wisest heathens, and for several ages, even in pagan Rome, was thought impious and detestable: for Numa, we find, prohibited it to the old Romans, nor would suffer any images in their temples; which constitution they observed religiously, says Plutarch, for the first hundred and seventy years of the city. But as image worship was thought abominable even by some pagan princes, so by some of the Christian emperors it was forbidden on pain of death; not because those images were the representations of demons or false gods, but because they were vain, senseless idols, the work of men's hands, and for that reason unworthy of any honor: and all the instances and overt acts of such worship, described and condemned by them, are exactly the same with what the papists practise at this day; lighting up candles, burning incense, hanging up garlands, &c., as may be seen in the law of Theodosius before mentioned, which confiscates that house or land where any such act of Gentile superstition had been committed. Those princes who were influenced, we may suppose, in their constitutions of this sort, by the advice of their bishops, did not think Paganism abolished, till the adoration of images was utterly extirpated; which was reckoned always the principal of those Gentile rites,

that agreeably to the sense of the purest ages of Christianity, are never mentioned in the imperial laws without the epithets of profane, damnable, impious, &c.

What opinion then can we have of the present practice of the church of Rome, but that by a change only of name, they have found means to retain the thing; and by substituting their saints in the place of the old demigods, have but set up idols of their own, instead of those of their forefathers? In which it is hard to say whether their assurance or their address is more to be admired, who have the face to make that the principal part of Christian worship, which the first Christians looked upon as the most criminal part even of Paganism, and have found means to extract gain and great revenues out of a practice which in primitive times would have cost a man both his life and estate. But our notion of the idolatry of modern Rome will be much heightened still and confirmed, as oft as we follow them into those temples, and to those very altars which were built originally by their heathen ancestors, the old Romans, to the honor of their pagan deities, where we shall hardly see any other alteration than the shrine of some old hero filled by the meaner statue of some modern saint. Nay, they have not always, as I am well informed, given themselves the trouble of making even this change, but *have been content sometimes to take up with the old image, just as they found it;* after baptizing it only, as it were, or consecrating it anew by the imposition of a Christian name. This their antiquaries do not scruple to put strangers in mind of in showing their churches; and it was, I think, in that of St. Agnes where they showed me an antique of a young Bacchus, which, with a new name and a little change of drapery, stands now worshipped under the title of a female saint.

(7.) *The Gods of the Pantheon turned into popish saints.*—The noblest heathen temple now remaining in the world, is *the Pantheon*, or Rotunda; which, as the inscription over the portico informs us, having been piously dedicated of old by Agrippa to Jove and all the gods, was impiously reconsecrated by Pope Boniface IV., about A. D. 610, TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND ALL THE SAINTS.

PANTHEON, &c.
AB AGRIPPA AUGUSTI GENERO,
IMPIE JOVI, CÆTERISQ; MENDACIBUS DIIS,
A. BONIFACIO IIII. PONTIFICE,
DEIPARÆ & S. S. CHRISTI MARTYRIBUS PIO
DICATUM, &c.

With this single alteration, it serves as exactly for all the purposes of the popish as it did for the pagan worship, for which it was built. For as in the old temple, every one might find the God of his country, and address himself to that deity, whose religion he was most devoted to; so it is the same thing now; every one chooses the patron whom he likes best; and one may see here different services going on at the same time at different altars, with

distinct congregations round them, just as the inclinations of the people lead them to the worship of this or that particular Saint.

And what better title can the new demigods show, to the adoration now paid them, than the old ones, whose shrines they have usurped? Or how comes it to be less criminal to worship images, erected by the Pope, than those which Agrippa, or that which Nebuchadnezzar set up? If there be any real difference, most people will, I dare say, be apt to determine in favor of the old possessors. For those heroes of antiquity were raised up into gods, and received divine honors, for some signal benefits, of which they had been the authors to mankind; as the invention of arts and sciences; or of something highly useful and necessary to life Whereas of the Romish saints, it is certain that many of them were never heard of, but in their own legends or fabulous histories; and many more, instead of services done to mankind, owe all the honors now paid to them, to their vices or their errors; whose merit, like that of Demetrius, (Acts xix., 23), was their skill of raising rebellions in defence of an idol, and throwing kingdoms into convulsions, for the sake of some gainful imposture.

And as it is in the Pantheon, it is just the same in all the other heathen temples, that still remain in Rome; they have only pulled down one idol to set up another; and changed rather the name than the object of their worship. Thus the little temple of Vesta, near the Tiber, mentioned by Horace, is now possessed by Madonna of the Sun; that of Fortuna Virilis, by Mary the Egyptian; that of Saturn, where the public treasure was anciently kept, by St. Adrian; that of Romulus and Remus in the Via Sacra, by two other brothers, Cosmas and Damianus; that of Antoninus Pius, by Laurence the saint; but for my part, adds Dr. Middleton, I should sooner be tempted to prostrate myself before the statue of a Romulus or an Antonine, than that of a Laurence or a Damian; and give divine honors rather with pagan Rome, to the founders of empires, than with popish Rome, to the founders of monasteries.

In reply to these observations of Dr. Middleton, some may inquire whether there is anything wrong in the change of a heathen temple to a Christian place of worship, any more than in the change of theatres into churches, which is frequently done in the present day. To this objection we answer, that it is not to the change of the Pantheon into a Christian temple we object, but to the adoption of the pagan ceremonies into Christian worship, and the adoring the same images of heathen deities, under the names of Christian saints.

(8.) *Road gods and saints.*—But their temples are not the only places where we see the proofs and overt acts of their superstition: the whole face of the country has the visible characters of Paganism upon it; and wherever we look about us, we cannot but find, as Paul did in Athens (Acts xvii. 16), clear evidence of its being possessed by a superstitious and idolatrous people.

The old Romans, we know, had their *gods, who presided pecu-*

liarly over the roads, streets, and highways, called Viales, Semitales, Compitales: whose little temples or altars are decked with flowers, or whose statues at least, coarsely carved of wood or stone, were placed at convenient distances in the public ways, for the benefit of travellers, who used to step aside to pay their devotions to those rural shrines, and beg a prosperous journey and safety in their travels.

Now this custom prevails still so generally in all popish countries, but especially in Italy, that one can see no other difference between the old and present superstition, than that of changing the name of the Deity, and christening as it were the old *Hecate in triviis,* by the new name of *Maria in trivio;* by which title I have observed one of their churches dedicated in this city: and as the heathens used to paint over the ordinary statues of their gods with red or some such gay color, so I have oft observed the coarse images of those saints so daubed over with a gaudy red, as to resemble exactly the description of the god Pan in Virgil (*Eclogue* 10). In passing along the road, it is common to see travellers on their knees before these rustic altars; which none ever presume to approach without some act of reverence; and those who are most in haste, or at a distance, are sure to pull off their hats, at least, in token of respect: and I took notice that our postillion used to look back upon us to see how we behaved on such occasions, and seemed surprised at our passing so negligently before places esteemed so sacred.

(9.) *The Pope and the Pontifex Maximus and kissing the Pope's toe.*—In their very *priesthood,* they have contrived to keep up as near a resemblance as they could to that of pagan Rome: and the sovereign pontiff, instead of deriving his succession from Peter, who, if ever he was at Rome, did not reside there at least in any worldly pomp or splendor, may with more reason and much better plea style himself the successor of the Pontifex Maximus, or chief priest of old Rome; whose authority and dignity was the greatest in the republic; and who was looked upon as the arbiter or judge of all things, civil as well as sacred, human as well as divine: whose power established almost with the foundation of the city, "was an omen," says Polydore Virgil, "and sure presage of priestly majesty, by which Rome was once again to reign as universally, as it had done before by the force of its arms."

But of all the sovereign pontiffs of pagan Rome, it is very remarkable that Caligula was the first who ever offered his *foot to be kissed* by any who approached him: which raised a general indignation through the city, to see themselves reduced to suffer so great an indignity. Those who endeavored to excuse it, said that it was not done out of insolence, but vanity; and for the sake of showing his golden slipper, set with jewels. Seneca declaims upon it as the last affront to liberty, and the introduction of a Persian slavery into the manners of Rome. Yet, this servile act, unworthy either to be imposed or complied with by man, is now the standing

ceremonial of Christian Rome, and a necessary condition of access to the reigning Popes, though derived from no better origin than the frantic pride of a brutal pagan tyrant.

(10.) *Processions of worshippers and self-whippers.*—The descriptions of the *religious pomps and processions* of the heathens come so near to what we see on every festival of the Virgin or other Romish saint, that one can hardly help thinking those popish ones to be still regulated by the old ceremonial of pagan Rome. At these solemnities the chief magistrates used frequently to assist in robes of ceremony, attended by the priests in surplices, with wax candles in their hands, carrying upon a pageant or thensa the images of their gods, dressed out in their best clothes. These were usually followed by the principal youth of the place in white linen vestments or surplices, singing hymns in honor of the god whose festival they were celebrating, accompanied by crowds of all sorts, that were initiated in the same religion, all with flambeaux or wax candles in their hands. This is the account which Apuleius and other authors give us of a pagan procession; and I may appeal to all who have been abroad, whether it might not pass quite as well for the description of a popish one. Tournefort, in his travels through Greece, reflects upon the Greek church for having retained and taken into their present worship many of the old rites of heathenism, and particularly that of carrying and dancing about the images of the saints in their processions to singing and music. The reflection is full as applicable to his own, as it is to the Greek church, and the practice itself is so far from giving scandal in Italy, that the learned publisher of the Florentine Inscriptions takes occasion to show the conformity between them and the heathens, from this very instance of carrying about the pictures of their saints, as the pagans did those of their gods, in their sacred processions. (*Inscrip. Antiq. Flor.*, 377.)

In one of those processions made lately to St. Peter's in the time of Lent, I saw that ridiculous penance of the *flagellantes or self-whippers*, who march with whips in their hands, and lash themselves as they go along on the bare back till it is all covered with blood; in the same manner as the fanatical priests of Bellona or the Syrian Goddess, as well as the votaries of Isis, used to slash and cut themselves of old, in order to please the goddess by the sacrifice of their own blood, which mad piece of discipline we find frequently mentioned and as oft ridiculed by the ancient writers.

But they have another exercise of the same kind and in the same season of Lent, which, under the notion of penance, is still a more absurd mockery of all religion. When on a certain day appointed annually for this discipline, men of all conditions assemble themselves towards the evening in one of the churches of the city, where the whips or lashes made of cords are provided and distributed to every person present, and after they are all served, and a short office of devotion performed, the candles being put out, upon the warning of a little bell, the whole company begin to strip

Seneca's opinion of the self-whippers. Pagan and papal mendicant monks

and try the force of these whips on their own backs, for the space of near an hour; during all which time the church becomes, as it were, the proper image of hell; where nothing is heard but the noise of lashes and chains, mixed with the groans of those self-tormentors; till satiated with their exercise they are content to put on their clothes, and the candles being lighted again, upon the tinkling of a second bell, they all appear in their proper dress.

Seneca, alluding to the very same effects of fanaticism in pagan Rome, says, "So great is the force of it on disordered minds, that they try to appease the gods by such methods as an enraged man would hardly take to revenge himself. But, if there be any gods who desire to be worshipped after this manner, they do not deserve to be worshipped at all; since the very worst of tyrants, though they have sometimes torn and tortured people's limbs, yet have never commanded men to torture themselves."

(11.) *Religious orders of monks, nuns, &c.*—The great variety of their *religious orders and societies* of priests seems to have been formed upon the plan of the old colleges or fraternities of the Augurs, Pontifices, Selli, Fratres Arvales, &c. The *vestal virgins might furnish the hint for the foundation of nunneries;* and I have observed something very like to the rules and austerities of the monastic life, in the character and manner of several priests of the heathens, who used to live by themselves retired from the world, near to the temple or oracle of the deity to whose particular service they were devoted; as the Selli, the priests of Dodonæan Jove, or *self-mortifying race.* From the character of those Selli, or as others call them Elli, the monks of the pagan world, seated in the fruitful soil of Dodona, abounding, as Hesiod describes it, with everything that could make life easy and happy, and whither no man ever approached them without an offering in his hands, we may learn whence their successors of modern times have derived their peculiar skill or prescriptive right of choosing the richest part of every country for the place of their settlement.

> Whose groves the Selli, race austere, surround;
> Their feet unwash'd, their slumbers on the ground.—*Pope, Il.* xvii., 324.

But above all, in the old descriptions of the lazy mendicant priests among the heathens, who used to travel from house to house, with sacks on their backs, and, from an opinion of their sanctity, raise large contributions of money, bread, wine, and all kinds of victuals for the support of their fraternity, we see the very picture of the begging friars, who are always about the streets in the same habit and on the same errand, and never fail to carry home with them a good sack full of provisions for the use of their convent.

Cicero, in his book of laws, restrains this practice of begging or gathering alms to one particular order of priests, and that only on certain days; because, as he says, it propagates superstition and impoverishes families. Which may let us see the policy of the church of Rome, in the great care that they have taken to multiply

This conformity between Popery and Paganism acknowledged and defended by a Romanist author

their begging orders. 'Stipem sustulimus, usi eam quam ad paucos dies propriam Idææ matris excepimus. Implet enim superstitione animos, exhaurit domos.' (*Cic. de Legib.*, 1, 2, 9, 16.)

§ 48.—After carrying out the comparison between Paganism and Popery, in relation to their pretended miracles, lying signs and wonders, &c., Dr. Middleton concludes his learned and most conclusive letter as follows:—I could easily carry on this parallel, through many more instances of the pagan and popish ceremonies, to show from what spring all that superstition flows, which we so justly charge them with, and how vain an attempt it must be to justify by the principles of Christianity, a worship formed upon the plan and after the very pattern of pure heathenism. I shall not trouble myself with inquiring at what time and in what manner those several corruptions were introduced into the church; whether they were contrived by the intrigues and avarice of priests, who found their advantage in reviving and propagating impostures, which had been of old so profitable to their predecessors; or whether the genius of Rome was so strongly turned to fanaticism and superstition that they were forced, in condescension to the humor of the people, to dress up their new religion to the modes and fopperies of the old. This, I know, is the principle by which their own writers defend themselves as oft as they are attacked on this head.

Aringhus, a Roman Catholic writer, in his account of subterraneous Rome, acknowledges this conformity between the pagan and popish rites, and defends the admission of the ceremonies of heathenism into the service of the church by the authority of their wisest popes and governors; "who found it necessary," he says, "in the conversion of the Gentiles, to dissemble and wink at many things and yield to the times, and not to use force against customs which the people are so obstinately fond of, nor to think of extirpating at once everything that had the appearance of profane." It is by the same principles that the Jesuits defend the concessions which they make at this day to their proselytes in China; who, where pure Christianity will not go down, never scruple to compound the matter between Jesus and Confucius, and prudently allow what the stiff old prophets so impoliticly condemned, a partnership between God and Baal; of which, though they have often been accused at the court of Rome, yet I have never heard that their conduct has been censured. But this kind of reasoning, how plausible soever it may be, with regard to the first ages of Christianity, or to nations just converted from Paganism, is so far from excusing the present heathenism of the church of Rome, that it is a direct condemnation of it; since the necessity alleged for the practice, if ever it had any real force, has not, at least for many ages past, at all subsisted; and their toleration of such practices seems now to be the readiest way to drive Christians back again to heathenism.

I have sufficiently made good what I first undertook to prove;

This policy of conciliating the heathen adopted by Gregory the Great

an exact conformity, or rather uniformity, of worship between Popery and Paganism. For since we see the present people of Rome worshipping IN THE SAME TEMPLES, AT THE SAME ALTARS, sometimes THE SAME IMAGES, and ALWAYS WITH THE SAME CEREMONIES as the old Romans, WHO CAN ABSOLVE THEM FROM THE SAME SUPERSTITION AND IDOLATRY of which we condemn their pagan ancestors?

Those who would wish to see this striking parallel between Popery and Paganism carried out yet farther, must consult the valuable and masterly work to which I am indebted for most of these interesting particulars, with the full references and original quotations from various authorities, ancient as well as modern, Roman Catholic as well as protestant.

§ 49.—That this policy of conciliating the heathen nations by adopting their pagan ceremonies into Christian worship, had been adopted previous to the epoch of the papal supremacy, A. D. 606. is abundantly evident from the instructions given by Gregory the Great, to Augustin, his missionary in Britain, and to Serenus, the bishop of Marseilles, in France, both of whom had written to the pontiff for advice.

The account of Gregory's instructions to Augustin, as related by Bower, is as follows: "Not satisfied with directing Austin not to destroy, but to reserve for the worship of God, the profane *places* where the pagan Saxons had worshipped their idols, Gregory would have him treat the more profane *usages*, *rites*, and *ceremonies* of the pagans in the same manner, that is, not to abolish, but to sanctify them, by changing the end for which they were instituted, and introduce them, thus sanctified, into the Christian worship. This he specifies in a particular ceremony. 'Whereas it is a custom,' says he, 'among the Saxons to slay abundance of oxen, and sacrifice them to the devil, you must not abolish that custom, but appoint a new festival to be kept either on the day of the consecration of the churches, or the birth-day of the saints, whose relics are deposited there, and on these days the Saxons may be allowed to make arbors round the temples changed into churches, to kill their oxen, and to feast, as they did while they were still pagans, only they shall offer their thanks and praises, not to the devil, but to God.' This advice, absolutely irreconcilable with the purity of the gospel-worship, the Pope founds on a pretended impossibility of weaning men at once from rites and ceremonies to which they have been long accustomed, and on the hopes of bringing the converts, in due time, by such an indulgence, to a better sense of their duty to God. Thus was the religion of the Saxons, our ancestors, so disfigured and corrupted with all the superstitions of Paganism, at its first being planted among them, that it scarce deserved the name of Christianity, but was rather a mixture of Christianity and Paganism, or Christianity and Paganism moulded, as it were, into a third religion."

The other instance was as follows: "The Franks, who had settled

He commands Serenus to restore the images to the churches, for the sake of gratifying the pagans.

in the south of Gaul, now France, had been indulged, at the time of their conversion, in the use of images, and that indulgence had insensibly brought them back to idolatry, for turning the images of Christ into idols, they paid them the same kind of worship or adoration, after their conversion, which they had paid to their idols before their conversion. This Serenus could not bear, and, therefore, to show his abhorrence of such abominations, and at the same time to prevent them in time to come, he caused all the images throughout his diocese to be pulled down, and to be cast out of the churches, and destroyed. That wise and zealous prelate was, it seems, even then, when the dangerous practice of setting up images was yet in its infancy, apprised of a truth, which all have now learned by the experience of many ages,—all, at least, who care to learn it, viz.: that IMAGES CANNOT BE ALLOWED, AND IDOLATRY PREVENTED. However, this instance of his zeal for the purity of the Christian worship, was very ill received at Rome. And, indeed Gregory acted therein consistently with himself, for, having directed Austin, this very year, to introduce the pagan rites and usages into the church, he could not but blame Serenus for thus excluding them, and he wrote to him accordingly, commending indeed his zeal in not suffering to be worshipped that which was made with hands, but at the same time blaming him for breaking them, 'to prevent their being worshipped, since they served the ignorant in the room of books, and instructed, by being seen, those who could not read.' But the reason on which the pope seems to have laid his chief stress, in censuring the conduct of Serenus, was, that, by breaking the images, and banishing them from the churches, he would prejudice the barbarians (that is, the Franks), among whom he lived, against the Christian religion; so that it was chiefly to gratify the pagans, who were converted, to facilitate the conversion of the others, and to adapt the Christian religion to their ideas and notions, that the use of images, and many other rites of the pagan worship, were allowed in the church. But how different was this method of converting the pagans from that which the apostles pursued, and their immediate successors, nay, and all apostolic men for the three first centuries after Christ? With them it was a principle not to sanctify, but utterly to abolish all pagan rites, all superstitious practices whatever, and introduce, in their room, a plainness and simplicity suited to the worship of God, in spirit and truth. Upon that principle images of no kind were suffered in the churches during the three first centuries, as is allowed by several Roman Catholic writers; nay, it was not till the latter end of the fourth century, that the pagan temples began to be converted into Christian churches. They had all, till then, been either shut up, or pulled down, the bishops of those times thinking it a great profanation to worship God even in the places where worship had been paid to the devil."*

The above remarkable instances of papal conformity to Pagan-

* Bower's History of the Popes, in vita Gregory I.

This time-serving conformity to Paganism, as early as the papal supremacy.

ism, related upon the unquestionable authority of Gregory's own epistles,* are a proof that this wicked policy had been thus early adopted, and though it is not perhaps absolutely certain that *all* the pagan ceremonies, above enumerated, were introduced into the Romish worship so early as 606, yet, without doubt, most of them were in use in the time of Boniface, and the others, not long after. The Pantheon, as we have seen, was consecrated to "the VIRGIN AND ALL THE SAINTS," within four or five years of the establishment of the papal supremacy; and on that occasion pope Boniface IV. employed the newly acquired papal authority, in enjoining upon all the faithful the observance of a festival in commemoration of that event, which is still celebrated with great ceremony in all popish countries, on the first of November, called the Feast of All Saints. Image worship, as we shall see, was not finally and fully established till about the middle of the ninth century, after a long contest between different emperors, popes, and councils. The history and origin of these pagan innovations upon Christian worship, has been given at considerable length, because it is believed that the most satisfactory mode is thereby suggested of answering the question which so frequently presents itself to the candid and inquiring mind, when contemplating the heathen mummeries of papal worship. Can it be possible that this is Christianity? that this is the religion of the New Testament? of Jesus Christ and his apostles? and if it is called by the name, whence did it become so corrupted? so like the religion of pagan Greece and Rome? The answer is NO, THIS IS NOT CHRISTIANITY, it is Paganism, under that venerated name, and the transformation was effected by borrowing the temples, the idols, and the ceremonies of heathenism, to silence the scruples, and to win the suffrages of those who had no taste for a religion SO PURE, SO SPIRITUAL, AND SO HOLY AS THE RELIGION OF CHRIST.

* See Epist. Greg., lib. ix., epist. 71, and lib. vii., epist 110.

BOOK III.

POPERY ADVANCING—A. D. 606—800.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPIRITUAL SUPREMACY, A. D. 606, TO THE POPES' TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY, 756, AND TO THE CROWNING OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE, 800

CHAPTER I.

GRADUAL INCREASE OF THE PAPAL POWER. DARKNESS, SUPERSTITION, AND IGNORANCE OF THIS PERIOD.

§ 1.—That part of the above-named period extending from the establishment of the papal supremacy in 606 to the epoch of the Popes' temporal sovereignty, 756, possesses peculiar interest to the student of history. These two dates are those upon which writers on the prophecies, relative to Popery, have been chiefly divided as to the proper commencement of its existence as the little horn of Daniel (ch. vii. 8). The most judicious writers, however, have generally preferred the latter date, or some other noting the increase or confirmation of the Popes' *temporal* power, as Popery could not properly be called *a horn* till it was, like the other horns, a temporal sovereignty.

It is not to be supposed that the various churches of the West, much less of the East, gave up without a struggle their ancient liberty and independence as soon as the decree of a tyrant constituted the Roman prelate Universal Bishop and supreme head of the church. The Popes, it is true, used all sorts of means to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence which they had acquired by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history. We find, however, in the most authentic accounts of the transactions of this century, that not only several emperors and princes, but also whole nations, opposed the ambitious views of the bishops of Rome. Besides all this, multitudes of private persons expressed publicly, and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition of the Roman pontiffs; and it is highly probable, that the Waldenses or Vaudois had already, in this century, retired into the valleys of Piedmont, that they might be more at their liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates.*

* See Antoine Leger's Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, livr. i., p. 15.

Election of popes confirmed by the Emperor. Popish morality No faith with heretics

§ 2.—The popes were still the subjects of the Roman emperors, and their election to the Popedom gave them no official authority till confirmed either by the Emperor himself or his viceroy in Italy, the exarch of Ravenna. This, of course, was nothing more than natural and just, that since this spiritual sovereignty was created by the Emperor it should be confirmed by the same authority. Sometimes when the popes elect were suspected of being opposed to the views of the Emperor, considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining the imperial confirmation of their election. Thus, upon the election of pope Severinus in 640, we learn from a letter of the monk Maximus, that the emperor Heraclius, at the instigation of the clergy of Constantinople, refused to confirm his election to the popedom till his legates had promised the Emperor to persuade the newly-elected pope to sign the *Echthesis*, a decree of which we shall hear more in a future chapter; but, adds the monk, though they complied with the Emperor's demand, *they never intended to perform so sinful a promise.* So that, as Bower remarks, "they did not, it seems, think it sinful to make a promise which they thought it sinful to perform."* A characteristic illustration of genuine popish morality! But why complain? Heraclius, in the estimation of the Pope and his legates, was a heretic, and the votaries of Rome had already learned to act upon the principle, so shamelessly avowed seven or eight centuries later, in the council of Constance, that NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS. The consequence of this delay was, that pope Severinus was not ordained till about a year and a half after his election.

§ 3.—In 685, pope Benedict II., according to the account of the Romish historian Anastasius, had sufficient influence with the emperor Constantine IV. to obtain from him a decree permitting the ordination of popes in future, immediately upon their election, without waiting for the confirmation of the Emperor or his deputy in Italy; but in less than two years, Justinian, who had succeeded his father in the empire, conceiving this to be a dangerous concession, revoked the decree, and vested the power of confirming the election of future popes in the exarch of Italy, commonly called, from the place of his residence, the exarch of Ravenna. Two or three years later the Exarch made a profitable use of this privilege by unjustly extorting an enormous sum from pope Sergius, before consenting to confirm his election.† It had ever been the custom, at least since the decree of Phocas, to pay a certain sum into the imperial treasury, when the election of a pope was confirmed, but in this case the Exarch demanded a much larger sum than usual. The circumstances were these: In the year 687, two candidates for the popedom, Theodore and Pascal, had been elected by rival

* History of the Popes, vol. iii., p. 21.

† Anastasius in vita Sergius. This historian, generally called *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, lived in the ninth century. He was the *librarian* of the church of Rome and abbot of St. Mary beyond the Tiber. He wrote Liber Pontificalis, in four volumes, folio, containing the lives of some of the popes.

Price of a seat in the chair of St. Peter. The Pope appoints Theodore archbishop of Canterbury

parties. A violent and disgraceful tumult ensued between the respective friends of each. The judges and magistrates of Rome in vain sought to bring the two ambitious priests to an agreement, and to induce one to yield to the other. Failing in this attempt, they formed a new party, and proceeded to elect a third candidate named Sergius, and carrying him in triumph to the Lateran, forced the gates and put him in possession of the place. Upon this Theodore yielded his claim and joined the party of Sergius. The other competitor, pascal, obstinately persisted in his claim. He had made a private agreement with the Exarch to reward him with a bribe of thirty pounds of gold, upon condition that he should be chosen and confirmed as pope. Instead, therefore, of yielding to Sergius, he despatched a messenger in all haste to Ravenna, for the Exarch immediately to repair to Rome and consummate his agreement. Upon the arrival of the latter in the city, learning the discouraging situation of Paschal's affairs, and concluding that he could make a better bargain with Sergius, he immediately acknowledged him as pope, but demanded the enormous sum of *one hundred* pounds of gold before he would consent to confirm his election. In the end, though much against his will, Sergius was under the necessity of submitting to the exorbitant demand, though he had to pawn the very ornaments of the tomb of St. Peter before he could raise the sum necessary to secure the imperial signature to the decree confirming his election. The above is named, upon the authority of Anastasius, only as a specimen of the means frequently resorted to in order to supply the links in this boasted unbroken chain of HOLY APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION! It serves also as an illustration of the fact that the popes had not yet attained temporal sovereignty, but were still dependent for the spiritual power they wielded upon the emperors.

§ 4.—The popes, however, were restless, under this odious restraint; they had reached, by means of the emperors, the height of spiritual supremacy, and now they were anxious to knock away the ladder by which they had attained this eminence, render themselves independent of all earthly governments, and assume a rank among the temporal sovereigns of the earth, and they watched with eagle gaze for every opportunity of confirming and enlarging their power. One remarkable instance of this occurred in the appointment by the sole authority of the Pope, in 667, of Theodore, as archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the death of the prelate that had been appointed in England, while waiting at Rome for his ordination. To reconcile king Oswy to his assumption, he, the Pope, sent him a flattering letter, with a choice collection of his trumpery relics, and to his "spiritual daughter," the queen, he sent a cross and golden key, enriched with a portion of the filings of Peter's noted chain. Theodore, *after having his head shaved according to the Roman law*, was despatched to England, and forthwith acknowledged, in consequence of his having been chosen and ordained by the successor of St. Peter, as the primate of all England. From that time to the

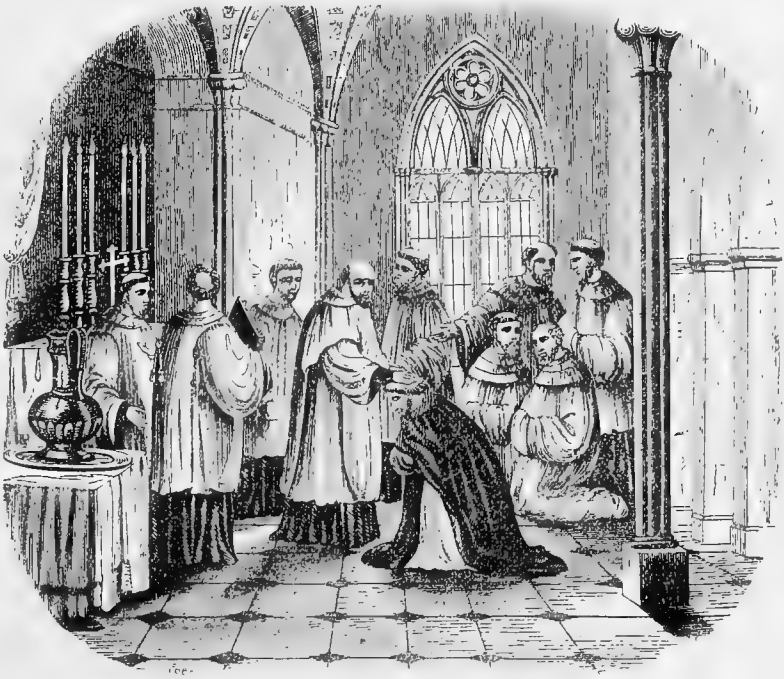
present, the archbishop of Canterbury has enjoyed a degree of power and authority in Great Britain, superior to that of any other ecclesiastic in the realm.

§ 5.—As a specimen of the *important* matters of disputation which in this age were regarded as of sufficient importance to divide the ignorant priests and monks into opposite and contending parties, may be mentioned, the famous dispute in England, relative to what was called the *ecclesiastical tonsure.* In plain English, the manner in which the priests should *shave their heads!* When the missionaries who came over to Britain from Rome, about the middle of the seventh century, encountered the Scottish and Irish priests, they were horrified at the terrible discovery that the British clergy, instead of a *circular tonsure* on the occiput, were distinguished by a tonsure *on the forehead, in the shape of a crescent!* And this was the momentous cause of the fierce controversy that ensued between the two parties. "The grand question was," says Bower, "whether the hair of the priests and monks should be clipped or shaved on the fore part of the head, from ear to ear, in the form of a semicircle, or on the top of the head, in form of a circle, to imitate the crown of thorns which our Saviour wore, and of which it was thought to be an emblem. The Scots shaved the fore part of their heads, and the missionaries from Rome the top, calling that the tonsure of St. Peter, as if it had been derived from that apostle. When, by whom, or on what occasion, the ecclesiastical tonsure, that is, the clipping or shaving the hair of the ecclesiastics, was first introduced, is not well known. But certain it is, that in the time of St. Jerome, who flourished in the end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth century, a Romish priest, with his shaven crown, would have been taken for a priest of Isis or Serapis; a shaven crown being then, as that father informs us, the characteristic or badge of those priests. As for the Christian priests, they were neither to shave their heads, as we learn of the same father, lest they should look too like the priests and votaries of Isis and Serapis; nor to suffer their hair to grow long, after the luxurious manner of the barbarians and soldiers, but to observe a decent mean between the two extremes; that is, as he explains it, to let the hair grow long enough to cover their skin. It was therefore probably the custom to cut their hair to a moderate degree, at their ordination, not by way of a religious mystery, but merely for the sake of decency, and that nothing else was originally meant by the ecclesiastical tonsure. However that be, the cutting of the hair was, in process of time, improved into a mystery, and the heathenish ceremony of shaving the head not only adopted by the church, but looked upon as important enough to divide it."

§ 6.—A curious illustration of the importance attached to this foolish custom of shaving the head in a particular manner, is connected with the ordination of Theodore above referred to, and is related upon the authority of the venerable Bede. In the year 667, Oswy and Egbert, the kings of Northumberland and Kent in Eng-

ROMISH. SCOTTISH EASTERN

Different forms of Priestly Tonsure, or Shaving Heads



Consecration of an Abbot by Imposition of Hand.

An archbishop waiting to have his head shaved — The Pope encourages appeals to Rome.

land, despatched Wighard, a newly elected archbishop of Canterbury to receive his ordination from the hands of the Pope, with a present to St. Peter, of several valuable articles of silver and gold. Wighard, dying of the plague, which then raged at Rome, the Pope resolved to embrace the favorable opportunity of advancing his power, by choosing an archbishop himself, instead of sending to the two kings, to request them, according to the previous custom, to elect a successor to Wighard. The Pope soon after nominated an Eastern monk, named Theodore, and informed the two kings that he would proceed to his consecration, and despatch him to England. Notwithstanding they were impatiently expecting his arrival, three months were permitted to elapse before his consecration, and what does the reader suppose was the all-important cause of this delay. *Risum teneatis, amici!* The historian gravely informs us that he was tarrying at Rome *till his hair was grown!* Theodore being an Eastern monk, had his head shaved *all over*, according to the custom of the East, and this was called the tonsure of St. Paul. The Pope deemed it necessary, therefore, to delay the consecration till his hair was grown all over, so that he might be shaven only on the top of his head, in the form of a crown. This was called the Roman tonsure, or the tonsure of St. Peter. It would hardly be deemed credible that so much importance should be attached to such puerile trifles, were not the fact confirmed by the continuance of this absurd and senseless heathen practice of shaving the top of the head among the priests of Rome, down to the present day.

§ 7.—Another most effectual way which the popes took to increase their power and influence, in this period, was to encourage appeals from the decisions of other ecclesiastical courts to the apostolic See, by almost invariably deciding in favor of the appellant, whatever might be the just merits of the case. Thus in the very next year after the appointment of Theodore to Canterbury, the same pope Vitalianus reversed the judgment of a synod consisting of all the bishops of the island of Crete, against one John, bishop of Lappa in that island, who had been found guilty of certain crimes, absolved the criminal, and imperiously commanded Paul, the primate of Crete, to restore the deposed bishop to his office.

The same thing happened a few years later, in the case of Wilfrid, bishop of York, who, according to the biographer of queen Etheldreda, the wife of Ecgfrid, king of Northumberland, had encouraged that queen in a resolution she had formed, to refuse to the king the rights of a husband, and to take a vow of chastity, and retire into a monastery. Persisting in this resolution, in express opposition to the wishes of her husband, the king requested Wilfrid to use his influence with the queen, to bring her to a sense of her duty. Instead of this, however, he only confirmed her in her resolution, and the queen retired to a monastery in Scotland, where she received the veil at the hands of Wilfrid himself. The king, who loved his wife with the greatest tenderness, took a journey to Scotland, to try and persuade her to return, but failing in this, he vented

Wilfrid, an English bishop, appeals with success to pope Agatho. First form of a bishop's oath.

his indignation against Wilfrid caused him to be deposed from his bishopric, by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and banished him from the kingdom of Northumberland. Wilfrid appealed to the Pope, and was received by Agatho with the greatest respect and honor. The merit of appealing to the apostolic See, especially as he was the first *British* ecclesiastic who had, in this way, acknowledged the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, was, in the eyes of the Pope, sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. Wilfrid was declared innocent and unjustly deposed, and ordered to be restored to his See, and the clergy, as well as the laity of England, were required to pay implicit obedience to this decision, the former, on pain of being deposed, and the latter of being for ever excluded from the Eucharist.*

§ 8.—During the pontificate of pope Gregory II., the first instance was exhibited of a Roman pontiff requiring a solemn oath of allegiance and submission from his legates and bishops. It was in the case of the celebrated Winfrid or Boniface, who has been called the apostle of Germany. Boniface was a native of England,† and in the year 716, voluntarily went on a mission among the pagans of Germany, and after laboring with zeal and success for several years; repairing to Rome at the command of the Pope, he was ordained a bishop, and appointed by Gregory, his legate to all the inhabitants of Germany. Upon this occasion, the Pope required him to take the following oath at the tomb of St. Peter:

"In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in the seventh year of our most pious emperor Leo, in the fourth of his son Constantine, and in the seventh indiction, I, Boniface, by the grace of God, bishop, promise to you, blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, to blessed Gregory your vicar, and to his successors, by the undivided trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by this your most sacred body, to maintain to the last, with the help of God, the purity and unity of the holy Catholic faith; to consent to nothing contrary to either; to consult in all things the interest of your church, and in all things to concur with you, to whom power has been given of binding and loosing, with the above-mentioned vicar, and with his successors. If I shall hear of any bishops acting contrary to the canons, I shall not communicate, nor entertain any commerce with them, but reprove and retrieve them, if I can; if I cannot, I shall acquaint therewith MY LORD THE POPE. If I do not faithfully perform what I now promise, may I be found guilty at the tribunal of the eternal Judge, and incur the punishment inflicted by you on Ananias and Sapphira, who presumed to deceive and defraud you."

When Boniface had taken this oath, he laid it written with his own hand on the pretended body of St. Peter, and said, "This is

* Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, chap. li., quoted by Bower, vol. iii., page 59.

† See Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, book xli., 35, &c., and Dupin, 8th century, Boniface.

Horrid cruelties of the Pope and the Emperor, on the refractory bishop of Ravenna.

the oath which I have taken, and which I promise to keep." How painful to think that so holy and self-denying a man as Boniface, both from his life and death, appears to have been, should have been thus blinded by superstitious reverence for the holy See, and especially for the artful, unworthy, and ambitious Gregory, who exacted from him this oath! We shall perceive that in future ages the popes improved upon this oath, though all who read it must admit that it was a pretty fair specimen for a beginning.

§ 9.—The popes of this age also strove to establish and confirm their power, by punishing to the utmost of their ability, all who should presume to rebel against the authority of the apostolic See. An instance of this is given in the case of the cruel vengeance inflicted by the Emperor, through the persuasions of pope Constantine, upon Felix and his associates. In the early part of the eighth century, Felix, archbishop elect of Ravenna, came to Rome to receive ordination from the Pope, having first, according to Anastasius, promised obedience and subjection to the Roman See. Upon his return to Ravenna, being encouraged by the people, Felix withdrew himself from all subjection to Rome, and asserted the independence of his See. Of his motives for this step we are not informed. Perhaps, like Luther in after times, he had seen during his visit too much of the pretended successors of St. Peter, to be willing longer to acknowledge their lofty assumptions. Be this as it may, the Pope was no sooner informed of the conduct of Felix, than transported with rage, he immediately wrote to the Emperor Justinian, entreating him to espouse the cause of the prince of the apostles, and demanding vengeance on the rebels against St. Peter. The Emperor, who at this time was desirous to oblige the Pope, immediately ordered one of his generals to repair to Ravenna, to seize on the archbishop, and the other rebels against St. Peter, and send them in chains to Constantinople, where all except the archbishop were soon after put to death, and the latter, after having his eyes cruelly dug out of their sockets, was banished to Pontus. The popish historian, Anastasius, has the audacity to ascribe those horrid cruelties of the Pope and the Emperor, to God and St. Peter. "And thus," says he, "by a just judgment of God, and by the sentence of St. Peter, all were, in the end, deservedly cut off, who refused to pay the obedience that was due to the apostolic See."

§ 10.—In addition to these various ways adopted by the popes of extending their power and influence, and of inspiring with terror of their authority, all who should presume to oppose them, they made the most extravagant claims to the reverence and homage of the people. About the commencement of the eighth century, the debasing custom originated, which has continued ever since, of *kissing the pope's foot.* The emperor Justinian is thought thus to have degraded himself upon the occasion of a visit of pope Constantine, to the East, the very next year after he had been guilty of the cruelties just named, to the unfortunate bishop of Ravenna. As this visit of Constantine well illustrates the extravagant honors paid

The emperor Justinian kisses the Pope's foot. Character of this tyrant.

to the popes of this age, it may be well to give a brief account of it. In the year 710, the Pope received an order from Justinian to repair to Constantinople as soon as convenient, and embarked on the 5th of October, for that city, accompanied by two bishops and a large number of the inferior clergy. The Emperor addressed an order to all governors, judges, and magistrates of the places through which he should pass, to pay to him precisely the same honors as they would if he were the Emperor himself. At every place he touched at, he was received in a kind of triumph, amidst the joyful acclamations and homage of the people. On approaching Constantinople, he was met seven miles from the city, by Tiberius, the Emperor's son, the senate, the nobility, the chief citizens, and the patriarch Cyrus at the head of his clergy. Thus attended, and mounted, together with the chief persons of his retinue, on the Emperor's own horses, richly caparisoned, he arrived at the palace assigned for his habitation. The Emperor, who was absent at the time of his arrival, as soon as he received the intelligence, appointed to meet the Pope at Nicomedia, and it was there that Anastasius informs us, "the most *Christian Emperor*" prostrated himself on the ground, with the crown on his head, kissed his feet, and then cordially embraced him. On the following Sunday Justinian received the sacrament at the hands of the Pope, begged HIS HOLINESS to intercede for him that God might forgive his sins, and renewed and confirmed all the privileges that had ever been granted to the Roman See.*

§ 11.—It is unfortunate for the credit of the Romish church, that this "most Christian Emperor," as the popish historian calls him, like the other two sovereigns to whom that apostate church was indebted for her most valuable favors, Phocas and Irene, was one of the most bloodthirsty of tyrants, and the most abandoned of the human family. He delighted in nothing so much as in cruelty and revenge, in bloodshed and slaughter. After returning from Chersonesus, where, in consequence of his tyranny, he had been driven into banishment; in consequence of supposing his dignity insulted by the inhabitants of Chersonesus, he despatched a fleet and army against them, with express orders to spare neither man, woman, nor child alive, whether guilty or innocent, and in consequence of this inhuman command, multitudes of people miserably perished by the flames, the rack, or the sea. On his return from banishment, when sailing on the Euxine, says Gibbon, "his vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest, and one of his companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God, by a vow of eternal forgiveness, if he should be restored to the throne. 'Of forgiveness! (replied the intrepid tyrant), may I perish this instant—may the Almighty whelm me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!' But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge that he had sworn amidst the storm of the Euxine. The

* Anastasius, in vitâ Constantin.

Gibbon's account of the cruelty and tyranny of this worshipper of the Pope.

two usurpers, who had in turn occupied his throne during his banishment, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his prison, the other from the palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apsimar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the Emperor, and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot race, while the innocent people shouted, in the words of the psalmist, 'Thou shalt trample on the asp and basilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!' The universal defection which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe, that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant, since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inexhaustible: neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active, or even passive obedience to an established government; and, during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack, as the only instruments of royalty."* Such was the man whom Romish historians do not blush to call "the *most Christian* and *orthodox Emperor*," merely because he cruelly tortured, blinded, and murdered those who would not succumb to the papal anti-Christ, bowed down and kissed the feet of the haughty pontiff, and loaded with his imperial favors, the apostate church of which he was the head.

§ 12.—It might be expected that an age which could yield itself so far to the extravagant claims of the newly created spiritual monarch of the world must be one of the grossest ignorance and darkness. Such, we find, was the fact. "Nothing," says Mosheim, speaking of the century in which the Pope established his supremacy, "can equal the ignorance and darkness that reigned in this century; the most impartial and accurate account of which will appear incredible to those who are unacquainted with the productions of this barbarous period. The greatest part of those who were looked upon as learned men, threw away their time in reading the marvellous lives of a parcel of fanatical saints, instead of employing it in the perusal of well chosen and excellent authors. The bishops in general were so illiterate, that few of that body were capable of composing the discourses which they delivered to the people. Such of them as were not totally destitute of genius, composed out of the writings of Augustine and Gregory a certain number of insipid homilies, which they divided between themselves and their stupid colleagues, that they might not be obliged, through incapacity, to discontinue preaching the doctrines of Christianity to their people." The want even of an acquaintance with the first rudiments of literature was so general among the higher ecclesiastics of those times, that it was scarcely deemed disgraceful to acknowledge it.

* Decline and Fall, vol. iii., page 242.

In the acts of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, many examples occur where subscriptions are to be found in this form: "*I, N, have subscribed by the hand of M, because I cannot write.*" And "*such a bishop having said that he could not write, I whose name is underwritten have subscribed for him.*"*

§ 13.—As a specimen of the *reasoning* of this dark age, I would refer to a writing which Holstenius, the librarian of the Vatican, where it was found, ascribed to pope Boniface IV. It is an attempt to show that monks are suitable for ministers, in opposition to some who maintained that they should be incapable of the sacerdotal office. Monks are there declared to be angels, and consequently proper ministers of the word. This is proved in the following way:—The cherubim had each six wings. Monks have also six wings; the arms of their cassock two, its extremities two more, and the cowl forming the other two. Therefore monks are cherubim or angels, and suitable for ministers of the word! Whether this curious specimen of reasoning proceeded, as the learned Roman Catholic Holstenius supposes, from the infallible pope Boniface, or whether, as others believe, it was the production of some monk of that age, it may be equally appropriate as a specimen of early popish logic.† As one instance and proof of the *superstition* of the age may be mentioned the object (according to the opinion of the learned popish annalist Baronius), of a visit to Rome paid by Mellitus, first bishop of London, in 610, to the Pope. Bede informs us that he went to settle with the Pope some particular affairs of the English church. Baronius conjectures that he came to Rome to inquire of Boniface whether the consecration of the church of Westminster, *performed by St. Peter in person*, was to be regarded as valid. For St. Peter was said to have come down from heaven for that very purpose, and who will dare dispute with Cardinal Baronius the truth of the wonderful prodigy, since it is actually attested by *the very waterman* who conveyed the apostle over the river Thames on his way from heaven to Westminster? and upon his testimony was believed by the abbot Ealred, whom the Cardinal calls "a very credible historian!!"‡

§ 14.—As a specimen of the *doctrine* of this age, we may refer to a description of a good Christian from the pen of St. Eligius, as he is called, bishop of Noyon, in which, though there are some good exhortations, there is not the slightest mention of repentance for sin or faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; and the principal stress is laid upon the lighting of candles in consecrated places, praying to the saints, and saying the creed and Lord's prayer. Let a man only abound in these services, and he could come to God, according to this saint, not as a suppliant to beg, but as a creditor to demand. "Da, domine, quia dedi." *Give, Lord, because I have*

* White's Bampton Lectures, sermon ii. and notes, p. 6.

† Holstein Collect Rom., p. 42, quoted and referred to by Bower—Vita Boniface IV.

‡ Baronius, ad annum 610.

*given!** Such was Popery then; such is Popery still. We are not surprised to learn from his biographer, that this saint was a most zealous and persevering hunter for relics, and that "many bodies of holy martyrs, concealed from human knowledge for ages, were discovered by him and brought to light!" 'Sanctorum martyrum corpora, quæ per tot sæcula abdita——patefacta proderentur.' This zealous, relic-hunting merit-monger was successful, if we may credit his biographer, in smelling out and unkennelling, among other bodies, the carcasses of St. Quintin, St. Crispin, St. Lucian, &c. In those days of darkness and superstition it was an easy way, and one of which the bishops often availed themselves of filling their coffers by providing a supply of relics for sale, by pretending to a miraculous power in discovering the bodies of saints and martyrs.

§ 15.—It was in the seventh century that the false prophet of Mecca commenced his career of conquest. Fired by the spectacle which everywhere met his observation of the worship of idols in a thousand forms, not only on heathen but Christian ground, he avowed himself as the enemy of idolatry, and the champion of the divine unity. The limits as well as the design of this work will not permit a sketch of his remarkable history. After perusing the recital we have already given of the superstition, ignorance, and idolatry of popish Christianity at the era of the Popedom, the

* The extract, or rather collection of sentences, from this discourse of St. Eligius quoted by Mosheim, Jortin, Robertson, Jones, &c., is as follows:—

"Bonus Christianus est, qui ad ecclesiam frequenter venit, et oblationem, quæ in altari Deo offeratur, exhibit; qui de fructibus suis non gustat, nisi prius Deo aliquid offerat; qui, quoties sanctæ solemnitates adveniunt, ante dies plures castitatem etiam cum propria uxore custodit, ut secura conscientia Domini altare accedere possit; qui postremo symbolum vel orationem Dominicam memoriter tenet. Redimite animas vestras de pœna, dum habetis in potestate remedia; oblationes et decimas ecclesiis offerte, luminaria sanctis locis, juxta quod habetis, exhibite; ad ecclesiam quoque frequentius convenite, sanctorum patrocinia humiliter expetite; quod si observaveritis, securi in die judicii ante tribunal æterni judicis venientes dicetis; *Da, Domine, quia dedimus.*

"He is a good Christian who goes frequently to church, and makes his oblations at God's altar; who never tastes of his own fruit until he has presented some to God; who, for many days before the solemn festivals observes strict chastity, though he be married, that he may approach the altar with a safe conscience; lastly, who can repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Redeem your souls from punishment whilst you have it in your power; offer your free gifts and tithes; contribute towards the luminaries in holy places; repair frequently to church, and humbly implore the protection of the saints. If you observe these things, you may appear boldly at God's tribunal in the day of judgment, and say—*Give, Lord, according as we have given.*"

By quoting, at large, from the discourse of Eligius, from various parts of which these sentences are extracted, I think that Waddington has shown (though all these sentences are found in the discourse), that Eligius has hardly been treated with fairness. Still, the flagrant contradiction of the doctrine of salvation by grace and not of debt, with which the extract closes, is sufficient to show that, in that dark age, the doctrines of grace were most sadly perverted or obscured. See Waddington's Church History, p. 251, Mosheim, ii., 173, &c. The original of the discourse is found in Dacherii Spicilegium veter. Scriptor., Tom v.

reader will be prepared to admit the truth of the following statement of Mr. Taylor in his Ancient Christianity (page 365). "What Mahomet and his caliphs found in all directions, whither their cimeters cut a path for them, was a superstition so abject, an idolatry so gross and shameless, church doctrines so arrogant, church practices so dissolute and so puerile, that the strong-minded Arabians felt themselves inspired anew as God's messengers to reprove the errors of the world, and authorized as God's avengers to punish apostate Christendom."

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY—POPE HONORIUS CONDEMNED AS A HERETIC BY THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL, A.D. 680.

§ 16.—The early part of the seventh century was signalized by the commencement of a remarkable controversy between those who maintained with the emperor Heraclius, and Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, the doctrine of *one will* and one operation in the nature of Christ; and those who believed in two wills, the human and the divine, and two operations or distinct kinds of volition, the one proceeding from his human, and the other from his divine will. This was called the *Monothelite* controversy, from two Greek words signifying *one will*. Upon this abstruse metaphysical point did this famous dispute arise, which threatened to rend into fragments the whole Christian world, and that notwithstanding both parties were confessedly orthodox in relation to their belief both of the proper deity and humanity of the second person in the glorious Trinity. Our reason for introducing the history of this controversy in the present work is not because we attach any great importance to the opinion of either party, so long as both believed that Jesus Christ was properly divine, coequal and coeternal with the Father; but on account of the part that was taken in it by the popes of Rome, and the light which is thus thrown upon the history of Romanism, and especially upon the infallibility (so much vaunted by Baronius, Bellarmine and other popish writers) of the boasted successors of St. Peter.

§ 17.—In the year 634, Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, addressed a letter to pope Honorius at Rome, informing him of the opposition which the doctrine of one will, which he styled "the doctrine of the fathers," had received from one Sophronius, at that time bishop of Jerusalem, and others; and requesting the opinion of the Pope on the subject of the doctrine in dispute, and also his

advice as to the most effectual means of maintaining the peace and tranquillity of the church. In the reply of Honorius, he stated that he entirely agreed with Sergius in opinion, *that he acknowledged but one will in Christ*, and that none of the fathers had ever openly taught the doctrine of two wills.

About the time of the death of pope Honorius, which took place A. D. 638, Sergius published and affixed to the doors of the church at Constantinople, in the name of the emperor Heraclius, the celebrated edict upon the subject of the controversy called the *Echthesis*, or exposition. This edict began with an orthodox profession of belief in the sacred Trinity. It acknowledged two distinct natures in one person of Christ; but in reference to the will, and the operations of the will, it used the following language:—"We ascribe all the operations in Christ, the human as well as the divine, to the word incarnate. But whether they should be called two, or should be called one, *we will suffer none to dispute.*" Notwithstanding, however, this apparent profession of neutrality, the authors of the edict say towards the conclusion—"We therefore confess, agreeably to the doctrine of the apostles, of the councils and of the fathers, but *one will in Christ*,"—and it concludes by thundering anathemas against heretics, and requiring all to hold and profess the doctrine thus declared and explained.

§ 18.—Sergius died soon after publishing this edict, and was, in 639, succeeded in the See of Constantinople by Pyrrhus, who assembled a council, and confirmed the doctrine of the *Echthesis* as the genuine doctrine of the apostles and fathers. On the other hand, pope John IV., who differed entirely in opinion from his predecessor Honorius, assembled a council of the bishops of the West, in which the *Echthesis* was solemnly condemned and the doctrine of one will was anathematized as entirely repugnant to the Catholic faith, and to the doctrine of the fathers. The Pope also caused a copy of the acts and decrees of this council to be immediately transmitted to Pyrrhus, signed by himself and the bishops who were present, hoping thereby to check the progress which the Monothelite doctrine was making in the East.

Instead of paying any regard to the authority of the Pope or his council, Pyrrhus immediately caused transcripts to be made of the two letters of pope Honorius to Sergius, in which Honorius expressed his belief of the doctrine of one will, and sent them to all the principal bishops in the East; at the same time appealing to them whether pope Honorius had not approved by the authority of the apostolic See of the very doctrine which his successor John had condemned by the same authority. He wrote also a letter to the Pope, in which he expressed his astonishment that he should condemn a doctrine which his predecessor, Honorius, had received, taught, and approved. Pope John, perceiving that this disagreement in opinion between two of the boasted successors of St. Peter was calculated to sap the very foundation of the papal authority, made an artful but lame attempt to explain away the

opinions of Honorius, but the fallacy of his sophistical reasoning is apparent, as we shall presently see, from the fact that in the sixth general council, held a few years later, these letters of Honorius were unanimously condemned as acknowledging and inculcating the Monothelite doctrine.

§ 19.—Pope John was succeeded in the year 642 by Theodore, and about the same time Paul succeeded to the See of Constantinople, in the room of Pyrrhus, the Monothelite patriarch, who had abandoned his See and sought safety in flight, in consequence of the general suspicion that was entertained that he had been privy to the poisoning of the late emperor, Constantine III. In a letter which Theodore wrote to Paul, soon after his accession to the Popedom, he censures him for accepting the patriarchate till Pyrrhus had been lawfully deposed, charges the latter with heresy in receiving the Monothelite doctrine and publishing the *Echthesis* (evidently, in the estimation of the Pope, a much greater crime than assassinating the Emperor); advises that a council should be immediately assembled, in which Pyrrhus might be judged, condemned, and regularly deposed; and closes his letter with the *very modest* proposal, that if there was likely to be any difficulty in the trial of Pyrrhus at Constantinople, he should be despatched to Rome, that he might there be judged, deposed and condemned by the Pope and his council! The new patriarch Paul, as we may easily conceive, treated this proposal with the contempt it deserved. He took not the slightest notice of it, continued to exercise his office, and instead of condemning the doctrine of Pyrrhus, he confirmed it in a council assembled for the purpose, and caused the *Echthesis* to be continued on the gates of the church, that all might know the doctrine that he inculcated and believed.

§ 20.—The patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and many other bishops, took sides with Paul, and maintained the doctrine of one will. Others, however, as strongly opposed both the doctrine and the *Echthesis*. In the island of Cyprus, both were unanimously condemned in a council of the bishops assembled for that purpose, and a long epistle was despatched to pope Theodore, bitterly complaining of Paul of Constantinople, for holding and promoting, to the utmost of his power, a doctrine, as they said, so plainly repugnant to the repeated "decrees of St. Peter and his See." In the West, the *Echthesis* was universally condemned, and three of the principal bishops of Africa first anathematized Paul in their councils, and then wrote to the Pope, earnestly entreating him to cut off from the communion of the church, not only Paul of Constantinople, but all who maintained that "impious doctrine," unless, by a speedy repentance, they should repair the scandal they had caused. It was chiefly through the labors of a celebrated monk named Maximus, and the result of a public disputation that he held with Pyrrhus, that the African bishops were thus brought to array themselves, with so much unanimity and so much earnestness, against the Monothelite opinions. Maximus, who was a man of learning, for that

His disputation with the monk Maximus. Pyrrhus solemnly excommunicated by Pope Theodore.

age, had, previous to withdrawing to a monastery, been private secretary to the emperor Heraclius, at Constantinople, while Pyrrhus was patriarch. Soon after commencing his labors in Africa, the former secretary fell in with the fugitive patriarch, and both of them bringing to their aid talents and learning of no mean order, each succeeded in drawing around himself a party attached to his own views. In consequence of the disturbance occasioned by these two opposite parties, the Monothelites, headed by Pyrrhus, and the *Duothelites*, headed by Maximus, the bishops proposed that the difficulty should be settled by a public dispute, before Gregory, the governor of the province. This proposal having been agreed to by the governor and the two disputants, the debate was holden in the presence of a large number of the bishops, nobility, and others, who had congregated from various parts to listen to them. Manuscript copies of the debate in the original Greek, are still to be seen in the Vatican library, at Rome, under the following lengthy, but one-sided title: "The question concerning an ecclesiastical dogma, that was disputed before the most pious patrician Gregory, in an assembly of the most holy bishops, and the nobility, by Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, and the most reverend monk Maximus, in the month of July, the third indiction; Pyrrhus defending the new dogma of one will in Christ, wickedly introduced by himself and his predecessor Sergius, and Maximus maintaining the doctrine of the apostles and the fathers, as delivered to us from the beginning."*

§ 21.—At the close of the disputation, Pyrrhus, who had been compelled to wander as an exile from his See at Constantinople, wishing probably to recommend himself to the favor of the Pope, and the other Western bishops, professed himself a convert to the doctrine of Maximus, proceeded in company with him to Rome, and upon there solemnly abjuring his heresy in the presence of the Pope, the clergy, and a vast multitude of the people, was received, with great pomp and ceremony, to the communion of the Roman church, and publicly honored by the Pope, as the patriarch of Constantinople. The joy and exultation of the Pope was, however, of short duration; it was soon changed into disappointment and chagrin, upon hearing that Pyrrhus had proceeded to Ravenna, and through the persuasions of the exarch Plato, who had the power, if he chose, of advancing his interests at the court of the Emperor, had publicly renounced his recent recantation, and placed himself at the head of the Monothelite party in that city.

Upon hearing this, the rage and exasperation of pope Theodore was extreme. He immediately convened an assembly of the clergy in the old church of St. Peter's; thundered forth the sentence of excommunication against this *new Judas*, accompanied with the most fearful anathemas, and calling, in the transport of his indigna-

* The curious in such matters, may examine a Greek copy of the report of this very ancient dispute, with the Latin translation in the opposite column, occupying 28 pages folio, at the end of the eighth volume of Baronius' Annals, of which there is a copy in the Society Library, New York.

tion, for the consecrated wine of the sacrament, mingled a portion of it with the ink, and with the mixture, signed the sentence of excommunication, which was to consign the apostate Pyrrhus to the agonies of despair, and to the torments of the damned.

§ 22.—In the mean time, with the hope of appeasing, in some measure, the wrath of the Pope, and the displeasure of the Western bishops, the patriarch Paul had caused the obnoxious decree, called the *Echthesis*, to be removed from the gates of the church at Constantinople, and prevailed upon the Emperor to supply its place by another called the *Type* or *formulary*, the object of which, while it expressed no bias to either side of the disputed question, was strictly to forbid, under severe penalties, all disputes whatever, relative to the will or wills of Christ, and the mode of its or their operation. The Emperor, with reason, had become weary of these endless disputes and quarrels; his object was peace, and for that reason he flattered himself that those who professed to be servants of the Prince of Peace, would readily comply with this edict.

Before the suppression of the *Echthesis* was known at Rome, however, the Pope, in compliance with the advice of the African bishops, previously mentioned, had excommunicated Paul with great solemnity as an incorrigible heretic, and had declared him, by the authority of St. Peter, divested of all ecclesiastical power and dignities. When the news of this rash and hasty step came to Constantinople, instead of submitting to the Pope's authority, the patriarch was so enraged, that he wreaked his vengeance upon the *apocrisarii* or ambassadors of the Pope, and imprisoned, and even whipt some of their retinue. The excommunication of Paul by the Pope, was regarded by the Emperor, and with a few exceptions, by all the bishops of the East, as of no authority, and he continued to enjoy the patriarchal dignity and office till his death, and after his decease, the former patriarch Pyrrhus became reconciled to the Emperor, and though excommunicated and cursed by the Pope, in the terrific manner we have seen, was, notwithstanding, reinstated by the Emperor in his former dignity, and received and acknowledged by the bishops and people of the East as the lawful patriarch of Constantinople.

§ 23.—Upon the death of Theodore (A. D. 649), pope Martin was chosen as his successor in the same year, and upon sending to the Emperor to confirm his election (which was in this century invariably done upon the choice of a new pope), Constantine confirmed his election with more than usual promptitude, hoping thereby to secure his co-operation in the plan he had formed for the restoration of peace, by enjoining silence on the vexed question, in his edict called the *Type*. Instead of this, however, Martin immediately assembled a council at Rome, and condemned not only the Monothelite doctrine, and "*the impious Echthesis*," but also "*the most wicked Type*, lately published against the Catholic church, by the most serene emperor Constantine, at the instigation of Paul, the *pretended* bishop of Constantinople."

Sixth general council. Pope Honorius condemned therein for heresy.

Such an insult to the imperial authority, by one who, notwithstanding his high ecclesiastical dignity, was yet a subject of the Emperor, could not be suffered with impunity. By order of the emperor Constantine, Martin was taken prisoner and conveyed to Naxos, a small island in the Grecian Archipelago: afterward carried to the imperial court, and after a mock form of trial, accompanied with cruel insult and abuse, he was stripped of his sacerdotal garments, condemned and degraded, and then sent into exile, on the inhospitable shores of Taurica Chersonesus, where he died in 656.

§ 24.—These resolute proceedings rendered Eugenius and Vitalianus, the succeeding popes, more moderate and prudent than their predecessor had been; especially the latter, who received Constans, upon his arrival at Rome in the year 663, with the highest marks of distinction and respect, and used the wisest precautions to prevent the flame of that unhappy controversy from breaking out a second time. And thus, for several years, it appeared to be extinguished; but it was so only in appearance; it was a lurking flame, which spread itself secretly, and gave reason to those who examined things with attention, to dread new combustions both in church and state.

To prevent these, Constantine Pogonatus, the son of Constans, pursuant to the advice of Agatho, the Roman pontiff, summoned, in the year 680, the sixth *general* or *œcumenical council* in which he permitted the Monothelites and *pope Honorius himself* to be solemnly condemned in presence of the Roman legates, who represented Agatho in that assembly, and confirmed the sentence pronounced by the council, by the sanction of penal laws enacted against such as pretended to oppose it.

§ 25.—The condemnation of pope Honorius for heresy by this general council is an event of so much importance, in the controversy with Rome, that we deem it worthy to place on record the language in which the decree of his condemnation, and that of others who also maintained the same doctrine, was couched. The writings on this subject having been read before the council from the pens of Sergius, former patriarch of Constantinople, Cyrus of Phasis, and Honorius, former pope of old Rome, they solemnly delivered their unanimous judgment in the following terms:—"Having examined the dogmatic letters that were written by Sergius, formerly bishop of this royal city, to Cyrus once of Phasis, and to Honorius, bishop of old Rome, and likewise the answer of the said Honorius to the letter of Sergius, we have found them quite repugnant to the doctrine of the apostles, to the definitions of the councils, to the sense of the fathers, and entirely agreeable to the false doctrines of the heretics; therefore we reject and accurse them as hurtful to the soul. As we reject and accurse such impious dogmas, so we are all of opinion, that the names of those who taught and professed them ought to be banished from the church, that is, struck out of the Diptychs; viz., the names of Sergius, formerly bishop of this royal city, who first wrote of this impious tenet, and Cyrus of

Pope Honorius anathematized by the sixth general council, and his writings committed to the flames.

Alexandria, of Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter, who once held this See, and agreed in opinion with them, and likewise of Theodorus, formerly bishop of Pharan; who have all been mentioned by the thrice blessed Agatho, in his letter to our most pious Lord and mighty Emperor, and have been anathematized by him, as ho ding opinions repugnant to the true faith. All these, and each of them, we too declare anathematized; and with them we anathematize, and cast out of the holy Catholic Church, *Honorius, pope of old Rome*, it appearing from his letter to Sergius, that he entirely agreed in opinion with him, and confirmed his impious doctrine."

In the same session of the council, the second letter of pope Honorius to Sergius was read, examined, and by a decree of the council, committed to the flames, with the other Monothelite writings; and it is worthy of remark, that this decree passed unanimously, without the slightest opposition, not even the legates of the Pope venturing to say a word in his behalf, so overwhelming and conclusive was the proof that pope Honorius had held and maintained the very same doctrine as was now, by this council, acknowledged even by Romanists as *the sixth general council*, solemnly condemned as heresy.*

§ 26.—From the above account of this famous controversy, much light is thrown upon the condition, the character, and the claims of Popery during the seventh century.

(1.) We learn that the popes of Rome were careful to seize every opportunity of advancing their authority, and practically asserting that supremacy, as the spiritual sovereigns of the church, which they had claimed ever since the decree of Phocas in 606. We hear them thundering their anathemas at the heads of the other bishops, and excommunicating even the patriarchs of Constantinople, the most exalted in rank of all the dignitaries of the church in this century, if we except the Pope himself. In the decree of pope Martin against the edict called the *Type*, we have seen that Paul is called "the *pretended* bishop of Constantinople," because he had been excommunicated and deposed by the authority of pope Theodore, the predecessor of Martin. In the letter which pope Agatho sent to the Emperor by the hands of his legates to the council, we discover the first pretence of a claim, which has since been frequently asserted—the claim of absolute papal infallibility. After a long descant in praise of the See of St. Peter, he affirmed that the popes never had erred, and intimated that they never could err, and that their decisions ought therefore to be received as the divine voice of St. Peter himself. We have already seen, however, that the council, in the case of pope Honorius, very soon came to an entirely different decision.

(2.) We learn, also, that notwithstanding these lofty assump-

* Those who desire fuller information on this remarkable controversy, may find it in Hist. Concil. Conc. vi., Sess. 12, 13; Baronius's Annals ad Ann. 681; Bower's Lives of the Popes, *Vit. Theodore, Martin, Agatho.*

tions, the authority of the Pope was as yet by no means universally received, nor his decrees regarded as binding, especially in the East. In proof of this, we need only recur to the fact that Paul and Pyrrhus both exercised the office of patriarch, and were for years acknowledged and regarded as such by the Emperor, the bishops, and people of the East, notwithstanding each of them had been solemnly excommunicated by the Pope.

(3.) We see also that the popes had not yet learned to hurl their anathemas at the heads of emperors and kings. The election of a pope, at this time, was not regarded as valid till confirmed by a decree of the Emperor. Hence we are not surprised that the popes were too timid or too *prudent* to include "the most serene emperor" Heraclius or Constans in the same sentence of excommunication which they pronounced against Paul or Pyrrhus for merely executing the orders of their imperial masters, in preparing and publishing the obnoxious heretical decrees, the *Echthesis*, or the *Type*. The age of Theodore and of Martin was not the age of Gregory VII., or of Innocent III.

(4). It is scarcely necessary to add that in the unanimous condemnation of pope Honorius by the *sixth general council* for heresy, we have a complete refutation of the claim so frequently urged by the Jesuits and other advocates of Rome, of the *infallibility of the Pope.** Till it is proved that two contraries can be exactly alike, this boasted claim of infallibility must be abandoned. So evident is it that this fact is fatal to the papal infallibility, that Baronius, the Romish annalist, a strong advocate of the same, has labored hard, though without the semblance of reason, to show that the name of Honorius was inserted in the decrees instead of that of some other person; a supposition as weak and ridiculous as it is unfounded. The great body of Romish authors, and among the rest Dupin, candidly admit the heresy and condemnation of Honorius. The latter historian remarks, that "the council had as much reason to censure him as Sergius, Paulus, Peter, and the other patriarchs of Constantinople;" and adds, in language yet more emphatic,—"This will stand for certain, then, that Honorius *was condemned*, AND JUSTLY TOO, AS A HERETIC, by the sixth general council."†

* As it is not uncommon in the present day, *in protestant countries*, to represent the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, as a protestant calumny, I will cite the opinion of one or two of their most celebrated advocates.

1. *Lewis Capsensis* de Fid. Disput. 2, sect. 6, affirms: "We can believe nothing, if we do not believe with a divine faith that the Pope is the successor of Peter, and INFALLIBLE!"

2. I shall quote the words of *Cardinal Bellarmine*, as they are very remarkable, in the original Latin (de Pont. 4, 5). "Si autem Papa erraret præficiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare." That is, "But if the Pope should err, by enjoining vices or prohibiting virtues, the Church, unless she would sin against conscience, would be bound TO BELIEVE VICES TO BE GOOD, AND VIRTUES EVIL."

† Dupin's Eccles. Hist., vol. ii., p. 16.

CHAPTER III.

IMAGE WORSHIP.—FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT CONTROVERSY ON THIS SUBJECT, TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR LEO, AND OF POPE GREGORY III., BOTH IN THE SAME YEAR, A. D. 741.

§ 27.—We have already seen (page 98 above), that in the fourth century, the worship of images was abominated by the Christian church, and that even their admission into places of worship, for whatever object, was regarded by the most eminent bishops with abhorrence. "In opposition to the authority of Scripture, there was a human image in the church of Jesus Christ," were the words of Epiphanius, already quoted.

"It is an injury to God," says Justin Martyr, "to make an image of him in base wood or stone."*

Augustine says that "God ought to be worshipped without an image; images serving only to bring the Deity into contempt."† The same bishop elsewhere asserts that "it would be impious in a Christian to set up a corporeal image of God in a church; and that he would be thereby guilty of the sacrilege condemned by St. Paul, of turning the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man."‡

"We Christians," says Origen, when writing against his infidel antagonist, "have nothing to do with images, on account of the second commandment; the first thing we teach those who come to us is, to despise idols and all images; it being the peculiar character of the Christian religion to raise our minds above images, agreeably to the law which God himself has given to mankind."§ It would be easy to multiply such quotations as these, but it is unnecessary. The testimony of these fathers is merely cited as historical evidence, as to the state of opinion on this subject in their day, not as matter of authority, because were their testimony *in favor* of the practice of this popish idolatry, as it is of some other popish corruptions, still their authority would weigh nothing with genuine protestants, in favor of a practice so plainly opposed to the letter and the spirit of the Bible.

§ 28.—Some of the fathers, as Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, carried their opposition to all sorts of images to such an extent, as to teach that the Scriptures forbid altogether the arts of statuary and painting.‖ Now, while it is admitted that they were mistaken in this construction of the second commandment, for we

* Justin's Apology, ii., page 44.
† Augustine de Civit. Dei., l. vii., c. 5.
‡ Augustine, de fide, et symb., c. vii.
§ Origen against Celsus, l. v., 7.
‖ See Bower's History of the Popes, vol. iii., page 214, where several extracts are given from Tertullian, Clemens, and Origen, on this point.

Gibbon's account of the gradual introduction of image-worship into the Christian church.

are only forbidden to make graven images for the purpose of *bowing down* to them and *serving* them (Exodus xx., 5), yet the fact itself, of their expressing such an opinion, is the most conclusive proof possible, that they knew nothing whatever of the popish idolatry which sprung up a few centuries later, and which continues to characterize the church of Rome down to the present time.

"The primitive Christians," remarks Mr. Gibbon (who is more to be depended on in his facts, than his reasonings), "were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images, and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity, and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolators, who had bowed before the workmanship of their own hands; the images of brass and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist. The public religion of the Christians was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the censure of the council of Illiberis, three hundred years after the Christian era. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition, for the benefit of the multitude, and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the gracious, and often supernatural favors, which, in the popular belief, were showered round their tombs, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings. But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the scandals of a departed worthy, is a faithful copy of his person and features, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture. At first the experiment was made with caution and scruple, and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow, though inevitable progression, the honors of the original were transferred to the copy, the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint, and the pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the Catholic church."*

§ 29.—About the beginning of the fifth century, the practice of ornamenting the churches with pictures had become very general, and thus the door was opened for that torrent of idolatry which flooded the churches, and in three or four centuries carried away

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xlix.

almost every vestige of spiritual Christian worship. Among others, Paulinus, a bishop of Nola, in Italy, about the year 431, erected in that city a magnificent church in honor of St. Felix, and as he himself informs us, adorned it with pictures of martyrs, and various Scripture histories painted on the walls. This example, at that time rare, was imitated in various places, though not without considerable opposition, till in the sixth century, the dangerous practice of using not only paintings but images, became very general, both in the East and the West.

§ 30.—Still it was the general opinion, even to the time of Gregory, that if used at all, they were to be used only as helps to the memory, or as books to instruct those who could not read, and that no sort of worship was to be paid them. That this was his opinion we have already seen from his epistle to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles.* Thus it is evident that so late as the beginning of the seventh century, images were altogether forbidden to be worshipped in any way. Of course the distinction invented by modern popish idolators, between sovereign or subordinate, absolute or relative, proper or improper worship—the worship of *latria*, *dulia*, or *hyperdulia*—of course, I say, these scholastic distinctions were not then invented, and were therefore unknown to Gregory. They never would have been thought of, but for the necessity which papists found of inventing some way of warding off the charge of idolatry, so frequently and so justly alleged against them. The words of Gregory were, "adorari vero imagines *omnibus modis* devita," which the Roman Catholic historian, Dupin, has translated, "that he must not allow images to be worshipped *in any manner whatever*."†

The permission given by Gregory for the *use* of images in churches was a dangerous precedent. He might have anticipated that if suffered at all they would not long continue to be regarded merely as *books for the ignorant;* especially when, as soon after happened in this dark age, the most ridiculous stories began to be circulated relative to the marvellous prodigies and miraculous cures effected by the presence or the contact of these wondrous blocks of wood and of stone. The result that might naturally have been anticipated, came to pass. These images became idols; the ignorant multitude reverently kissed them, and "*bowed themselves down*" before them, and, by the commencement of the eighth century, a system of idol worship had sprung up almost all over the nominally Christian world, scarcely less debasing than that which prevails at the present day in Italy and other popish countries of Europe. In the year 713, pope Constantine issued an edict, in which he pronounced those accursed who "deny that veneration to the holy images, which is appointed by the church"—'Sanctis imaginibus venerationem constitutam ab ecclesia, qui negarent illam ipsam.

§ 31.—In the year 726, commenced that famous controversy be-

* See above, page 131.

† Dupin, vol. v., p. 122.

The emperor Leo, in 726, issues his first decree against image-worship

tween the Emperor and the Pope upon the worship of images which for more than half a century arrayed against each other, Leo and Gregory, and their successors in the empire and the popedom, and which was only quelled by the full establishment of this idolatrous worship, by the decree of the second council of Nice, in 787. "In the beginning of the eighth century," says Gibbon, "the Greeks were awakened by an apprehension that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers: they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolators; the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans, who derived from the law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all the relative worship." (Vol. iii., p. 273.)

Leo, the emperor, observing from his palace in Constantinople the extensive prevalence of this idolatry, resolved to put a stop to the growing superstition, and make an attempt to restore the Christian worship to its primitive purity. With this view he issued an edict forbidding in future any worship to be paid to images, but without ordering them to be demolished or removed. The date of this edict was A. D. 726, a year, as Bower has well remarked, "ever memorable in the ecclesiastical annals, for the dispute to which it gave occasion, and the unheard of disturbances which that dispute raised, both in the Church and the State.*" Anxious to preserve his subjects from idolatry, the Emperor, with all that frankness and sincerity which marked his character, publicly avowed his conviction of the idolatrous nature of the prevailing practice, and protested against the erection of images. Hitherto no councils had sanctioned the evil, and precedents of antiquity were against it. But the scriptures, which ought to have had infinitely more weight upon the minds of men than either councils or precedents, had expressly and pointedly condemned it; yet, such deep root had the error at this time taken; so pleasing was it with men to commute for the indulgence of their crimes by a routine of idolatrous ceremonies; and, above all, so little ear had they to bestow on what the word of God taught, that the subjects of Leo murmured against him as a tyrant and a persecutor. And in this they were encouraged by Germanus, the bishop of Constantinople, who, with equal zeal and ignorance, asserted that images had always been used in the church, and declared his determination to oppose the Emperor: which, the more effectually to do, he wrote to Gregory II., then bishop of Rome, respecting the subject, who, by similar reasonings, warmly supported the same cause.

§ 32.—The first steps of the emperor Leo in the reformation, were moderate and cautious; he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition of the people. But it was im-

* History of the Popes, v. iii., p. 199

Tumult and murder by the women of Constantinople at the removal of an image.

possible on either side to check the rapid though adverse impulse of veneration and abhorrence: in their lofty position, the sacred images still edified their votaries and reproached the tyrant. He was himself provoked by resistance and invective; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged, for his imitation, the example of the Jewish king, who had broken without scruple the brazen serpent of the temple.

In the year 730, he issued an edict, enjoining the removal or destruction of images, and having in vain labored to bring over Germanus the bishop of Constantinople, to his views, he deposed him from his See, and put in his place Anastasius, who took part with the Emperor. There was, in the palace of Constantinople, a porch, which contained an image of the Saviour on the cross. Leo sent an officer to remove it. Some females, who were then present, entreated that it might remain, but without effect. The officer mounted a ladder, and with an axe struck three blows on the face of the figure, when the women threw him down, by pulling away the ladder, and murdered him on the spot. The image, however, was removed, and burnt, and a plain cross set up in its room. The women then proceeded to insult Anastasius for encouraging the profanation of holy things. An insurrection ensued—and, in order to quell it, the Emperor was obliged to put several persons to death.

§ 33.—Pope Gregory, as soon as he heard of the appointment of Anastasius, an avowed enemy to the worship of images, as bishop of Constantinople, immediately declared him deposed from his dignity, unless he should at once renounce his heresy, and favor images as his predecessor, Germanus, had done.* Both the letter and the edict of the Pope were, however, treated with silent contempt, and the new patriarch continued to exercise his office, and, by the direction of his master, Leo, to employ all his zeal in rooting out the idolatry.

The imperious pontiff was no more civil to the emperor Leo than to the patriarch. The Emperor had written him a letter, entreating him not to oppose so commendable a work as the extirpation of idolatry, and threatening him with the fate of pope Martin, who died in banishment, if he should continue obstinate and rebellious. The reply of Gregory is worthy of record as an illustration of the spirit of the man, and of the spirit of the times. "During ten pure and fortunate years," says he, "we have tasted the annual comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! How tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our style and arguments: the first elements of holy letters are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter a grammar-school, and

* Fleury's Eccles. Hist., book xlii., 7.

avow yourself the enemy of our worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked *to cast their horn-books at your head.*"

After this curious salutation, the Pope explains to him the distinction between the idols of antiquity and the Christian images. The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or demons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness—the latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than a heretic, he recommends peace, silence, and implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople and Rome. "You assault us, O tyrant," thus he proceeds, "with a carnal and military hand; unarmed and naked we can only implore the Christ, the prince of the heavenly host, that he will send unto you a devil, for the destruction of your body and the salvation of your soul. You declare, with foolish arrogance, 'I will dispatch my orders to Rome; I will break in pieces the images of St. Peter; and Gregory, like his predecessor Martin, shall be transported in chains and in exile to the foot of the imperial throne.' Would to God, that I might be permitted to tread in the footsteps of the holy Martin; but may the fate of Constans serve as a warning to the persecutors of the church. After his just condemnation by the bishops of Sicily, the tyrant was cut off, in the fulness of his sins, by a domestic servant; the saint is still adored by the nations of Scythia, among whom he ended his banishment and his life.

"But it is our duty to live for the edification and support of the faithful people, nor are we reduced to risk our safety on the event of a combat. Incapable as you are of defending your Roman subjects, the maritime situation of the city may perhaps expose it to your depredation; but we can remove to the distance of four-and-twenty stadia, to the first fortress of the Lombards, and then—— you may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant that the popes are the bond of union between the East and the West? The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and *they revere as a God upon earth* the apostle Saint Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy. The remote and interior kingdoms of the West present their homage *to Christ and his vicegerent*, and we now prepare to visit one of the most powerful monarchs, who desires to receive from our hands the sacrament of baptism. The Barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious Barbarians are kindled into rage; they thirst to avenge the persecution of the east. Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head!"*

§ 34.—Upon the news of Leo's decree reaching Rome, where the people were as mad upon their idols as they were at the East,

* Act Conc. Nic., tom. viii., p. 651, &c.

such was the indignation excited by it, that the Emperor's statues were immediately pulled down, and trodden under foot. All Italy was thrown into confusion; attempts were made to elect another emperor, in the room of Leo, and the Pope encouraged these attempts. The Greek writers affirm that he prohibited the Italians from paying tribute any longer to Leo; but, in the midst of these broils, while defending idolatry and exciting rebellion with all his might, Gregory was stopped short in his wicked career. "He was extremely insolent," says an impartial writer, "though he died with the character of a saint."*

§ 35.—He was succeeded in his office, A. D. 731, by Gregory III., who entered with great spirit and energy into the measures of his predecessors. The reader cannot but be amused with the following extract of a letter which he addressed to the Emperor, immediately on his elevation:—"Because you are unlearned and ignorant, we are obliged to write to you rude discourses, but full of sense and the word of God. We conjure you to quit your pride, and hear us with humility. You say that we adore stones, walls, and boards. It is not so, my lord; but these symbols make us recollect the persons whose names they bear, and exalt our grovelling minds. We do not look upon them as gods; but, if it be the image of Jesus, we say, 'Lord, help us.' If it be the image of his mother, we say, 'Pray to your Son to save us.' If it be of a martyr, we say, 'St. Stephen, pray for us.' We might, as having the power of Saint Peter, pronounce punishments against you; but, as you have pronounced the curse upon yourself, *let it stick to you.* You write to us to assemble a general council, of which there is no need. Do you cease to persecute images, and all will be quiet; we fear not your threats."

Few readers will think the style of this letter much calculated to conciliate the Emperor; and though it certainly does not equal the arrogance and blasphemy which are to be found among the pretensions of this wretched race of mortals in the subsequent period of their history, it may strike some as exhibiting a tolerable advance towards them. It seems to have shut the door against all further intercourse between the parties; for, in 732, Gregory, in a council, excommunicated all who should remove or speak contemptuously of images; and, Italy being now in a state of rebellion, Leo fitted out a fleet with a view of quashing the refractory conduct of his subjects, but it was wrecked in the Adriatic, the object of the expedition frustrated, and the design of vengeance on the Pope and the Romans for the present abandoned.†

§ 36.—Pope Gregory, in order to revenge himself on the Emperor for his continued and persevering opposition to images, expended, in defiance of the royal edict, the whole wealth of the church on pictures and statues to adorn the churches at Rome. As

* Walch's Compend. Hist. of the Popes, p. 101.

† See Lect. on Eccles. Hist., by Jones. London, 1834.—Lect. xxvii.

Leo was as much opposed to the worship of *saints and relics* as he was to images, the Pope, according to the account of the Romish historian, Anastasius, caused relics to be everywhere sought for, and conveyed from all parts of the world to Rome, built a magnificent oratory for their reception and worship, and appointed a religious service to be performed to them, and monks to conduct the service, maintained at the expense of the See. In these *pious works* the Pope is said to have expended 73 pounds weight of gold, and 376 pounds of silver, at that time a most enormous sum.* But these hatreds and animosities were soon quieted in the stillness of the grave; for in the year 741, both the emperor Leo and the pope Gregory were nearly at the same time called away from earth, to render up their account to a higher tribunal, leaving their strifes and contentions to be continued by their successors

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CHAPTER IV.

CONTINUATION OF THE CONTROVERSY ON IMAGE-WORSHIP.—FROM THE DEATH OF LEO AND GREGORY, A. D. 741, TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS IDOLATRY, BY THE SECOND COUNCIL OF NICE, A. D. 787.

§ 37.—THE emperor Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine V., surnamed *Copronymus*, and pope Gregory, by Zachary, a native of Greece. The new Emperor followed in the steps of his father, in endeavoring to extirpate the idolatrous worship of images, but the new Pope was too busily engaged, as we shall see in the next chapter, in his ambitious attempts to exalt the temporal grandeur of the Roman See, and to elevate the popes of Rome to a rank among the princes of the earth, to concern himself much about anything connected with the ceremonies of religious worship. During his pontificate, therefore, of about eleven years, the emperor Constantine suffered but little molestation in his commendable attempts to root out idolatry, except from a domestic usurper, Artabasdus, who, in his absence on an expedition against the Saracens, seized upon his throne, and endeavored to conciliate the superstitious populace, by reversing the edicts of Leo against images, ordering the idols to be restored to the churches, and forbidding any one in future to question the lawfulness of that idolatry upon pain of exile or death. The dominion of Artabasdus, was, however, but short-lived. At the end of a few months, he was defeated and taken by Constantine, who spared the life of the usurper, but caused the images he had set up to be immediately destroyed, and renewed the

* Bower's Hist. Popes, vol. iii., p. 299.

former edicts against their worship and use, at the same time promising the people, at an early period, to refer the whole question of image-worship to the decision of a general council.

§ 38.—In 754, during the pontificate of Stephen II., the Emperor proceeded to redeem this pledge by convening a council at Hiera, opposite to Constantinople, consisting of 338 bishops, the largest number that had ever yet assembled in one general council. This numerous council, after continuing their sessions from the 10th of February to the 17th August, with one voice condemned the use and the worship of images, as a custom borrowed of idolatrous nations, and entirely contrary to the practice of the purer ages of the church. On the nature of the heresy they express themselves in the following language. "Jesus Christ hath delivered us from idolatry, and hath taught us to adore him in spirit and in truth. But the devil, not being able to endure the beauty of the church, hath insensibly brought back idolatry, under the appearance of Christianity, persuading men to worship the creature, and to take for God a work to which they gave the name of Jesus Christ."*

The decree of faith issued by this celebrated council was as follows: "The holy and œcumenical council, which it hath pleased our most orthodox emperors, Constantine and Leo, to assemble in the church of St. Mary ad Blachernas in the imperial city, adhering to the word of God, to the definitions of the six preceding councils, to the doctrine of the approved fathers, and the practice of the church in the earliest times, pronounce and declare, in the name of the Trinity, and with one heart and mind, that NO IMAGES ARE TO BE WORSHIPPED; *that to worship them or any other creature, is robbing God of the honor that is due to him alone, and* RELAPSING INTO IDOLATRY. Whoever, therefore, shall henceforth presume to worship images, *to set them up in the churches, or in private houses*, or to conceal them; if a bishop, priest, or deacon, shall be degraded, and if a monk or layman, excommunicated and punished as guilty of a breach of God's express command, and of the imperial laws, that is, of the very severe laws issued by the Christian emperors against the worshippers of idols."

This council is reckoned by the Greeks as the *seventh general council*, but by the papists, on account of their decree against the worship of images, this claim is, of course, disallowed. Encouraged by the countenance and decrees of so numerous a council, Constantine proceeded to burn the images, and demolish the walls of the churches which were painted with the figures of Christ, of the Virgin, and the saints, with a promptness and resolution which showed that he was determined, if possible, to extirpate the last vestige of idolatry.

§ 39.—Upon the death of Constantine V., in the year 775, he was succeeded by his son Leo IV., who adopted the sentiments of his father and grandfather, and imitated their zeal in the extirpation of

* Fleury, book xliii., chapter 7.

The empress Irene. Her unnatural cruelties. Justified by popish writers.

idolatry out of the Christian church. The wife of Leo was named Irene, a woman who has rendered her name infamous in the annals of crime. In the year 780, her husband, who had opposed her attempts to introduce the worship of images into the very palace, suddenly died, as is supposed by many, in consequence of poison, administered by the direction of his faithless and perfidious queen. Bower expresses his own opinion, that this woman, "so abandonedly wicked" (as he describes her), caused poison to be administered to Leo, and Mosheim directly asserts that such was the fact. For my own part, I think it very probable that this was the cause of the death of her husband, though I am not aware that it is directly asserted by any ancient author. There is no uncertainty, however, relative to her unnatural and bloody treatment of her son, the youthful emperor Constantine VI.

Inspired by a desire to occupy the throne now possessed by him, she caused him to be seized, and his eyes to be put out, to render him incapable of reigning, which, according to the testimony of Theophanes, was done "with so much cruelty, that he immediately expired." Gibbon doubts whether immediate death was the consequence, but describes in vivid language, the horrid cruelty of the unnatural mother. "In the mind of Irene, ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature, and it was decreed in her bloody council, that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne, her emissaries assaulted the sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with such violence and precipitation into his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal sentence. The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished, and if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind."*

§ 40.—Such was the flagitious character of the wretched woman, who was eventually the means of establishing the worship of images throughout the empire, and yet in consequence of this service which she rendered to the cause of idolatry, will it be credited that popish writers represent her as a pattern of piety, and even justify the horrid torture, or the murder of her son? The following are the words of Cardinal Baronius, justifying this cruel and unnatural crime: "Snares," says he, "were laid this year for the emperor Constantine, by his mother Irene, which he fell into the year following, and was deprived at the same time of his eyes and his life. An execrable crime indeed, had she not been prompted to it by zeal for justice. On that consideration *she even deserved to be commended* for what she did (!!) In more ancient times, the hands of parents were armed by God's command, against their children worshipping strange gods, and they who killed them were commended by Moses." Again says Baronius, "As Irene was supposed

* Decline and Fall, vol. iii., page 246.

to have done what she did (that is, to have deposed and murdered her son), for the sake of religion (!) and love of justice (!!) she was still thought by men of great sanctity worthy of praise and commendation."* This extract from a popish Cardinal, and one of the most celebrated writers of that communion, needs no comment Well might Popery be called in the language of inspiration, "the mother of harlots, and ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH." (Rev. xvii., 5.)

§ 41.—In the year 784, this wicked woman wrote to pope Adrian, desiring his presence, or at least the presence of his legates, to a general council to be held at Nice, in support of the worship of images; and Adrian in his reply testified his joy at the prospect of the restoration of the *holy images* to their place in the churches from which they had so long been banished.

In the year 787, this famous council was convened, which papists reckon *the seventh general council*, though it has no more right to be regarded as a general council, than the council convened by the Emperor in 754, which condemned the use of images. The number of bishops who attended on this occasion, was 350, and the result of their deliberation was, as might be expected, in favor of images. It was decreed "That holy images of the cross should be consecrated, and put on the sacred vessels and vestments, and upon walls and boards, in private houses and in public ways. And especially that there should be erected images of the Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, of our blessed Lady, the mother of God, of the venerable angels, and of all the saints. And that whosoever should presume to think or teach otherwise, or to throw away any painted books, or the figure of the cross, or any image or picture, or any genuine relics of the martyrs, they should, if bishops or clergymen, be deposed, or if monks or laymen, be excommunicated. They then pronounced anathemas upon all who should not receive images, or who should apply what the Scriptures say against idols to the holy images, or call them idols, or wilfully communicate with those who rejected and despised them, adding, according to custom, 'Long live Constantine, and Irene, his mother—damnation to all heretics—damnation on the council that roared against venerable images—the holy Trinity hath deposed them.'"†

§ 42.—Thus was the system of popish idolatry established by law, confirmed by a boasted general council, in direct opposition to both the letter and the spirit of the sacred Scriptures. In spite of all the fine-spun distinctions, and papistical apologies, to diminish the guilt of this idol worship, from that time to the present, IDOLATRY has been stamped upon the forehead of the papal anti-Christ. The church of Rome, let her say what she will, is a church defiled and polluted by idolatry, and in this spiritual adultery, her members have almost universally participated. "Tell us not," says Isaac Taylor, "how the few may possibly steer clear of the fatal errors, and avoid a

* Baronius' Annals, ann. 796.
† Platina's Lives of the Popes, vitâ Adrian I.

From the tumults about images in 730, the Emperor had no power in Italy.

gross idolatry, while admitting such practices. What will be their effect with the multitude? The actual condition of the mass of the people in all countries where Popery has been unchecked, gives us a sufficient answer to this question; nor do we scruple to condemn these practices as ABOMINABLE IDOLATRIES. Tell us not how Fenelon or Pascal might extricate themselves from this impiety: what are the frequenters of churches in Naples and Madrid? nothing better than the GROSSEST POLYTHEISTS, and far less rationally *religious* than were their ancestors of the times of Numa and Pythagoras."*

CHAPTER V.

THE POPE FINALLY BECOMES A TEMPORAL SOVEREIGN, A. D. 756.

§ 43.—THE popes, although seizing every opportunity to exalt their own authority, had not, up to the commencement of the eighth century, ventured the attempt to excite rebellion against the ancient emperors, or to wield in their own hands, the sceptre of temporal sovereignty. In the present chapter we are to follow them, in their career of ambition, till they united the regal crown to the episcopal mitre, and took rank among the kings of the earth.

We have already referred to the rebellious tumults, excited at Rome, and encouraged by pope Gregory II., when in 730, the edict of Leo was promulgated, enjoining the destruction of images. From that time forward, till the coronation of Charlemagne in 800, the government of the city of Rome, and the surrounding territory, was administered only nominally, in the name of the emperors of the East, while the real power was vested in the popes, sustained as they were by the ignorant and superstitious multitudes. "After the prohibition of picture worship," says Gieseler, "the city of Rome was in a state of rebellion against the emperors, though without an absolute separation from the empire. From this they were withheld by fear of the Lombards, who, under Liutprand, were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to extend their sway over Rome, as well as the Exarchate, and whose purpose it was the great object of the popes to defeat."†

In the year 734, the Emperor sent an army and a fleet to reduce to submission the Pope and the refractory Romans, and to enforce the execution of his decree against images, but as nearly all his vessels were lost at sea, the attempt was abandoned, and from this

* Taylor's Ancient Christianity, page 328.
† Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., page 14.

time forward, says Bower, "the Emperor concerned himself no more with the affairs of the West, than the Pope with those of the East." The Exarch, or emperor's Viceroy, continued still to reside at Ravenna, but was not in a condition to cause the imperial edict against images to be observed even in that city, much less to undertake anything against the Pope or the people of Rome, who had now withdrawn themselves from subjection to the Emperor, and were governed by magistrates of their own election, "forming a kind of republic under the Pope, not yet as their prince, but only as their head."*

§ 44.—In the year 740, in consequence of the Pope refusing to deliver up two rebellious dukes, the subjects of Luitprand, king of the Lombards, that warlike monarch invaded and laid waste the territories of Rome. In their distress, their fear of the resentment of the Emperor forbidding them to apply to him for the assistance they urgently needed, they resolved to apply to the celebrated Charles *Martel*, the great hero of that age, who had received that surname, which signifies *hammer*, in consequence of a celebrated victory gained over the Saracen forces, near Poictiers, in 732, by which he had probably saved his native country, France, from being subjected under the Mahometan rule. Charles was at this time mayor of the palace to the king of France, but wielded in his own person all the power of the kingdom. To him, therefore, pope Gregory III. despatched the most urgent and pressing entreaties to hasten to his aid. "Shut not your ears, my most Christian son," writes Gregory, "shut not your ears to our prayers, lest the prince of the apostles should shut the gates of the kingdom of heaven upon you!" The Pope had sent him his usual royal present of the keys of the tomb of St. Peter, with some filings of Peter's chain inserted, and appealing to these, he adds, in his letters, "I conjure you, by the sacred keys of the tomb of St. Peter, which I send you, prefer not the friendship of the Lombard kings, to that regard you owe to the prince of the apostles!"†

§ 45.—Whether it was, however, that the stern warrior did not attach much value to these wonder-working keys and filings, or whether he was unwilling to offend the king of the Lombards, it is certain that he turned a deaf ear to these pathetic appeals of the Pope; till the latter, despairing of gaining his help by appealing to his piety or superstition, attacked him in a more vulnerable part, by appealing to his ambition. This Gregory did by proposing to Charles, that he and the Romans would renounce all allegiance to the Emperor, as an avowed heretic, and acknowledging him for their protector, confer upon him the consular dignity of Rome, upon condition that he should protect the Pope, the church, and the Roman people against the Lombards; and, if necessity should arise, against the vengeance of their ancient master, the Emperor.

* Bower's History of the Popes, vol. iii., page 300.
† Gregory III., Epist. in Baronius, ann. 740.

Leo III., Gregory III., and Charles Martel die in the same year. Pepin of France

These proposals were more suited to the warlike and ambitious disposition of Martel, and he immediately despatched his ambassadors to Rome to take the Pope under his protection, intending, doubtless, at an early period, to consummate the agreement.

Pope Gregory, however, did not live to carry into effect his treasonable purpose, Charles Martel to profit by it, or the emperor Leo to hear of it. They all three died in that year, 741, within a few weeks of each other. Before the death of Martel, his timely interference had procured the Romans a brief respite from their invaders, for soon after the arrival of his messengers at Rome, the Lombard king retired with his troops to his own dominions, though he still retained the four cities he had taken belonging to the Roman dukedom. Upon the almost simultaneous death of these three noted individuals, the Emperor was succeeded by Constantine, the Pope by Zachary, and the mayor of the palace by his son Pepin, as the nominal mayor, but the real sovereign of France.

§ 46.—Pope Zachary was immediately ordained, without waiting for his election to be confirmed, either by the Emperor or his Italian representative, the Exarch; the imperial power in Italy being at this time reduced to so low an ebb, that the Emperor had no power to resist this encroachment upon his right of confirming the Universal Bishops—a right which his predecessors had claimed and enjoyed without interruption ever since the decree of Phocas had created that dignity. Soon after his ordination, pope Zachary visited in person the camp of Luitprand, the Lombard king, who, upon the death of Charles Martel, was preparing again to invade the territories of Rome, and had influence sufficient, by threatening him with damnation if he refused, and promising the favor of St. Peter if he complied, to prevail on him to deliver up the four cities he had taken; which he accordingly did, declaring in the presence of all, that they no longer belonged to him, but to *the Apostle St. Peter*, without saying a word of the Emperor, who, if any one, was, without doubt, their rightful master and sovereign.

§ 47.—A few years later, A. D. 751, Pepin, son of Martel, conceived the design of dethroning the feeble monarch, Childeric III., under whom he was acting as prime minister and viceroy. Though he possessed the *power* of the sovereign, yet he was still a subject, and determined, if possible, to obtain the *title* of king as well as the authority. Not deeming it prudent to depose the legitimate sovereign without providing to satisfy the scruples of the timid or the superstitious, Pepin resolved to submit the case of conscience to pope Zachary; viz., who best deserved to be called king; he who was possessed of the title without the power, or he who possessed the power without the title. The situation of Zachary, exposed as he was, on the one hand, to the indignation of the Emperor, and on the other, to the attacks of the warlike Lombards, was such as to leave no doubt that he would give such an answer as would secure the favor and protection of the powerful Pepin. Accordingly he

gave, without hesitation, such an answer as the usurper desired; viz., that *he* ought to be called king who *possessed the power*, rather then he who, without regal power, possessed *only the title.** The feeble Childeric was immediately deposed and confined to a monastery, and Pepin proclaimed king in his stead. He was crowned and anointed by Boniface, the Pope's legate, and two years after, in order to render his title as sacred as possible, the ceremony was performed again by pope Stephen, the successor of Zachary, on the occasion of a journey into France to obtain his succor against the Lombards. Upon the arrival of Stephen into Pepin's dominions on this occasion, he was received with the most extravagant honors. The king and queen, with their two sons, Charles and Carloman, the chief lords of the court, and most of the French nobility, went out three miles to meet him. Upon his approach, Pepin dismounted from his horse and fell prostrate on the ground; and, not suffering the Pope to dismount, he attended him part of the way on foot, performing, according to the Romish historian, Anastasius, "the office of his groom or equerry."†

§ 48.—In the year 753, Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, invaded the exarchate, and laid siege to the city of Ravenna. The city was bravely defended by Eutychius, the last of the exarchs, till his affairs were desperate, when he embarked on board a vessel with the remnant of his soldiers, and fled to his master, the Emperor, to Constantinople. Thus ended the exarchate of Ravenna, and with it the splendor of that ancient city, in which for nearly two centuries the exarchs, as the viceroys of the emperors, had maintained the imperial power in the West.

Elated by his conquest, Aistulphus despatched a messenger to Rome, demanding the submission of the inhabitants, asserting that as the exarchate was his by right of conquest, so also were all the cities and other places that had heretofore been subject to the exarchs in Italy; that is, all Italian dominions of the Emperor. At the same time he threatened to march with his army to Rome, and to put all the inhabitants to the sword, unless they acknowledged his government, and paid him a yearly tribute of a piece of gold for each person.

§ 49.—In these perilous circumstances, Stephen ventured to inform the Emperor, who was still nominally the sovereign of Rome, and solicit his succor. Constantine, however, was too busy in pursuing his victories over the Saracens in the East to do more than send an ambassador to make the best terms he could with Aistulphus. The ambassador John bore with him commands to the Pope

* The oldest account of this is in *Annalibus Loiselianus* ad ann. 749 (751). See a quotation from this ancient writing in Gieseler, iii., 14, note 5. "Zacharias Papa, mandavit Pipino ut melius esset illum regem vocari *qui potestatem haberet, quam illum qui sine regali potestate manebat.* Per auctoritatem ergo apostolicam jussit Pipinum regem fieri."

† Anastasius *de vitis Pontificum*, in Stephen II.

Aistulphus, the Lombard king, threatens Rome. Pope Stephen applies for succor to king Pepin.

to unite his persuasions with his own, to induce the Lombard king to send a minister to Constantinople to treat of an accommodation, and in the mean time to forbear hostilities. This Aistulphus absolutely refused, and John was soon despatched to his master at Constantinople, to inform him that nothing but a powerful army sent immediately into Italy, could save the remnant of the ancient Roman empire in that country. As another expedient, two abbots were sent to the camp of the conqueror, to plead with him the cause of St. Peter. The King admitted them to his presence, but only to reproach them for meddling in worldly affairs, and commanded them to return immediately to their monasteries. Failing in this, the Pope tried processions, in which were solemnly carried the images of the Virgin Mary, of St. Peter, and St. Paul, and a host of other saints; but these saints too, or their images, appeared deaf to their entreaties, and their condition was daily becoming more critical.

§ 50.—In this extremity, pope Stephen resolved to apply in person for succor to Pepin, king of France, whom we have already seen encouraged by the Pope in usurping the throne of his master, Childeric. Stephen, upon his arrival in France, was received with the highest honor, and "entertained as the visible successor of the apostles." After a short delay, he recrossed the Alps, at the head of a victorious army, which was led by the King in person. The ambitious Pope, while an honored guest at the court of Pepin, anxious to see himself elevated to the rank of an earthly monarch, had been cunning enough to obtain from him a promise that he would restore the places that might be captured from Aistulphus (not to the Emperor, but) *to be freely possessed by St. Peter and his successors.* After a feeble resistance to the arms of Pepin, the Lombards were compelled to submit, their King was besieged in his metropolis, Pavia, and as the price of peace was compelled to sign a treaty to deliver up to the Pope the exarchate, "with all the cities, castles, and territories thereto belonging, *to be for ever held and possessed,* BY THE MOST HOLY POPE STEPHEN AND HIS SUCCESSORS in the Apostolic See of St. Peter."

§ 51.—No sooner had Pepin returned into France, than Aistulphus, who had signed this treaty, resolved not to fulfil it. The Pope had frequently reminded the Lombard king of the dishonesty and injustice of keeping those territories which belonged, of right, to the Emperor; and it was very natural for him to conclude, that if *he* had no right to keep what belonged to another, neither had king Pepin any right to bestow it, or pope Stephen to receive it; and that of the three, he himself had as much right to it as any one of them. Aistulphus accordingly laid siege to Rome, burning with rage against the Pope; first, for bringing the French to invade his dominions; and second, for claiming the exarchate for himself, after having so frequently threatened him with the vengeance of heaven for his injustice in not restoring that territory to his "most

religious son, the Emperor," who alone had a right to it. He therefore declared to the people that he came not as an enemy to *them*, but to the Pope, and that if they would deliver him up they should be treated with the greatest kindness, but if they refused to do this, that he would level the walls of the city with the ground, and leave none of them alive to tell the tale.

§ 52.—The Pope immediately wrote an urgent letter, and sent it by an abbot named Fulrad, to his former protector, Pepin, in which he says, "To defend the church, is, of all works, the most meritorious; and that, to which is reserved the greatest reward in the world to come. God might himself have defended his church, or raised up others to ascertain and defend the just rights of his apostle St. Peter. But it pleased him to choose you, my most excellent son, out of the whole human race, for that holy purpose. For it was *in compliance with his divine inspiration and command* that I applied to you, that I came into your kingdom, that I exhorted you to espouse the cause of his beloved apostle, and your great protector, St. Peter. You espoused his cause accordingly; and your zeal for his honor was quickly rewarded with a signal and miraculous victory. But, my most excellent son, St. Peter has not yet reaped the least advantage from so glorious a victory, though owing entirely to him. The perfidious and wicked Aistulphus has not yet yielded to him one foot of ground; nay, unmindful of his oath, and actuated by the devil, he has begun hostilities anew, and, bidding defiance both to you and St. Peter, threatens us, and the whole Roman people, with death and destruction, as the abbot Fulrad and his companions will inform you." The rest of the Pope's letter consists chiefly of repeated invectives against Aistulphus as a sworn enemy to St. Peter, and repeated commendations of Pepin, his two sons, and the whole French nation, as the chief friends and favorites of that apostle. In the end he puts Pepin, and likewise his two sons, in mind of the promise they had made to the door-keeper of heaven; tells them, that the prince of the apostles himself kept the instrument of their donation; that *it had been delivered into the apostle's own hands;* and that he held it tight to produce it, at the last day, for their punishment, if it was not executed; and for their reward if it was; and therefore conjures them by the living God, by the Virgin Mary, by all the angels of heaven, by St. Peter and St. Paul, and the tremendous day of judgment, to cause St. Peter to be put in possession of all the places named in the donation; and that without further delay, lest by excusing others they should themselves become inexcusable; and be, in the end, eternally damned.*

* Codex Carolinus, Epist. 7. This is a collection of the epistles of the popes to Charles Martel (whom they style *Subregulus*), Pepin, and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the last of these princes. His original and authentic MS. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the imperial library of Vienna, and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori (Script. Rerum. Ital. tom. iii., pars. 2, p. 75, &c). See Gibbon, vol. iii., p. 281, note 2.

A letter from St. Peter in heaven to Pepin, sent through the infallible postmaster, pope Stephen.

§ 53.—As some time elapsed, and the Pope had received no intelligence of the march of Pepin, Stephen began to fear that the impression produced by his letter on the mind of the King had not been sufficiently powerful to induce him to cross the Alps a second time, and as the city, unless relieved, could not sustain the siege much longer, he adopted the extraordinary expedient of pretending, by one of those *pious frauds* which papists have always regarded as lawful and commendable, to have received a letter from St. Peter in heaven, beseeching the immediate interposition of the French on behalf of his successor and his See. This most singular document, as well as the last quoted letter of pope Stephen, has been preserved in the Codex Carolinus. The superscription is as follows:—"SIMON PETER, A SERVANT AND APOSTLE OF JESUS CHRIST, to the three most excellent kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman; to all the holy bishops, abbots, presbyters, and monks; to all the dukes, counts, commanders of the French army, and to the whole people of France: Grace unto you, and peace be multiplied." The letter then proceeds thus: "I AM THE APOSTLE PETER, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c., Feed my sheep, &c., And to thee will I give the keys, &c. As this was all said to me in particular, all, who hearken to me and obey my exhortations, may persuade themselves, and firmly believe that their sins are forgiven them; and that they will be admitted, cleansed from all guilt, into life everlasting. Hearken, therefore, to me, TO ME PETER THE APOSTLE and servant of Jesus Christ; and since I have preferred you to all the nations of the earth, hasten, I beseech and conjure you, *if you care to be cleansed from your sins*, and *to earn an eternal reward*, hasten to the relief of my city, of my church, of the people committed to my care, ready to fall into the hands of the wicked Lombards, their merciless enemies. It has pleased the Almighty that my body should rest in this city; the body that has suffered for the sake of Christ such exquisite torments: and can you, my most Christian sons, stand by unconcerned, and see it insulted by the most wicked of nations? No, let it never be said, and it will, I hope, never be said, that I, the apostle of Jesus Christ, that my apostolic church, the foundation of the faith, that my flock, recommended to you by me and my vicar, have trusted in you, but trusted in vain. OUR LADY, THE VIRGIN MARY, MOTHER OF GOD, *joins in earnestly entreating*, nay, commands you to hasten, to run, to fly, to the relief of my favorite people, reduced almost to the last gasp, and calling in that extremity night and day upon her and upon me. The thrones and dominions, the principalities and the powers, and the whole multitude of heavenly hosts, entreat you, together with us, not to delay, but to come with all possible speed, and rescue my chosen flock from the jaws of the ravening wolves ready to devour them. My vicar might, in this extremity, have recurred, and not in vain, to other nations; but with me the French are, and ever have been, the first, the best, the most deserving of all nations; and

I would not suffer the reward, the exceeding great reward, that is reserved, in this and the other world, for those, who shall deliver my people, to be earned by any other." In the rest of the letter St. Peter is made to repeat all the Pope had said in his letters; to court the favor and protection of the French with the most abject flattery; to inveigh with as much unchristian resentment and rancor, as the Pope had inveighed, against "the most wicked nation of the Lombards;" and to entreat his most Christian sons over and over again to come, and with all possible speed, to the relief of his vicar and people, lest they should in the mean time fall into the hands of their implacable enemies; and those, from whom they expected relief, incur the displeasure of the Almighty, and his; and be thereby excluded, notwithstanding all their other good works, from the kingdom of heaven.

§ 54.—With this letter from Saint Peter in heaven, pope Stephen, the infallible postmaster, despatched a messenger, in all haste, to Pepin; but he had, upon the receipt of his first letter, assembled all his forces anew; and was, when he received this, within a day's march of the Alps. He pursued his march without delay; and, having forced the passes of those mountains, advanced, never once halting till he reached Pavia, and laid, a second time, a close siege to that city, not doubting but he should thus oblige Aistulphus to retire from the siege of Rome.* Pepin was not mistaken in his calculations. Fearing that the French would make themselves masters of his metropolis and his kingdom, the Lombard king was compelled, before it was too late, once more to sue for peace, which was granted by the French king, upon the humiliating conditions that Aistulphus should execute literally the treaty of the former year, and convey at once the exarchate to the Pope, that he should deliver up also the city of Commachio, defray all the expenses of the war, and pay besides an annual tribute to France of twelve thousand *solidi* of gold.

These terms being agreed and sworn to by Aistulphus, Pepin caused a new instrument to be drawn up, whereby he yielded all the places mentioned in the treaty, *to be for ever held and possessed by St. Peter and his lawful successors in the See of Rome.* This instrument, signed by himself, by his two sons, and by the chief barons of the kingdom, he delivered to the abbot Fulrad, appointing him his commissary to receive, in the Pope's name, all the places mentioned in it. With this character the Abbot, attended by the commissaries of Aistulphus, repaired immediately to Ravenna, and from thence to every city named in the instrument of donation, and having taken possession of them all in St. Peter's name and the Pope's, and everywhere received a sufficient number of hostages, he went, with all his hostages, immediately to Rome; and there, laying the instrument of donation, and the keys of each city, on the tomb of St. Peter, put the Pope thereby at last in possession of

* Anastasius *de vitis Pont.* in Stephen II. See also Baronius ad Ann. 755.

the so long wished-for principality, and thus was the pope of Rome finally raised to the station of an earthly sovereign, and took rank among the kings of the earth.

"And now," says Bower, to whose learned labors we have been indebted for many of the facts mentioned in this chapter, "that we have seen the temporal power united in the popes to the spiritual, the crown to the mitre, and the sword to the keys, I shall leave them for a while, with two short observations. *First.* That as their spiritual power so also their temporal power was owing to a usurper; the one to Phocas, and the other to Pepin. *Second.* That as they most bitterly inveighed against the patriarchs of Constantinople as the forerunners of the anti-Christ for assuming the title of Universal Bishop, and yet laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to assume that very title themselves; so did they inveigh against the Lombards as the most wicked of men, for usurping the dominions of their 'most religious sons,' the Emperors; and yet they themselves usurped the dominions of their 'most religious sons' just as soon as they had it in their power."*

* Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. iii., p. 381. The edition of Bower to which we refer in the present work, is the original edition, in seven volumes quarto, "printed for the author," London, 1754. Since the present work has been in progress, the author has learned with pleasure that an American edition of Bower's great work is in course of publication, in twenty-four numbers, under the editorial supervision of his learned and gifted friend, the Rev. Dr. Cox, of Brooklyn, which, by the economising improvements in modern printing, will be afforded in numbers complete for six dollars—a sum far less than the cost of a single volume of the original edition. The History of the Popes was the great work of the author's life, and is a stupendous monument of learning, industry, and historical research. Unable to controvert or to disprove his *facts*, which are related upon the most unquestionable authority of standard, and generally contemporary historians, the papists have striven to blacken the *character* of Mr. Bower, just as Tertullus, the orator of the Jews, when unable to meet the *arguments* of the apostle Paul, called him "a pestilent fellow."* The only effect of these attacks, however, has been to establish the character of the work as one of unquestionable veracity and authority. The present author cannot but indulge the hope that the enterprise of the publishers of this cheap edition of Bower (Messrs. Griffith and Simon, of Philadelphia) will be rewarded with a sale commensurate with the sterling merits of the work.

* Acts xxiv. 5.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONFIRMATION AND INCREASE OF THE POPE'S TEMPORAL POWER TO THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 800.

§ 55.—We are henceforth to contemplate the Pope, not simply as a professed Christian bishop, but as an earthly prince, exercising a temporal sovereignty over a rich and fertile country. In reference to the extent of these first fruits of the conquests of Pepin, now possessed by the Pope, says Gibbon, "The ample measure of the exarchate might comprise all the provinces of Italy, which had obeyed the Emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country, as far as the ridges of the Appenine. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince; the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna."*

§ 56.—These limits were subsequently much enlarged by successive donations from the celebrated son and successor of Pepin. In the year 774, Charlemagne, in compliance with the entreaties of pope Adrian, advanced at the head of a numerous army into Italy, with the professed design of protecting the holy See, from the attacks of Desiderius, at that time the king of the Lombards. Upon the approach of the French king to Rome, he was received by the Pope, as might be expected, with the highest marks of distinction. On the morning after his arrival, Adrian, with the whole body of his clergy, proceeded to the ancient church of St. Peter's, early in the morning, to await the arrival of Charlemagne, and conduct him in person, to the tomb of St. Peter. Arrived at the steps of the church, the king kneeled down and kissed each step of the sacred edifice, as he ascended. At the entry he was received by the Pope, in all the gorgeous attire of his pontifical robes, and led by him into the church, amidst the songs of the clergy and the people, who impiously applied to this stern warrior that song which was originally applied to HIM who is the "Prince of peace," "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

Charlemagne then solemnly confirmed the donation of the exarchate, made by his father Pepin, to the Pope and his successors, ordered a new instrument to be drawn up, which he first signed himself, and then ordered to be signed by all the bishops, abbots,

* Decline and Fall, vol. iii., page 284.

and other distinguished men who had accompanied him to Rome, then kissing it with great respect and devotion, as we are informed by Anastasius, "he laid it with his own hand on the body of St. Peter."* That the king of France, by this new donation, not only promised to defend the Pope's rights to all the places mentioned in Pepin's donation, but also added several other places, is generally agreed by the ancient writers, though there is much diversity of opinion, as to what these new territories were. Returning from Rome to Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom, Charlemagne besieged and reduced that city, and captured and deposed from his kingdom, the last of the race of the Lombard kings, Desiderius, and confined the unfortunate prince for the rest of his life to a monastery. After thus conquering the Lombard kingdom, Charlemagne immediately took measures to put the Pope in actual possession, which he had never yet fully enjoyed, of all the places named in the donation of Pepin. On a second visit of the king to Rome, in 781, he caused his son Carloman to be crowned and anointed by the Pope, king of Lombardy, and his son Lewis king of Aquitaine.

§ 57.—In 787, Charlemagne again visited Italy for the purpose of defeating the plans of the powerful duke of Benevento, who had conspired with some of the Lombard princes to drive the French out of Italy. Upon the approach of the King, the duke proffered submission and implored forgiveness. Charlemagne was disposed to accept his submission, and cease further hostilities, but pope Adrian, concluding no doubt, that if any cities should be taken from the duke, St. Peter would doubtless reap the benefit, dissuaded the King from his purpose of forgiveness; and to gratify *his holiness*, he entered the dominions of the duke, captured several of his cities, and laid waste the country with fire and sword. The Pope was not disappointed. Charlemagne, before he returned to France, added to the dominions of the church, the five cities he had taken during this expedition, beside several of the places which had formerly belonged to the Lombards. The Pope, instead of an humble minister of Christ, had already become an intriguing worldly politician, and like most other sovereigns of that age, anxious chiefly for the enlargement of his dominions, and his own personal aggrandisement, and so that these objects might be accomplished, caring but very little about the humanity or the justice of the means employed.

§ 58.—In the year 800, king Charlemagne having reduced under his sway nearly the whole of Europe, paid another visit to Rome, for the purpose of vindicating the cause of pope Leo III., who had been assailed, waylaid, and wounded by Pascal and Campule, two nephews of the late pope Adrian, who were loth to part with that almost unbounded power which they had enjoyed during the pontificate of their uncle. They had not only offered themselves as his accusers,

* Anastasius, *de vitis Pont.*, in Adrian.

but attacked him in the public streets, and dragged him half dead into the church of St. Mark. Upon the arrival of the king at Rome in the month of November, he called together the whole body of the clergy and nobility of the city in the church of St. Peter, and after seating himself on the same throne with the Pope, informed the assembly of his horror at the late cruel attempt upon the life of his holiness, that he had come there for the purpose of informing himself of the particulars of this horrid and unprecedented crime, and as the conspirators, with the design of diminishing their own guilt, had charged the Pope with various crimes, he had called them together to judge of the justice or injustice of these accusations.

Upon the King's pronouncing these words, says Anastasius, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots exclaimed with one voice, "*We dare not judge the apostolic See, the head of all churches. By that See and its vicar, we are all judged,* AND THEY BY NONE!"* The Pope, however, declared himself willing to justify himself by a solemn oath, and upon his doing so, Charlemagne and the assembly declared themselves satisfied; the Pope was pronounced innocent, and upon the two conspirators was pronounced the sentence of death, which, at the intercession of Leo, was commuted to that of perpetual banishment from Italy.

§ 59.—A few weeks after this event, viz.: on Christmas day, 800, Charlemagne was solemnly crowned and proclaimed EMPEROR, by the Pope, with the title of CAROLUS I., CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. The king was assisting at the celebration of mass in St. Peter's church, when in the midst of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and while he was yet on his knees, pope Leo advanced and placed an imperial crown on his head, amidst the shouts of the people, who immediately exclaimed, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, CROWNED BY THE HAND OF GOD!—long live the great and pious Emperor of the Romans."† The Emperor was then conducted by the Pope to a magnificent throne, presented with the imperial mantle, and saluted with the title of Augustus. From this time forward, the nominal sovereignty of the Eastern emperor in Rome, which had been merely a dead letter from the time of the dispute concerning images, in 730, was formally transferred to the new emperor of the Romans, although the principal power of administering the government of that city, was left by him where it had long been, in the hands of the Pope.

§ 60.—Widely different opinions have existed among historians of learning and research, as to the nature of the temporal power exercised in the city of Rome by the popes, after the coronation of the emperor Charlemagne, whether it was an independent or delegated power, and if the latter, in what sense, and how far the popes, in the

* Anastasius, in vita Leo III.

† Eginhard in Annal.—Eginhard, the celebrated biographer of Charlemagne, was a contemporary and favorite of that monarch.

exercise of their temporal government, were dependent upon Charlemagne and the emperors who succeeded him. Instead of adding another to these various opinions, I shall only quote the following opinion of the learned Mosheim, "That Charlemagne, in effect, preserved entire his supreme authority over the city of Rome and its adjacent territory, has been demonstrated by several of the learned in the most ample and satisfactory manner, and confirmed by the most unexceptionable testimonies. On the other hand, we must acknowledge, ingenuously, that the power of the pontiff, both in the city of Rome and its annexed territory, was very great, and that he seemed to act with *a princely authority*. But the extent and the foundations of that authority are matters hid in the deepest obscurity, and have thereby given occasion to endless disputes. After a careful examination of all the circumstances that can contribute toward the solution of this perplexed question, the most probable account of the matter seems to be this: that the Roman pontiff possessed the city of Rome and its territory as a feudal tenure, though charged with less marks of dependance than other fiefs generally are, on account of the lustre and dignity of a city which had been so long the capital of the empire."*

§ 60.—In the seventh chapter of Daniel, verses 8, &c., the papal power is represented as a "little horn," or kingdom, coming up among the other ten horns or kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. Before this little horn, coming up after the other ten, and "diverse from the first," three of the others are plucked up by the roots, which signifies that the papal government should eventually triumph over three of the states or governments out of the ten into which the ancient Roman empire was divided. Bishop Newton, in his learned work on the prophecies, supposes that these were the state of Rome, the exarchate of Ravenna, and the kingdom of the Lombards. Perhaps it may be doubted whether his assertion is quite consistent with historical accuracy, that "in the year 774, the Pope, by the assistance of Charles the Great, *became possessed* of the kingdom of the Lombards."† It is true that Charlemagne, upon his conquest of Lombardy, enlarged the donation of Pepin, with some of the cities formerly belonging to the Lombards, but he caused his own son Carloman, to be crowned king of Lombardy, by the Pope, in the year 781, as we have already seen. (See above, page 175.)

Indeed, while there is no uncertainty as to the *fact*, there is much uncertainty as to the *time* when the papal government thus successively triumphed over these three horns or governments. Whoever will examine a map of the papal states in Italy at the *present day*, will see that the Pope is *now* possessed of all the territory occupied by two of these governments, in the sixth and seventh centuries, and at least of a large part of that occupied by the third; but it is

* Mosheim, vol. ii., page 229.

† Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, page 617.

Circumstances of the full establishment of the Papal State as independent and sovereign.

more difficult to tell the precise *time* when these territories became all united under him as a sovereign and independent monarch.

§ 61.—The origin and foundation of the sovereign state, called the Papal State, which is annexed to the See of Rome, says a late accurate writer, "is one of the most obscure and intricate subjects in the history of modern Europe." This writer then proceeds to show in a minute and careful sketch of the papal power for more than four centuries after Charlemagne, that the popes, during all that time, though acknowledged as sovereigns, and exercising the rights of sovereignty, and at some periods even claiming a sovereign power over all earthly kings and emperors, were yet, in the government of their own territories, *nominally* at least, dependent upon the emperors of the West, till the time of Rudolph of Hapsburg, the ancestor of the present reigning house of Austria. His account of the act of the Emperor, by which this nominal dependency was given up, is as follows: "Rudolph of Hapsburg, being elected emperor after a long interregnum (A. D. 1273), was entirely engrossed by German affairs, and had little time to bestow upon the kingdom of Italy, which had ever proved a troublesome appendage of the German crown, and he is said to have been ignorant of the geography of that country. Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily and Naples, was then the most powerful sovereign of Italy, and had extended his authority by various means over the North of Italy, where he had assumed the title of Imperial Vicar. Rudolph resented this usurpation, and pope Nicholas III., interfering between the two sovereigns, induced Charles to give up Tuscany and Bologna, as well as the senatorship of Rome, which he had also obtained.

"At the same time the Pope urged Rudolph to define by a charter the dominions of the holy See, and *to separate them for ever from those dependent on the empire*, and he sent to Rudolph copies of the donations or charters of the former emperors. Rudolph, by letters patent, dated May, 1278, recognized the states of the church, as extending from Radicofani to Ceperano, near the Liris, on the frontiers of Naples, and as including the duchy of Spoleto, the march of Ancona, the exarchate of Ravenna, the county of Bertinoro, Bologna, and some other places. At the same time, Rudolph released the people of all those places from their oath of allegiance to the empire, *giving up all rights over them, which might still remain in the imperial crown*, and acknowledging the sovereignty of the same to belong to the See of Rome. This charter was confirmed by the electors and princes of the empire. Rudolph's letter and charter are found in Raynaldus's 'Annales' for the year 1278. This charter, important as a title, had little effect at the time. Rudolph gave up to the Pope a sovereignty, which was more nominal than real."*

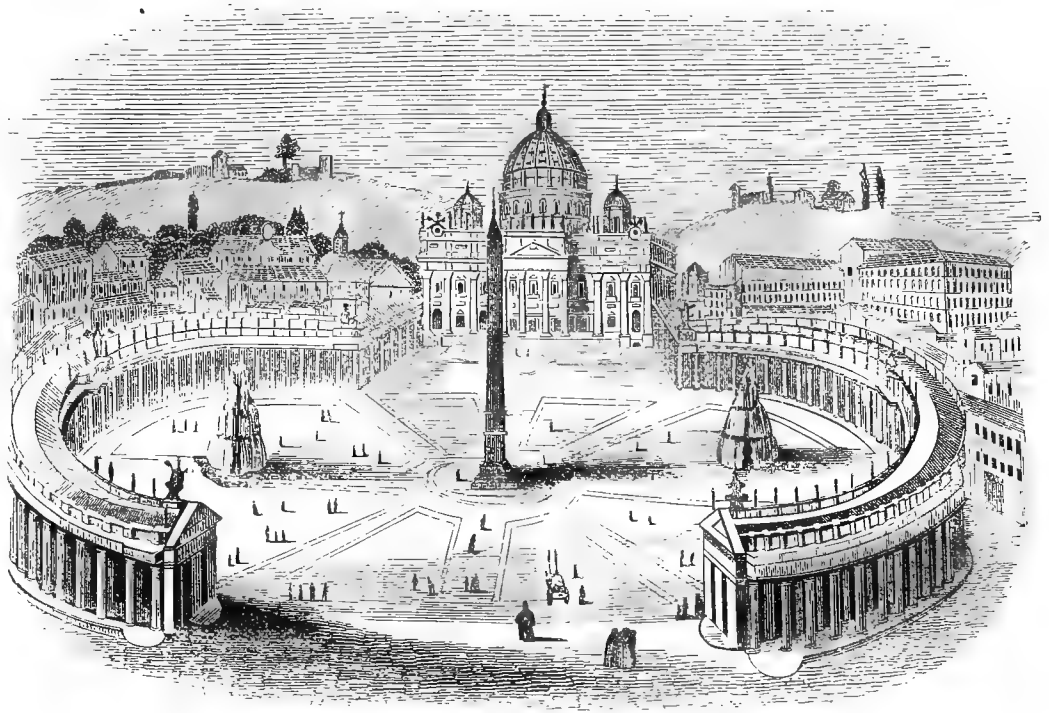
* See a learned article on the "PAPAL STATES," in the valuable Cyclopedia, lately published in London, by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which the celebrated Lord Brougham is president.

Rudolph's charter, establishing the independence and defining the limits of the Papal State.

The learned historian of the Italian republics, remarking on the same event, adds, "from that period, 1278, the republics as well as the principalities, situated in the whole extent of what is now called the states of the church, held of the holy See, and not of the Emperor."*

Thus have we endeavored to trace the history of the papal power, till its full establishment as an independent temporal sovereignty. If, in so doing, we have related some events belonging to an age yet to pass under review, we shall readily be excused by the reader for placing in a connected view the successive occurrences relating to the same subject.

* Sismondi's Italian Republics, page 96. See also Raynald's Annals ad Ann. 1299, and Gieseler, vol. ii., page 235, note 10, where the following extract is given from the original Latin of Rudolph's charter, establishing the independence of the Papal State, and defining its boundaries. "Ad has pertinet tota terra, quæ est a Radicofano usque Ceperanum, Marchia Anconitana, ducatus Spoletanus, terra comitissæ Mathildis, civitas Ravennæ et Æmilia, Bobium, Cæsena, Forumpopuli, Forumlivii, Faventia, Imola, Bononia, Ferraria, Comaculum, Adriam, atque Gabellum, Arminum, Urbinum, Monsfeltri, territorium Balnese, Comitatus Bricenorii, Exarchatus Ravennæ, Pentapolis, Massa Trabaria cum adjacentibus terris et omnibus aliis ad Romanum Ecclesiam pertinentibus."



St Peter's Church, with the Piazza, Colonnade, Obelisk, and Fountains

BOOK IV.

POPERY IN ITS GLORY.—THE WORLD'S MIDNIGHT.—A.D. 800—1073.

FROM THE CORONATION OF CHARLEMAGNE, A. D. 800, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PONTIFICATE OF POPE HILDEBRAND OR GREGORY VII., A. D. 1073.

CHAPTER I.

PROOFS OF THE DARKNESS OF THIS PERIOD.—FORGED DECRETALS.—REVERENCE FOR MONKS, SAINTS, AND RELICS.—WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN.—PURGATORY.

§ 1.—The period upon which we are now to enter, comprising the ninth and tenth centuries, with the greater part of the eleventh, is the darkest in the annals of Christianity. It was a long night of almost universal darkness, ignorance, and superstition, with scarcely a ray of light to illuminate the gloom. This period has been appropriately designated by various historians as the "dark ages," the "iron age," the "leaden age," and the "midnight of the world." The darkness was the most intense during the middle of this period, that is, during the whole of the tenth century; yet the difference between the gloom of that and of the ninth and eleventh centuries, is no greater than the difference between the darkness of the hour of midnight, and that of the hour or two which precedes or follows it. During these centuries, it was rare for a layman of whatever rank to know how to sign his name. Still more extraordinary was it to find one who had any tincture of learning. Even the clergy were for a long period not very superior as a body to the uninstructed laity. An inconceivable cloud of ignorance overspread the whole face of the church, hardly broken by a few glimmering lights, who owe almost the whole of their distinction to the surrounding darkness. In almost every council, the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject for reproach, and by one council held in 992, it is asserted that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself, who knew the first elements of letters.*

In the age of Charlemagne, it is related upon the authority of

* Tiraboschi, Storia della Leteratura, Tom. iii., page 198. Hallam, page 460.

Mabillon, that not one priest in a thousand in Spain, could address a common letter of salutation to another. A few years later, king Alfred the Great, king of England, declared that he could not recollect a single priest South of the Thames, who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue.* "Nothing," says Mosheim, "could be more melancholy and deplorable than the darkness that reigned in the Western world, during the tenth century, which, with respect to learning and philosophy at least, may be called the *iron age* of the Latins." The corruptions of the clergy, according to the same historian, had reached the most enormous height in that dismal period of the church. For the most part, they were composed of a most worthless set of men, shamefully illiterate and stupid, ignorant more especially in religious matters, equally enslaved to sensuality and superstition, and capable of the most abominable and flagitious deeds. This dismal degeneracy of the sacred order was, according to the most credible accounts, principally owing to the pretended chiefs and rulers of the universal church, who indulged themselves in the commission of the most odious crimes, and abandoned themselves to the lawless impulse of the most licentious passions, without reluctance or remorse, who confounded, in short, all difference between just and unjust, to satisfy their imperious ambition, and whose spiritual empire was such a diversified scene of iniquity and violence, as never was exhibited under any of those temporal tyrants, who have been the scourges of mankind.†

§ 2.—As a proof of the priestly wickedness and knavery which could invent such an imposture, and the ignorance and imbecility which could be duped by it, may be mentioned the forgery of the celebrated *False Decretals*, and the *Donation of Constantine*, which appeared about the close of the eighth century, and by which, during the whole of the three centuries of this midnight of the world, the arrogant pretensions of the pontiffs were established and maintained. The object of these *decretals*, as they were called, was to persuade the multitude that, in the first ages of the church, the bishops of Rome were possessed of the same spiritual majesty and authority as they now assumed. They consisted of a pretended collection of rescripts and decrees of various bishops of Rome, from the second to the fifth centuries, and other forged acts, published with great ostentation and parade, in the ninth century, with the name prefixed, of Isidore, bishop of Seville, to make the world believe they had been collected by that learned prelate, some two or three centuries before.

The most important of these forged documents, by which the enormous power and assumption of the popes, for so many ages was justified and sustained, was the pretended donation from the

* See Hallam's Middle Ages, page 460.
† See Mosheim, cent. x., part 2.

Pretended donation of Constantine the Great, to pope Sylvester of Rome and Italy.

emperor Constantine the Great, in the year 324, of the city of Rome and all Italy, with the crown, the mitre, &c., to Sylvester, then bishop of Rome. The following extract from this pretended deed of donation will be sufficient to show the character of this bungling imposture. "We attribute to the chair of St. Peter ALL THE IMPERIAL DIGNITY, GLORY, AND POWER. * * Moreover, we give to Sylvester, and to his successors, our palace of Lateran, incontestably one of the finest palaces on earth; we give him *our crown, our mitre, our diadem*, and all our imperial vestments; we resign to him the imperial dignity. * * * WE GIVE AS A FREE GIFT TO THE HOLY PONTIFF THE CITY OF ROME, and all the Western cities of Italy, as well as the Western cities of the other countries. To make room for him, we ABDICATE OUR SOVEREIGNTY over all these provinces; and we withdraw from Rome, transferring the seat of our empire to Byzantium, since IT IS NOT JUST THAT A TERRESTRIAL EMPEROR SHALL RETAIN ANY POWER WHERE GOD HAS PLACED THE HEAD OF RELIGION."

§ 3.—This memorable donation was, near the close of the eighth century, introduced to the world, says the eloquent Gibbon, "by an epistle of pope Adrian I. to the emperor Charlemagne, in which he exhorts him to imitate the liberality of the great Constantine. According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Sylvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from his seat and patrimony of St. Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the east; and *resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty* of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West. This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of pope Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude: and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that this most absurd of fables was received with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law.* The emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine. In the revival of letters and liberty

* In the year 1059, it was believed, or at least *professed* to be believed, by Pope Leo IX., Cardinal Peter Damianus, &c.

this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot. His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians; though by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined."

§ 4.—The fact is most astonishing that upon the strength of these documents, acknowledged now by Fleury,* and even by Baronius, as well as the great body of Roman Catholics, to be forgeries, the world should have quietly submitted for centuries of gloom and darkness, to the tyrannical usurpations of the haughty and abandoned prelates of Rome. The fabric erected upon these forged documents "has stood," in the words of Hallam, "after the foundation upon which it rested has crumbled beneath it; for no one has pretended to deny for the last two centuries that the imposture is too palpable for any but the most ignorant ages to credit."†

It cannot be doubted by any one who is not blinded by prejudice, that whoever was the immediate author of these spurious documents, they were forged with the knowledge and consent of the Roman pontiffs, since it is utterly incredible that these pontiffs should, for many ages, have constantly appealed, in support of their pretended rights and privileges, to acts and records that were only the fictions of private persons, and should, with such weak arms, have stood out against monarchs and councils, who were unwilling to receive their yoke. "Acts of a private nature," says Mosheim, "would have been useless here, and public deeds were necessary to accomplish the views of papal ambition. Such forgeries were then esteemed lawful, on account of their supposed tendency to promote the glory of God, and to advance the prosperity of the church; and therefore it is not surprising that the *good* pontiffs should feel no remorse in imposing upon the world frauds and forgeries, that were designed to enrich the patrimony of St. Peter, and to aggrandize his successors in the apostolic See."‡ Nor will the reader be disposed to regard as uncharitable this opinion, who has perused the pretended letter of St. Peter, written in heaven, and sent to king Pepin on earth, through the hands of the infallible postmaster, pope Stephen.

It is well remarked by Dr. Campbell of these forgeries of Constantine's donation and the decretal epistles of early bishops of Rome, that "they are such barefaced impostures, and so bunglingly executed, that nothing less than the most profound darkness of those ages could account for their success. They are manifestly written in the barbarous dialect which obtained in the eighth and ninth

* See a dissertation of Fleury prefixed to the sixteenth volume of his Eccles. History.

† Middle Ages, p. 274.

‡ See Mosheim, vol. ii., p. 297, note.

centuries, and exhibit those poor meek and humble teachers, who came immediately after the apostles, as blustering, swaggering, and dictating to the world in the authoritative tone of a Zachary or a Stephen."*

§ 5.—Another proof of the ignorance and grovelling superstition of this dark period is found in the increasing reverence for the monastic life, and the extravagant veneration paid to those who embraced it. In this age even kings, dukes, and other noblemen, in many instances, abandoned their thrones, honors or treasures, and shut themselves up in monasteries; and in other instances, where the attractions of wealth and grandeur were too strong to permit this sacrifice during life, the victims of superstition, upon the approach of death, imagining that the holy frock of a monk would be a passport to heaven, caused themselves, upon their death-beds, to be arrayed in the monastic habit, vainly hoping in this way to atone for the sins of an ungodly life.

The cardinal and fundamental doctrines of the gospel seemed to be almost entirely forgotten or unknown. The doctrines of native depravity, salvation by grace, through faith in the Lord Jesus, and holy obedience springing from that faith which works by love, constituted no part of the theology of this age. The essence of religion was then made to consist in the worship of images and saints, in searching for the mouldering bones of reputed holy men and women, and bestowing due reverence upon these sacred relics, and in loading with riches a set of ignorant and lazy monks. It was not enough to reverence departed saints, and to confide in their intercession and succors; it was not enough to clothe them with an imaginary power of healing diseases, working miracles, and delivering from all sorts of calamities and dangers; their bones, their clothes, the apparel and furniture they had possessed during their lives, the very ground which they had touched, or in which their putrified carcasses were laid, were treated with a stupid veneration, and supposed to retain the marvellous virtue of healing all disorders both of body and mind, and of defending such as possessed them against all the assaults and devices of Satan. The consequence of this wretched notion was, that every one was eager to provide himself with these salutary remedies, for which purpose great numbers undertook fatiguing and perilous voyages, and subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships; while others made use of this delusion to accumulate their riches, and to impose upon the miserable multitude by the most impious and shocking inventions.

§ 6.—As the demand for relics was prodigious and universal, the clergy employed all their dexterity to satisfy these demands, and were far from being nice in the methods they used for that end. The bodies of the saints were sought by fasting and prayer, instituted by the priest in order to obtain a divine answer, and an

* Campbell's Lect. on Eccles. Hist., p. 269.

infallible direction, and this pretended direction never failed to accomplish their desires; the *holy carcass was always found*, and that always in consequence, as they impiously gave out, of the suggestion and inspiration of God himself. Each discovery of this kind was attended with excessive demonstrations of joy, and animated the zeal of these devout seekers to enrich the church still more and more with this new kind of treasure. Many travelled with this view into the eastern provinces, and frequented the places which Christ and his disciples had honored with their presence, that with the bones and other sacred remains of the first heralds of the gospel, they might comfort dejected minds, calm trembling consciences, save sinking states, and defend their inhabitants from all sorts of calamities. Nor did these pious travellers return home empty; the craft, dexterity, and knavery of the Greeks found a rich prey in the stupid credulity of the Latin relic hunters, and made a profitable commerce of this new devotion. The latter paid considerable sums for legs and arms, skulls and jaw-bones, several of which were pagan, and some not human, and other things that were supposed to have belonged to the primitive worthies of the Christian church; and thus the Latin churches came to the possession of those celebrated relics of St. Mark, St. James, St. Bartholomew, Cyprian, Pantaleon, and others, which they show at this day with so much ostentation. "The ardor with which relics were sought in the tenth century," observes Mosheim, "surpasses almost all credibility; it had seized all ranks and orders among the people, and was grown into a sort of fanaticism and frenzy; and, if the monks are to be believed, the Supreme Being interposed, in an especial and extraordinary manner, to discover to doating old wives and bare-headed friars the places where the bones or carcasses of the saints lay dispersed or interred." *

§ 7.—In connection with this insane passion for relics, it may be remarked that these dark ages were equally distinguished by the multiplication of *new saints* and the invention of the most absurd legends of the wonders performed by them during their lives. In the ninth century, the idolatrous custom became very general of addressing prayers almost exclusively to the saints, leaving them to present the petitions of the suppliant to God, nor did any dare to entertain the smallest hopes of finding the Deity propitious, before they had assured themselves of the protection and intercession of some one or other of the saintly order. Hence it was that every church, and indeed every private Christian, had their particular patron among the saints, from an apprehension that their spiritual interests would be but indifferently managed by those who were already employed about the souls of others; for they judged, in this respect, of the saints as they did of mortals, whose capacity is too limited to comprehend a vast variety of objects. This notion rendered it necessary to multiply prodigiously the number of the saints.

* Mosheim, vol. ii., p. 406.

Legendary lives of saints. Necessity of checking the increase of saints.

and to create daily new patrons for the deluded people; and this was done with the utmost zeal. The priests and monks set their invention at work, and peopled at discretion the invisible world with imaginary protectors. They dispelled the thick darkness which covered the pretended spiritual exploits of many holy men; and they invented both names and histories of saints that never existed, that they might not be at a loss to furnish the credulous and wretched multitude with objects proper to perpetuate their superstition and to nourish their confidence. Many chose their own guides, and committed their spiritual interests either to phantoms of their own creation, or to distracted fanatics, whom they esteemed as saints, for no other reason than their having lived like madmen.

§ 8.—In consequence of this prodigious increase of saints, it was thought necessary to write the lives of these celestial patrons, in order to procure for them the veneration and confidence of a deluded multitude; and here lying wonders were invented, and all the resources of forgery and fable exhausted, to celebrate exploits which had never been performed, and to perpetuate the memory of holy persons who had never existed. We have yet extant a prodigious quantity of these trifling legends, the greatest part of which were undoubtedly forged after the time of Charlemagne by the monastic writers, who had both the inclination and leisure to edify the church by these pious frauds. The same impostors who peopled the celestial regions with fictitious saints, employed also their fruitful inventions in embellishing with false miracles, and various other impertinent forgeries, the history of those who had been really martyrs or confessors in the cause of Christ. The churches that were dedicated to the saints were perpetually crowded with supplicants, who flocked to them with rich presents, in order to obtain succor under the afflictions they suffered, or deliverance from the dangers which they had reason to apprehend. And it was esteemed also a high honor to be the more immediate ministers of these tutelary mediators, who, as it is likewise proper to observe, were esteemed and frequented in proportion to their antiquity, and to the number and importance of the pretended miracles that had rendered their lives illustrious. This latter circumstance offered a strong temptation to such as were employed by the various churches in writing the lives of their tutelar saints, to supply by invention the defects of truth, and to embellish their legends with fictitious prodigies, in order to swell the fame of their respective patrons.

§ 9.—The ecclesiastical councils found it necessary at length to set limits to the licentious superstition of the deluded multitude, who, with a view to have still more friends at court, for such were their gross notions of things, were daily adding new saints to the list of their celestial mediators. They accordingly declared, by a solemn decree, that no departed Christian should be considered as a member of the saintly order before the bishop in a provincial council, and in presence of the people, had pronounced him

worthy of that distinguished honor.* This remedy, feeble and illusory as it was, contributed in some measure to restrain the fanatical temerity of the saint-makers; but, in its consequences, it was the occasion of a new accession of power to the Roman pontiff. Even so early as the ninth century many were of opinion, that it was proper and expedient, though not absolutely necessary, that the decisions of bishops and councils should be confirmed by the consent and authority of the Roman pontiff, whom they considered as the supreme and universal bishop; and "this will not appear surprising," says Mosheim, "to any who reflect upon the enormous strides which the bishops of Rome made toward unbounded dominion in this barbarous and superstitious age, whose corruption and darkness were peculiarly favorable to their ambitious pretensions." In the year 993, the Pope assumed and exercised *alone*, for the first time, the right of creating one of these tutelary deities in the person of a Saint Udalric, who, with all the formalities of a solemn canonization, was enrolled in the number of the saints by pope John XV., and thus became entitled to the worship and veneration of the superstitious multitude. In the twelfth century, pope Alexander III. placed *canonization* or *saint-making* in the number of the more important acts of authority which the sovereign pontiff, by his peculiar prerogative, was alone entitled to exercise.

§ 10.—The consequence of the increase of saints was, of course, a vast increase of *festivals* or *saints' days*, as well as of the ceremonies of worship. The carcasses of the saints transported from foreign countries, or discovered at home by the industry and diligence of pious or designing priests, not only obliged the rulers of the church to augment the number of festivals or holidays already established, but also to diversify the ceremonies in such a manner, that each might have his peculiar worship. And as the authority and credit of the clergy depended much upon the high notion which was generally entertained of the virtue and merit of the saints they had canonized, and presented to the multitude as objects of religious veneration, it was necessary to amuse and surprise the people by a variety of pompous and striking ceremonies, by images and such like inventions, in order to keep up and nourish their stupid admiration for the saintly tribe. Hence the splendor and magnificence that were lavished upon the churches in this century, and the prodigious number of costly pictures and images with which they were adorned; hence the stately altars, which were enriched with the noblest inventions of painting and sculpture, and illuminated with innumerable tapers at noon day; hence the multitude of processions, the gorgeous and splendid garments of the priests, and the *masses* that were celebrated in honor of the saints. In the year 835, the feast of All Saints was established by pope Gregory IV.

* Mabillon, Act. Sanctor. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. v., Præf. p. 44.

according to Mabillon, though other authors ascribe the establishment of this festival to pope Boniface IV.

§ 11.—Among the multitude of saints, it is not to be supposed that "the queen of heaven" was neglected. Her idolatrous worship, amidst the gloom of the dark ages, received, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, new accessions of solemnity and superstition. The *rosary* of the Virgin was probably invented in the tenth century. This is a string of beads consisting of one hundred and fifty, which make so many *Aves*, or *hail Marys*, every ten beads being divided by one something larger, which signifies a *Pater*, or Lord's prayer. Before repeating the rosary, it is necessary for the person to take it and cross himself, and then to repeat the creed, after which he repeats a prayer to the Virgin for every small bead, and a prayer to God for every large one. Thus it is seen that ten prayers are offered to the Virgin for every one offered to God; and such continues to be the custom, as we learn from "the Garden of the Soul," and other popish books of devotion, down to the present time.* In the chaplets, more commonly used, there are only fifty *Ave Marias*, and five *Pater nosters*.

Referring to the worship of the Virgin in the dark ages, says the calm and philosophic Hallam, "It is difficult to conceive the stupid absurdity and the disgusting profaneness of those stories which were invented by the monks to do her honor." He then gives, upon the authority of Le Grand D'Aussy, the following few specimens, to confirm his assertions, "lest they should appear to the reader harsh and extravagant." The titles are my own.

(1.) *The robber saved from hanging.*—"There was a man whose occupation was highway robbery; but, whenever he set out on any such expedition, he was careful to address a prayer to the Virgin. Taken at last, he was sentenced to be hanged. While the cord was round his neck, he made his usual prayer, nor was it ineffectual. The Virgin supported his feet "with her white hands," and thus kept him alive two days, to the no small surprise of the executioner, who attempted to complete his work with strokes of a sword. But the same invisible hand turned aside the weapon, and the executioner was compelled to release his victim, acknowledging the miracle. The thief retired into a monastery, which is always the termination of these deliverances."

(2.) *The wicked monk admitted to heaven.*—"At the monastery of St. Peter, near Cologne, lived a monk perfectly dissolute and irreligious, but very devout toward the apostle. Unluckily, he died suddenly without confession. The fiends came as usual to seize his soul. St. Peter, vexed at losing so faithful a votary, besought God to admit the monk into paradise. His prayer was refused, and

* See "the Rosary of the blessed Virgin" in "the Garden of the Soul," page 296. The edition of this work, to which I shall again have occasion to refer, is that published at New York, 1844, "with the approbation of the Right Rev Dr. Hughes."

though the whole body of saints, apostles, angels, and martyrs joined at his request to make interest, it was of no avail. In this extremity he had recourse to the mother of God. 'Fair lady,' said he, 'my monk is lost if you do not interfere for him; but what is impossible for us, will be but sport to you, if you please to assist us. Your Son, if you but speak a word, must yield, since it is in your power to command him.' The queen mother assented, and, followed by all the virgins, moved toward her Son. He who had himself given the precept, 'Honor thy father and thy mother,' no sooner saw his own parent approach, than he rose to receive her, and, taking her by the hand, inquired her wishes. The rest may be easily conjectured. Compare the gross stupidity, or rather the atrocious impiety of this tale, with the pure theism of the Arabian Nights, and judge whether the Deity was better worshipped at Cologne or at Bagdad."

(3.) *The licentious nun, &c.*—"It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind. In one tale the Virgin takes the shape of a nun, who had eloped from the convent, and performs her duties ten years, till, tired of a libertine life, she returns unsuspected. This was in consideration of her having never omitted to say an Ave as she passed the Virgin's image. In another, a gentleman, in love with a handsome widow, consents, at the instigation of a sorcerer, to renounce God and the saints, but cannot be persuaded to give up the Virgin, well knowing that if he kept her his friend, he should obtain pardon through her means. Accordingly, she inspired his mistress with so much passion, that he married her within a few days."

"These tales," adds the historian, "it may be said, were the production of ignorant men, and circulated among the populace. Certainly they would have excited contempt and indignation in the more enlightened clergy. But I am concerned with the general character of religious notions among the people: and for this it is better to take such popular compositions, adapted to what the laity already believed, than the writings of comparatively learned and reflecting men. However, stories of the same cast are frequent in the monkish historians. Matthew Paris, one of the most respectable of that class, and no friend to the covetousness or relaxed lives of the priesthood, tells of a knight who was on the point of being damned for frequenting tournaments, but saved by a donation he had formerly made to the Virgin, p. 290."*

§ 12.—In this dark age, also, the fears of *purgatory*, of that fire that was to destroy the remaining impurities of departed souls, were also carried to the greatest height, and exceeded by far the terrifying apprehensions of infernal torments; for the deluded priest-ridden multitude hoped to avoid the latter easily, by dying enriched with the prayers of the clergy, or covered with the merits and mediation of the saints; while from the pains of purgatory they

* Hallam's Middle Ages, pages 465, 466.

Festival of All-Souls. Gross fiction from which it originated

knew there was no exemption. The clergy, therefore, finding these superstitious terrors admirably adapted to increase their authority, and promote their interest, used every method to augment them, and by the most pathetic discourses, accompanied with monstrous fables and fictitious miracles, they labored to establish the doctrine of purgatory, and also to make it appear that they had a mighty influence in that formidable region.

In the year 993, the famous annual festival of *all souls* was established. Previous to this time, it had been customary on certain days, in many places, to put up prayers for the souls that were confined in purgatory; but these prayers were made by each religious society, only for its own members, friends, and patrons. The occasion of the establishment of this festival was as follows: A certain Sicilian monk made known to Odilo, abbot of Clugni, that when walking near Mount Etna, in Sicily, he had seen the flames vomited forth through the open door of hell, in which the reprobates were suffering torment for their sins, and that he heard the devils wailing most hideously, "plangentium quod animæ damnatorum eriperentur de manibus eorum, per orationes Cluniacensium orantium indefesse pro defunctorum requie," that is, "the devils howled, because the wailing souls of the condemned were snatched from their grasp, by the prayers of the monks of Clugny, praying without cessation for the repose of the dead." In consequence of this monstrous imposition, as we learn from Mabillon, a Romish author, this festival was established by Odilo,* and though at the first, only observed by the congregation of Clugni, was afterward, by order of the Pope, enjoined upon all the Latin churches. The fact is worthy of notice, mentioned by Mosheim (ii., 417), that in a treatise upon festivals, by one of the later popes, Benedict XVI., entitled "De festis Jesu Christi, Mariæ et Sanctorum," the cunning author was "artful enough to observe a profound silence with respect to the superstitious and dishonorable origin of this anniversary festival. This," he adds, "is not the only mark of prudence and cunning to be found in the works of that famous pontiff."

* See Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. vi., part i., page 584, where the reader will find the Life of Odilo, with the decree he issued for the institution of this festival.

CHAPTER II.

PROOFS OF THE DARKNESS OF THIS PERIOD CONTINUED.—ORIGIN AND FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—PERSECUTION OF BERENGER, ITS FAMOUS OPPOSER.—POPISH MIRACLES IN ITS PROOF.

§ 13.—ANOTHER evidence of the gross darkness of this midnight of the world, is seen in the invention and open advocacy of that absurd dogma, which more than any other doctrine of Popery, is an insult to common sense, TRANSUBSTANTIATION. This, in the language of the Romish authors, "consists in the transmutation of the bread and wine in the communion, into the body and blood, and by connexion and concomitance, into the soul and divinity of our Lord. The whole substance of the sacramental elements is, according to this chimera, changed into the true, real, numerical, and integral Emmanuel, God and man, who was born of Mary, existed in the world, suffered on the cross, and remains immortal and glorious in heaven.* The host, therefore, under the form of bread, contains the Mediator's total and identical body, soul, and Deity. Nothing of the substance of bread and wine remains after consecration. All, except the accidents, is transformed into the Messiah, in his godhead, with all its perfections, and in his manhood with all its component parts, soul, body, blood, bones, flesh, nerves, muscles, veins and sinews.† Our Lord, according to the same absurdity, is not only whole in the whole, but also whole in every part. The whole God and man is comprehended in every crumb of the bread, and in every drop of the wine. He is entire in the bread, and entire in the wine, and in every particle of each element. He is entire without division, in countless hosts, or numberless altars. He is entire in heaven, and at the same time, entire on the earth. The whole is equal to a part, and a part equal to the whole.‡ The same substance may, at the same time, be in many places, and many substances in the same place.§ This sacrament, in consequence of

* Credimus panem converti in eam carnem, quæ in cruce pependit. (*Lanfranc*, 243.) Sint quatuor illa, caro, sanguis, anima, et Divinitas Christi. (*Labbe*, xx., 619.) Domini corpus quod natum ex virgine in cœlis sedet ad dextram Patris, hoc sacramento contineri. Divinitatem et totam humanam naturam complectitur. (*Cat. Trid.*, 122, 125.)

† Continetur totum corpus Christi, scilicet, ossa, nervi et alia. (*Aquin.* iii. 2, 76, c. i.) Comprehendens carnem, ossa, nervos, &c. (*Dens*, 5, 276.)

‡ Non solus sub toto, sed totus sub qualibet parte. (*Canisius*, 4, 468. *Bin.* 9, 380. *Crabb.* 2, 946.)

Ubi pars est corporis, est totum. (*Gibert*, 3, 331.) Christus totus et integer sub qualibet particula divisionis perseverat. (*Canisius*, 4, 818.)

Totus et integer Christus sub panis specie et sub quavis ipsius speciei parte, item, sub vini specie et sub ejus partibus, existit. (*Labb.* 20, 32.)

§ Idem corpus sit simul in pluribus locis. (*Faber*, 1, 128. *Paolo*, 1, 530.) Possunt esse duo corpora quanta et plura in eodem spatio. (*Faber*, 1, 136.) Corpus non expellat præexistens corpus. (*Faber*, 1, 137.)

Absurdities of Transubstantiation. Earliest trace of this absurd dogma.

these manifold contradictions, is, says Ragusa, 'a display of Almighty power;' while Faber calls transubstantiation 'the greatest miracle of omnipotence.'"* "A person," says the learned Edgar, in his Variations of Popery, "feels humbled in having to oppose such inconsistency, and scarcely knows whether to weep over the imbecility of his own species, or to vent his bursting indignation against the impostors, who, lost to all sense of shame, obtruded this mass of contradictions on man. History, in all its ample folios, displays, in the deceiving and the deceived, no equal instance of assurance and credulity."†

§ 14.—The first faint traces which the page of ecclesiastical history unfolds of the doctrine of transmutation of the elements, and probably the hint upon which in the following century, Paschasius built his preposterous theory, was the language of the council of Constantinople, in 754, which decided against the worship of images. This council, reckoned by the Greeks, to be the *seventh general* council, "in opposing the worship of images," says the learned archbishop Tillotson, "did argue thus: 'That our Lord having left no other image of himself but the SACRAMENT, in which the substance of bread, &c., is the image of his body, we ought to make no other image of our Lord.' But the second council of Nice, in 787, *being resolved to support the image-worship*, did, on the contrary, declare that the sacrament, after consecration, is not the *image* and *antitype* of Christ's body and blood, but IS PROPERLY HIS BODY AND BLOOD. Cardinal Bellarmine tells the same," adds Tillotson, "but evidently with a quibble, 'None of the ancients,' saith he, 'who wrote of heresies, hath put this "*error*" (of the corporal presence), in his catalogue, nor did any of them dispute about this "*error*" for the first six hundred years.'‡ True," replies the archbishop, to this singular argument, "True, for as this doctrine of transubstantiation was *not in being during the first six hundred years and more*, as I have shown, there could be no dispute against it."§

§ 15.—"The state of the Latin communion at the time," says Edgar, "was perhaps the chief reason of the origin, progress, and final establishment of transubstantiation. Philosophy seemed to have taken its departure from Christendom, and to have left mankind to grovel in a night of ignorance, unenlightened with a single ray of learning. Cimmerian clouds overspread the literary horizon, and quenched the sun of science. Immorality kept pace with ignorance, and extended itself to the priesthood and to the people. The floodgates of moral pollution seemed to have set wide open, and inundations of all impurity poured on the Christian world through the Roman hierarchy. The enormity of the clergy was faithfully

* Hoc sacramentum continet miraculum maximum, quod pertinet ad omnipotentiam. (*Faber*, 1, 126.) Divina omnipotentia ostenditur. (*Ragus in Canisius*, 4, 818.)

† See Edgar's Variations, page 347.

‡ Bellarmine De Eucharistia, lib. i.

§ Tillotson on Transubstantiation, Ser. xxvi., page 182.

copied by the laity. Both sunk into equal degeneracy, and the popedom appeared one vast, deep, frightful, overflowing ocean of corruption, horror, and contamination. Ignorance and immorality are the parents of error and superstition. The mind void of information, and the heart destitute of sanctity, are prepared to embrace any fabrication or absurdity. Such was the mingled mass of darkness, depravity, and superstition, which produced the portentous monster of transubstantiation. Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, seems to have been the father of the deformity, which he hatched in his melancholy cell." (*Edgar*, 369.)

It was in the early part of the ninth century, that this Paschasius, who was a Benedictine monk, and afterward abbot of Corbie, in France, began to advocate the doctrine of a real change in the elements. In 831, he published a treatise "Concerning the Body and Blood of Christ," which he presented fifteen years after, carefully revised and augmented, to Charles the Bald, king of France. The doctrine advanced by Paschasius may be expressed by the two following propositions: *First, That after the consecration of the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, nothing remained of these symbols but the outward figure, under which the body and blood of Christ were locally present. Secondly, That the body and blood of Christ, thus present in the eucharist, was the same body that was born of the Virgin, that suffered on the cross, and was raised from the dead.* This new doctrine, especially the second proposition, excited the astonishment of many. Accordingly, it was opposed by Rabanus, Heribald, and others, though not in the same manner, nor upon the same principles. Charles the Bald, upon this occasion, ordered the famous Bertram and Johannes Scotus, of Ireland, to draw up a clear and rational explication of that doctrine which Paschasius had so egregiously corrupted. In this controversy the parties were as much divided among themselves, as they were at variance with their adversaries. The opinions of Bertram are very confused, although he maintained that bread and wine, as symbols and signs, represented the body and blood of Christ. Scotus, however, maintained uniformly that the bread and wine were the *signs* and *symbols* of the *absent* body and blood of Christ. All the other theologians seemed to have no fixed opinions on these points. One thing is certain, however, that none of them were properly inducted into the then unknown doctrine of transubstantiation, as the *worship* of the elements was not mentioned, much less contended for, by any of the disputants. It was an extravagance of superstition too gross for even the *ninth century*, though it is openly and unblushingly advocated and practised by papist priests in the *nineteenth*.

§ 16.—The language of Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, the most famous opposer of this newly invented dogma, written in reply to Paschasius, in 847, is so decisive a proof that in that age this absurd dogma was regarded as a novelty, that it is worthy of especial notice. "Some persons," says he, "of late, not entertaining a sound opinion respecting the sacrament of the body and blood of

Stercorianism. Berenger writes against Transubstantiation. Pope Leo opposes and punishes him

our Lord, HAVE ACTUALLY VENTURED TO DECLARE THAT THIS IS THE IDENTICAL BODY AND BLOOD OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST; THE IDENTICAL BODY, TO WIT, WHICH WAS BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY, IN WHICH CHRIST SUFFERED ON THE CROSS, AND IN WHICH HE AROSE FROM THE DEAD. THIS ERROR WE HAVE OPPOSED WITH ALL OUR MIGHT."* The question of *Stercorianism* (from *stercus*, dung), arose immediately out of these disputes. Paschasius maintained "that bread and wine in the sacrament are not under the same laws with our other food, as they pass into our flesh and substance without any evacuation." Bertram affirmed that "the bread and wine are under the same laws with all other food." Some supposed that the bread and wine were annihilated, or that they have a perpetual being, or else are changed into flesh and blood, and not into humors or excrements to be voided.† Such were the foolish questions and childish absurdities which occupied the pens of the gravest divines of this gloomy age, and which the professed immutability of the "holy Catholic church" prevents them from renouncing even in the present day, amidst the light and intelligence of a brighter and happier age.

§ 17.—It was long, even in this dark period, before so monstrous an absurdity as transubstantiation was generally received. In the year 1045, Berenger, of Tours, in France, and afterward archdeacon of Angiers, one of the most learned and exemplary men of his time, publicly maintained the doctrine of Johannes Scotus, opposed warmly the monstrous opinions of Paschasius Radbert, which were adapted to captivate a superstitious multitude by exciting their astonishment, and persevered with a noble obstinacy, in teaching that the bread and wine were not changed into the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, but preserved their natural and essential qualities, and were no more than *figures* and external *symbols* of the body and blood of the divine Saviour. This wise and rational doctrine was no sooner published, than it was opposed by certain doctors in France and Germany; but the Roman pontiff, Leo IX., attacked it with peculiar vehemence and fury, in the year 1050, and in two councils, the one assembled at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, had the doctrine of Berenger solemnly condemned, and the book of Scotus, from which it was drawn, committed to the flames. This example was followed by the council of Paris, which was summoned the very same year, by king Henry I., and in which Berenger and his numerous adherents, were menaced with all sorts of evils, both spiritual and temporal. These threats were executed, in part, against Berenger, whom Henry deprived of all his revenues, but neither threatenings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, could shake the firmness of his mind, or engage him to renounce the doctrine he had embraced.

In the year 1054, two different councils assembled at Tours, to examine the doctrine held by Berenger, at one of which the famous

* Raban. Maur. Epist. ad. Heribald, c. 33.

† See Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, cent. ix., chap. 7.

Terrified at the monk Hildebrand and pope Nicholas, Berenger is compelled to renounce his doctrines.

Hildebrand, who was afterward pontiff, under the title of Gregory VII., appeared in the character of legate, and opposed the new doctrine of Berenger with the utmost vehemence. Berenger was also present at this assembly, and overpowered with threats, rather than convinced by reason and argument, he not only abandoned his opinions, but, if we may believe his adversaries, to whose testimony we are confined in this matter, abjured them solemnly, and in consequence of this humbling step, made his peace with the church. The abjuration of Berenger, who had not firmness and faith enough to face death in defence of the truth, was not sincere, for as soon as the danger was past, he taught anew, though with greater circumspection, the same doctrine that he had just professed to renounce.

§ 18.—Upon the news of Berenger's defection reaching the ears of pope Nicholas II., the exasperated pontiff summoned him to Rome, A. D. 1059, and terrified him in such a manner in the council held there the following year, that he declared his readiness to embrace and adhere to the doctrines which that venerable assembly should think proper to impose upon his faith. Humbert was accordingly appointed unanimously by Nicholas and the council, to draw up a confession of faith for Berenger, who signed it publicly, and confirmed his adherence to it by a solemn oath. In this confession, there was, among other tenets equally absurd, the following declaration, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were not only a *sacrament*, but also the *real body and blood* of Jesus Christ, and that this body and blood *were handled by the priests*, and bruised by the teeth of the faithful, 'fidelium dentibus attriti,' and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth, as other sensible objects are." This doctrine was so monstrously nonsensical, and was such an impudent insult upon the very first principles of reason, that it could have nothing alluring to a man of Berenger's acute and philosophical turn, nor could it possibly become the object of his serious belief, as appeared soon after this odious act of dissimulation; for no sooner was he returned into France, than taking refuge in the countenance and protection of his ancient patrons, he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the doctrines he had been obliged to profess at Rome, abjured them solemnly, both in his discourse and in his writings, and returned zealously to the profession and defence of his former, which had always been his real opinion.

In the year 1078, under the popedom of Gregory VII., in a council held at Rome, Berenger was again called on to draw up a new confession of faith, and to renounce that which had been composed by Humbert, though it had been solemnly approved and confirmed by Nicholas II., and a Roman council. In consequence of the threats and compulsion of his enemies, Berenger confirmed by an oath, "*that the bread laid upon the altar, became, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits on the right hand of the Father; and that the wine placed on the altar became, after consecration, the true blood*

which flowed from the side of Christ."* Berenger had no sooner got out of the hands of his enemies, than he maintained his true sentiments, wrote a book in their defence, retreated to the isle of St. Cosme, near Tours, and bitterly repented of his dissimulation and want of firmness; until death, in 1088, put an end to his persecutions and his life.†

§ 19.—Yet notwithstanding the death of the able but too timid opposer of this monstrous doctrine, it was not till the year 1215, in the fourth council of Lateran, that this most characteristic and appropriate child of the dark ages was duly decreed to be a doctrine of the church. Pope Innocent III. having heard with pleasure the word *transubstantiation*, which began to be applied to this subject for the first time, about the year 1100, inserted the word in the decree which he had prepared for the action of the council, and from that time the doctrine has always been thus designated. "It is certain," says Dupin, "that these canons were not made by the council, but by Innocent III., who presented them to the council ready drawn up, and ordered them to be read; and the prelates did not enter into any debate upon them, but that their silence was taken for an approbation." The decree on transubstantiation is as

* The absurdity of this monstrous proposition is well illustrated by the following well known anecdote. If literally true, it shows also, what I am well persuaded of, that the priests do not themselves believe the dogma which, to increase their own authority and dignity, they impose upon the silly multitude. Whether true in all its particulars or not, it may serve as an illustration of the glaring absurdity of transubstantiation. I will venture to say that there is not a priest in the land who would have faith enough to submit to such a test of his sincerity.

"A protestant lady entered the matrimonial state with a Roman Catholic gentleman, on condition that he would never use any attempts, in his intercourse with her, to induce her to embrace his religion. Accordingly, after their marriage, he abstained from conversing with her on those religious topics which he knew would be disagreeable to her. He employed the Roman priest, however, to instil his popish notions into her mind. But she remained unmoved, particularly on the doctrine of transubstantiation. At length the husband fell ill, and during his affliction, was recommended by the priest to receive the holy sacrament. The wife was requested to prepare the wafer for the solemnity, by the next day. She did so, and on presenting it to the priest, said, 'This, sir, you wish me to understand, will be changed into the real body and blood of Christ, after you have consecrated it.'

"'Most certainly, my dear madam, there can be no doubt of it.'

"'Then, sir, it will not be possible, after the consecration, for it to do any harm to the worthy partakers; for, says our Lord, 'my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed,' and 'he that eateth me shall live by me.'

"'Assuredly, the holy sacrament can do no harm to the worthy receivers, but, so far from it, must communicate great good.'

"'The ceremony was proceeded in, and the wafer was duly consecrated; the priest was about to take and eat the *host*, but the lady begged pardon for interrupting him, adding, 'I mixed a little arsenic with the wafer, sir, but as it is now changed into the real body of Christ, it cannot, of course, do *you* any harm.' The principles of the priest, however, were not sufficiently firm to enable him to eat it. Confused, ashamed, and irritated, he left the house, and never more ventured to enforce on the lady the doctrine of transubstantiation.'"

† See Elliott on Romanism, vol. i., page 278. Also Dupin and Mosheim, cent. ix.

follows: "The body and blood of Christ are contained really in the sacrament of the altar, under the species of bread and wine; the bread being *transubstantiated* into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood, by the power of God." 'Cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur; *transubstantiatis* pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate divinâ.' (*Concil Lateran*, ix., cap. 1.)

§ 20.—The means by which the popular belief in the *wafer God* was established by artful monks and priests, were worthy of the doctrine itself. If we are to believe the wondrous legends of those dark ages, which, however, have been reiterated in a thousand forms in subsequent centuries, the most marvellous miracles were frequently wrought to testify the reality of the wonderful transmutation effected by those to whom it was given to "create their Creator." Some of them attested upon oath, swearing by their sacred vestments, that they had seen the blood trickle in drops, as it does from a human body, from the consecrated wafer, held in the hands of the priests; and others that they had received still more ocular demonstration of the reality of the change of the bread into the body of Christ, inasmuch as they had actually seen it thus changed into the Saviour himself, *sitting in the form of a little boy upon the altar!**

To prove that this statement is not made without abundant evidence, we will transcribe some few of these pretended miracles, related upon the testimony of celebrated and accredited Roman Catholic authors. There is a collection of no less than seventy-three pretended miracles of animals reverencing the consecrated wafer, collected by a certain Jesuit priest named Father Toussain Bridoul. In the preface to the work, the Jesuit compiler says, "Wherefore without troubling myself to confute these hare-brained people, who turn a deaf ear to all that the holy fathers have said about it (the holy sacrament); and having renounced their reason, I have resolved to send them *to the school of the beasts*, who have shown a particular inclination (not without a superior conduct) for the honor and defence of this truth." The following few instances are transcribed, to which I have taken the liberty of affixing appropriate titles.

(1.) *The wafer turned into a little boy in the bee hive.*—"Petrus Cluniac, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 1, reports, That a certain peasant of Auvergne, a province in France, perceiving that his bees were likely to die, to prevent this misfortune, was advised, after he had received the communion, to keep the *host*,† and to blow it into one of his hives; and, on a sudden, all the bees came forth out of their hives, and ranking themselves in good order, lifted the host up from the ground, and carrying it in upon their wings, placed it among the combs. (!) After this the man went

* Among the many prodigies of this kind gravely related as facts by Romish authors, the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine mentions, with several other miracles, one in which instead of the wafer, "*Christ was seen in the form of a child.*" (*De Eucharistia*, Lib. iii., c. 8.)

† *Host.* The term by which the papists designate the consecrated wafer, derived from the Latin word *Hostia*, which signifies *an animal for sacrifice, a victim*

out about his business, and at his return, found that this advice had succeeded contrary to his expectation, for all his bees were dead. Nay, when he lifted up the hive, he saw that the *host* (or wafer) was turned *into a fair child among the honeycombs; (!!)* and being much astonished at this change, and seeing that this infant seemed to be dead, he took it in his hands, intending to bury it privately in the church, but when he came to do it, he found nothing in his hands; for the infant was vanished away. This thing happened in the county of Clermont, which, for this irreverence, was, a while after, chastised by divers calamities, which so dispeopled those parts, that they became like a wilderness. From which it appears, that bees honor the holy host divers ways, by lifting it from the earth, and carrying it into their hives, as it were, in procession."

(2.) *The holy bees who built a popish chapel.*—"Cæsarius, *lib.* 9, *cap.* 8, reports, That a certain woman, having received the communion unworthily, carried the host to her hives, for to enrich the stock of bees: and afterwards coming again to see the success, she perceived that the bees, acknowledging their God in the sacrament, had, with admirable artifice, erected to him a chapel of wax, with its doors, windows, bells, and vestry; (!) and within it a chalice where they laid the holy body of Jesus Christ. (!!) She could no longer conceal this wonder. The priest, being advertised of it, came thither in procession, and he himself heard harmonious music, which the bees made, flying round about the sacrament; and having taken it out, he brought it back to the church full of comfort, certifying, that he had seen and heard our Lord acknowledged and praised by those little creatures."

(3.) *The holy asses who knelt before the wafer idol.*—"P. Orlandi, in his History of the Society, *tom.* 1, *lib.* 2, *No.* 27, says, That, in the sixteenth century, within the Venetian territories, a priest carrying the holy host, without pomp or train, to a sick person, he met, out of the town, asses going to their pasture; who, perceiving by a certain sentiment, what it was which the priest carried, they divided themselves into two companies on each side of the way, and *fell on their knees. (!)* Whereupon the priest, with his clerk, all amazed, passed between those peaceable beasts, which then rose up, as if they would make a pompous show in honor of their Creator; followed the priest as far as the sick man's house, where they waited at the door till the priest came out from it, and did not leave him till he had given them his blessing. (!!) Father Simon Rodriguez, one of the first companions of St. Ignatius, who then travelled in Italy, informed himself carefully of this matter, which happened a little while before our first fathers came into Italy, and found that all happened as has been told."

(4.) *The Jew's dog who worshipped the host, and bit his master's nose off for destroying it.*—"Nicholas de Laghi, in his book of the miracles of the holy sacrament, says, That a Jew blaspheming the holy sacrament, dared to say, that if the Christians would give it to his dog, he would eat it up, without showing any regard to their God. The Christians being very angry at this outrageous speech, and trusting in the Divine Providence, had a mind to bring it to a trial: so, spreading a napkin on the table, they laid on many hosts, among which one only was consecrated. The hungry dog being put upon the same table, began to eat them all, but coming to that which had been consecrated, without touching it, he kneeled down before it, (!) and afterwards fell with rage upon his master, catching him so closely by the nose, that he took it quite away with his teeth." (!!)—"The same which St. Matthew warns such like blasphemers, saying, 'Give not that which is holy unto dogs, lest they turn again and rend you.'"

(5.) *St. Anthony, of Padua, compelling a horse to kneel before the wafer God.*—"St. Anthony of Padua, disputing one day with one of the most obstinate heretics that denied the truth of the holy sacrament, drove him to such a plunge, that he desired the saint to prove this truth by some miracle. St. Anthony accepted the condition, and said he would work miracles upon his mule. Upon this, the heretic kept her three days without eating and drinking; and the third day, the saint, having said mass, took up the host, and made him bring forth the hungry mule, to whom he spoke thus:—In the name of the Lord, I command thee to come and do reverence to thy Creator, and confound the malice of heretics. (!) While the

The unbelieving Jew fetches blood from the wafer.

saint made this discourse to the mule, the heretic sifted out oats to make the mule eat; but the beast having more understanding than his master, kneeled before the host, adoring it as its Creator and Lord. (!!) This miracle comforted all the faithful, and enraged the heretics; except him that disputed with the saint, who was converted to the Catholic faith."*

In addition to the above marvellous prodigies, I will transcribe another pretended miracle of a somewhat different kind, but intended to prove the same unscriptural and absurd doctrine; that the consecrated wafer is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ. This instance is related by Friar Leon, and was first published at Paris in 1633, with the approbation of two popish doctors of theology, and has been reprinted no longer ago than the year 1821. It will be seen that the pretended time of its occurrence is before the end of the century in which the monstrous doctrine was first established as an article of faith by pope Innocent III., in the council of Lateran.

(6.) *The unbelieving Jew fetches blood from the wafer, which turns into the body of Christ dying on the cross, and afterwards turns back again into a wafer.*—"In the year of our Lord, 1290, in the reign of Philip the Fair of France, a poor woman who had pledged her best gown with a Jew for thirty pence, saw the eve of Easter day arrive without the means of redeeming the pledge. Wishing to receive the sacrament on that day, she went and besought the Jew to let her have the gown for that occasion, that she might appear decent at church. The Jew said, he would not only consent to give her back the gown, but would also forgive her the money lent, provided she would bring him the host, which she would receive at the altar. The woman, instigated by the same fiend as Judas, promised, for thirty pence, to deliver into the hands of a Jew *the same Lord* as the traitorous disciple had sold for thirty pieces of silver.

The next morning she went to church, received the sacrament, and feigning devotion, she concealed the host in her handkerchief; went to the Jew's house, and delivered it into his hands. No sooner had the Jew received it, than he took a penknife, and laying the host upon the table, stabbed it several times, and behold *blood* gushed out from the wounds in great abundance. (!)

The Jew, no way moved by this spectacle, now endeavored to pierce the host with a nail, by dint of repeated blows with a hammer, and again blood rushed out. Becoming more daring, he now seized the host, and hung it upon a stake, to inflict upon it as many lashes, with a scourge, as the body of Christ received from the Jews of old.

Then, snatching the host from the stake, he threw it into the fire; and, to his astonishment, saw it moving unhurt in the midst of the flames. (!!)

Driven now to desperation, he seized a large knife, and endeavored to cut the host to pieces, but in vain. And as if to omit no one of the sufferings endured by Jesus on the cross, he seized the host again, hung it in the vilest place in the house, and pierced it with the point of a spear, and again blood issued from the wound. Lastly, he threw the host into a cauldron of boiling water, and, instantly, the water was turned into blood; and lo! the host was seen rising out of the water in the form of a crucifix, and *Jesus Christ was again seen dying on the cross. (!!!)*

The Jew having crucified the Lord afresh, now hid himself in the darkest cellar of the house; and a woman having entered the house, beheld the affecting picture of the passion of our Lord again exhibited on earth. Moved with fear she fell on her knees, and made on her forehead the sign of the cross, when, in a

* This instance is also related by Cardinal Bellarmine. De Eucharistia, Lib iii., c. 8, *ut supra.*

Cannibalism. Reasons of papists why the *host* does not look like "raw and bloody flesh."

moment, the body of Jesus Christ, which was suspended on the cross over the cauldron, turned into the host again, and jumped into a dish which the woman held in her hand. (!) The woman took it to the priest, told the story I have repeated to you, and the Jew was seized, sent to prison, and burnt alive.

The penknife with which the host was pierced, the blood that flowed from the wounds, the cauldron and the dish, are all preserved, AS AN INFALLIBLE PROOF OF THIS MIRACLE."

§ 21.—The evident object of these pretended miracles is to prove the real transmutation of the wafer into the real living body, blood, soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, if this transmutation were really effected, and this real living body and soul were chewed between the teeth and swallowed, is it not plain that those who partook of the horrible banquet would be guilty of *cannibalism?* The manducation of the sacramental elements, if transubstantiation be true, makes the communicant the rankest cannibal. The patron of the corporeal presence, according to his own system, devours human flesh and blood: and, to show the refinement of his taste, indulges in all the luxury of cannibalism. He rivals the polite Indian, who eats the quivering limbs and drinks the flowing gore of the enemy. The papist even exceeds the Indian in grossness. The cannibals of America or New Zealand swallow only the mangled remains of an enemy, and would shudder at the idea of devouring any other human flesh. But the partizans of Romanism glut themselves with the flesh and blood of a friend. The Indian only eats the dead, while the papist, with more shocking ferocity, devours the living. The Indian eats man of mortal mould on earth. The papist devours God-man, as he exists exalted, immortal, and glorious in heaven. It is true that Romish writers have exercised a great deal of ingenuity in endeavoring to gild over the rank cannibalism of Popery. Admitting the horror that would be excited by feeding on raw human flesh and blood in their own proper forms, these writers endeavor to disguise, as well as they can, the grossness and inhumanity of eating that which, notwithstanding its species or form, they admit to be a living human body. A few extracts illustrative of these attempts will be given. Thus Aimon represents "the taste and figure of bread and wine as remaining in the sacrament, to prevent the horror of the communicant." Similar statements are found in Lanfranc. According to this author, "the species remain, *lest the spectator should be horrified at the sight of raw and bloody flesh.* (!) The nature of Jesus is concealed and received for salvation, without the horror which might be excited by blood."* Hugo acknowledges that "few would approach the communion, *if blood should appear in the cup*, and *the*

* Propter sumentium horrorem, sapor panis et vini remanet et figura. (*Aimon, in Dach.* 1. 42.)

Reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus, et quibusdam aliis qualitatibus ne percipientes cruda et cruenta horrerent. (*Lanfranc*, 244.)

Christi natura contegitur, et sine cruoris horrore a digne sumentibus in salutem accipitur. (*Lanfranc*, 248.)

Shocking expressions of Romanists to gild over the cannibalism of transubstantiation.

flesh should appear red as in the shambles."* Even hunger itself would be disgusted at such bloody food. Durand admits, that "human infirmity, *unaccustomed to eat man's flesh,* would, if the substance were seen, refuse participation."† Aquinas avows "*the horror of swallowing human flesh and blood.*"‡ "The smell, the species, and the taste of bread and wine remain," says the sainted Bernard, "to conceal flesh and blood, which, if offered without disguise as meat and drink, might horrify human weakness."§ According to Alcuin in Pithou, "Almighty God causes the prior form to continue in condescension to the frailty of man, *who is unused to swallow raw flesh and blood.*"‖ According to the Trentine Catechism, "the Lord's body and blood are administered under the species of bread and wine, on account of man's *horror of eating and drinking human flesh and blood.*"¶ These descriptions are shocking, and calculated, in some measure, to awaken the horror which they portray.**

§ 22.—After the reader has examined these disgusting attempts of Romish writers to palliate the cannibalism of transubstantiation, let him cast his eye once more over the lying legends of pretended miracles in proof of it, selected above from hundreds of similar ones, gravely related by popish authors as facts, and then let him decide whether a religion can be from God, which utters such enormities, and requires such outrageous falsehoods to sustain it.

O ANTI-CHRIST! ANTI-CHRIST! truly and unerringly was thy picture drawn by the pen of inspiration, when it was declared thy coming should be "after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and LYING WONDERS and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish. Mother of harlots, and ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH!" Yet, like BABYLON of old, "thine end shall come, and the measure of thy covetousness!" thy abominations are not always to last, nor thy lying wonders to deceive the nations for ever. For the same unerring Spirit that drew thy portrait hath also predicted thy fall; when the mighty angel shall cry with a strong voice, "BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins,

* Si cruor in calice fieret manifestus et si in macello Christi ruberet sua caro, rarus in terris ille qui hoc non abhorreret. (*Hugo. de corp.* 70.)

† Fragilitas humana, quæ suis carnibus non consuevit vesci, ipso visu nihil hauriat, quod horreat. (*Durand, in Lanfranc,* 100.)

‡ Non est consuetum hominibus, horribilem carnem hominis comedere et sanguinem bibere. (*Aquin III.* 75, *V. P.* 357.)

§ Odor, species, sapor, pondus remanent, ut horror penitus tollatur, ne humana infirmitas escum carnis et potum sanguinis in sumptione horreret. (*Bernard,* 1682.)

‖ Consulens omnipotens Deus infirmitati nostrae, qui non habemus usum comedere carnem crudam et sanguinem bibere fecit ut in pristina remanens forma illa duo munera. (*Alcuin in Pithou,* 467.)

¶ A communi hominum natura maxime abhorreat humanae carnis esca, aut sanguinis potione vesci, sapientissime fecit, ut sanctissimum corpus et sanguis sub earum rerum specie panis et vini nobis administraretur. (*Cat. Trid.* 129.)

** See Edgar's Variations, 387.

and that ye receive not of her plagues! For her sins have reached unto heaven and God hath remembered her iniquities. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her! And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."*

§ 23.—The doctrine which requires such *pious frauds* as above related, to gain it credence, is so gross an outrage upon common sense, that no *arguments* are necessary to disprove it.† Its very statement is its refutation. But it has been the source of incalculable worldly gain to the anti-Christian clergy, whom it elevates to the blasphemous dignity of CREATORS OF THEIR CREATOR, and hence the secret of its success. It is almost impossible to quote the horrible impiety of pope Urban and cardinal Biel, without shuddering.

"The hands of the pontiff," said Urban in a great Roman Council, "are raised *to an eminence granted to none of the angels*, OF CREATING GOD THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, and of offering him up for the salvation of the whole world." "This prerogative," adds the same authority, "as it elevates the Pope above angels, renders pontifical submission to kings an execration." To all this the Sacred Synod, with the utmost unanimity, responded, Amen.‡ Cardinal Biel extends this power to all priests. "*He that created me*," says the cardinal, "gave me, if it be lawful to tell, TO CREATE HIMSELF." This power, Biel shows, exalts the clergy, not only above emperors and angels, but which is a higher elevation, above Lady Mary herself. "Her ladyship," says the cardinal, "*once*

* 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10; Jer. li. 13; Rev. xvii. 5—xviii. 4, 5, 6, 24.

† On such a subject as this it is lawful to imitate the satirical and ironical mode of disputation adopted by the prophet Elijah, in his contest with the idolatrous priests of Baal. (1 Kings, xviii. 27.) The following is translated from a satirical poem of George Buchanan, and sets in vivid and striking light the folly and impiety of this idolatry. "A baker and a painter once contended, which of them could produce the best specimen of his art;—whether the former would excel with his oven, or the latter with his colors. The painter boasted that he had made a god; the baker replied, It is I who make the true body of God, thou only canst produce an image or representation of it. The painter said, thy god is always consumed by men's teeth; thine, rejoined the baker, is corroded by worms. The painter affirmed, that one of his making would endure entire for many years, while an innumerable quantity of the baker's would be often devoured in an hour. But you, said the baker, can scarcely paint one god in a year, while I can produce ten thousand in a day.

Stop, said a priest, and contend no more with words to no purpose; neither of your gods can do anything without me; and seeing it is I that make each of them a god, both shall be subservient to me: for the picture shall beg for me, and the bread be eaten by me."

‡ Dicens, nimis execrabile videri, ut manus, quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverunt, quod nulli angelorum concessum est, ut Deum cuncta creantem suo signaculo creent, et eundem ipsum pro salute totius mundi, Dei Patris obtutibus offerant. Et ab omnibus acclamatum est "Fiat, fiat." (*Hoveden*, ad Ann. 1099; P. 268. *Labb.* 12, 960. *Bruy* 2, 635.)

conceived the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world; while the priest DAILY CALLS INTO EXISTENCE THE SAME DEITY."*

If the fact were not beyond dispute, the assertion would be incredible that this impious and idolatrous doctrine of the dark ages is still held in the nineteenth century, and in enlightened America too!† Yet such is the fact, and whoever wishes to see a Romish priest create his wafer God by pronouncing a few mystic Latin words,‡ and the silly multitude worship this bit of bread, as the priest holds it up before them, has only to visit a Roman Catholic church during the performance of mass.

This worship of the wafer God is a stupid and grovelling idolatry, of which even an ancient worshipper of Jupiter or Venus, or a modern votary of Juggernaut or Vishnu, would be ashamed. While most of the rites and ceremonies of Popery can be traced to their heathen origin, this alone is too extravagant to find a parallel

* Qui creavit me, si fas est dicere, dedit mihi creare se. Semel concepit Dei filium, eundem Dei filium advocant quotidie corporaliter. (*Biel*, Lect. 4. See *Edgar*, 383.)

† As a proof that this monstrous doctrine of the dark ages is taught in all its grossness in the nineteenth century, the following few questions and answers are transcribed from Butler's Catechism, a popular Roman Catholic manual in almost universal use among papists wherever the English language is used.

On the Blessed Eucharist.

Q. What is the blessed Eucharist? A. The body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine?

Q. What do you mean by the appearances of bread and wine? A. The taste, color, and form of bread and wine, which still remain, after the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ.

Q. Are both the body and blood of Christ under the appearance of bread, and under the appearance of wine? A. Yes; Christ is whole and entire, *true God*, and *true Man*, under the appearance of each.

Q. Did Christ give power to the priests of his church to change bread and wine into his body and blood? A. Yes; when he said to his apostles at his last supper: *Do this for a commemoration for me.* Luke xxii. 19.

Q. Why did Christ *give to the priests* of his church *so great a power?* A. That his children, throughout all ages and nations, might have a most acceptable sacrifice to offer to their Heavenly Father—and the most precious food to nourish their souls.

Q. What is the sacrifice of the New Law? A. The Mass.

Q. What is the Mass? A. The sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which are really present under the appearances of bread and wine; and are offered to God by the priest for the living and the dead.

Q. Is the Mass a different sacrifice from that of the Cross? A. No; because the same Christ, who once offered himself a bleeding victim to his Heavenly Father on the cross, continues to offer himself in an unbloody manner, by the hands of his priests, on our altars.

Q. At what part of the Mass are the bread and wine changed into the body and blood of Christ? A. At the consecration.

Q. How are we to be penetrated with a lively faith? A. By firmly believing that the blessed Eucharist is JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF, TRUE GOD AND TRUE MAN, HIS VERY FLESH AND BLOOD, WITH HIS SOUL AND DIVINITY.

‡ Hoc est corpus meum (this is my body), from which is doubtless derived the cant phrase, *Hocus pocus*, used by pretended conjurors.

Papists worse than the heathen who never devoured the gods they worshipped

even in the temples of paganism itself. "As to that celebrated act of popish idolatry," says Dr. Middleton, "the adoration of the host, I must confess that I cannot find the least resemblance of it in any part of the pagan worship: and as oft as I have been standing at mass, and seen the whole congregation prostrate on the ground, in the humblest posture of adoring, at the elevation of this consecrated piece of bread; I could not help reflecting on a passage of Tully where, speaking of the absurdity of the heathens in the choice of their gods, he says, 'Was any man ever so mad as to take that which he feeds upon for a god?' Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse? (*Cic. de nat. Deor.* 3.) This was an extravagance left for Popery alone; and what an old Roman could not but think too gross, even for Egyptian idolatry to swallow, is now become the principal part of worship, and the distinguishing article of faith in the creed of modern Rome."* No wonder that the old Arabian philosopher, Averroes, when brought into contact with this worse than heathenish superstition, exclaimed, with surprise and disgust, "I have travelled over the world, and seen many people, but none so selfish and ridiculous as Christians, who *devour the God they worship!*"

After reading the particulars above narrated, and especially the horribly blasphemous language of pope Urban and cardinal Biel, let the reader remember that the besotted votaries of Rome not only receive this doctrine as an article of faith themselves, but pronounce a most awful curse upon all the world beside, who refuse to believe it! The following are the very words of the canons of the celebrated council of Trent, passed in 1551, pronouncing the awful anathema, and thus consigning to eternal damnation (*if they could*) the whole protestant world, and all else who refuse to believe this monstrous doctrine. The following are extracts from the original Latin of the words of the council, with a faithful English translation.

"Sancta hæc synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini *conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini, in substantiam sanguinis ejus:* quæ conversio convenienter et proprie a sancta catholica ecclesia *transubstantiatio* est appellata."

"This holy council declareth—That by the consecration of the bread and wine, *there is effected a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the wine into the substance of his blood;* which conversion is fitly and properly termed by the holy Catholic church, *Transubstantiation.*"

The council then proceed to enact the canons and curses, of which the following are the first, second, and third.

"*Canon I.* Si quis negaverit in sanctissimæ eucharistiæ sacramento contineri *vere, realiter, et substantialiter, corpus et sanguinem una cum anima et* DIVINI-

1. "If any one shall deny that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there are contained, *truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together*

* Dr. Middleton's letter from Rome, p. 179.

The curses of Trent upon all who refuse to believe the dogma of Transubstantiation.

TATE Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac proinde totum Christum; sed dixerit tantummodo esse in eo ut in signo, vel figura, aut virtute; ☞ANATHEMA SIT."

"*Canon II.* Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento, *remanere* substantiam panis et vini *una cum* corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem *totius substantiæ panis in corpus*, et *totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem*, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini: quam quidem conversionem catholica ecclesia aptissime *Transubstantionem* appellat; ☞ANATHEMA SIT."

"*Canon III.* Si quis negaverit in venerabile sacramento eucharistiæ, *sub unaquaque specie*, et *sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus*, separatione facta, *totum Christum* contineri; ☞ ANATHEMA SIT."*

with the soul and DIVINITY of our Lord Jesus Christ; or say that he is in it only as in a *sign*, or *figure*, or by *his influence*. ☞ LET HIM BE ACCURSED!

2. "If any one shall say that in the sacrament of the eucharist, the substance of the bread and wine *remains together with* the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny the wonderful and singular conversion of *the whole substance of the bread into his body*, and *the whole substance of the wine into his blood*, the appearances only of bread and wine remaining, which conversion the catholic church most properly terms *Transubstantiation*, ☞ LET HIM BE ACCURSED!

3. "If any one shall deny, that in the adorable sacrament of the eucharist, *whole Christ* is contained *in each element or species*, and *in the* SEPARATE PARTS *of each element or species*, a separation being made, ☞ LET HIM BE ACCURSED."

§ 24.—Let it be remembered that these awful curses were pronounced by the last general council of the Romish church ever assembled; that, of course, they have never been repealed; but stand down to the year 1845 in flaming characters upon the statute book of Rome, an enduring monument of her bigoted intolerance and hatred of all who refuse to yield up their common sense and reason at the bidding of a corrupt priesthood, whose evident object it is to exalt themselves not only above the common herd of the laity, but in their own language, "to an eminence granted to none of the angels"—by proclaiming themselves as the "CREATORS OF THE CREATOR." In these awful anathemas, of course, are included our Baxters, our Bunyans, our Flavels, our Paysons, and all the holy and devoted men who have honored the protestant ranks, not only in the past, but in the present generation. There have been periods, as we have already seen, when the anathemas of Rome were something more than an idle breath of air, when they could kindle the fires of martyrdom, and fill the dungeons of the inquisition with the tortured and helpless victims of popish bigotry and cruelty. Blessed be God! those periods, we trust, are past. God forbid that they should ever return! The *spirit* of Popery remains unchanged. God forbid that the *power* to make these curses effectual (at least by the aid of "the secular arm") should ever again return to deluge the world with blood!

* Concil Trident., sess. xiii., cap. 4.

CHAPTER III.

PROOFS OF THE DARKNESS OF THIS PERIOD CONTINUED.—BAPTISM OF BELLS, AND FESTIVAL OF THE ASSES.

§ 25.—Another of the profane and senseless mummeries of Popery, which sprung up in this dark age, and which has been handed down to the present time, was *the consecration or baptism of Bells.* Cardinal Baronius says this custom was first introduced by pope John XIII., who died in 972; who gave the name of John the Baptist, to the great bell of the Lateran church at Rome.* The reason why the name of some saint is given to the bell at its baptism, says Cardinal Bona, is "in order that the people may think themselves called to divine service, by the voice of the saint whose name the bell bears."† The following was inscribed upon the consecrated bells:

> "Colo verum Deum; plebem voco; et congrego Clerum;
> Divos adoro; festa doceo; defunctos ploro;
> Pestem dæmones fugo."

that is, "I adore the true God; I call the people; I collect the priests; I worship the saints; I teach the festivals; I deplore the dead; I drive away pestilence and devils."

This senseless custom of the dark ages, of consecrating and baptizing bells, has been ever since observed by papists, and still is, down to the present time. In a letter of an English traveller, inserted in the London Magazine for 1780, there is an interesting account of a performance of this ceremony at Naples, in Italy. On that occasion a nobleman was godfather to the bell, and a lady of quality was godmother. Most of the prayers said on the occasion, ended with the following words, 'that thou wouldst be pleased to rinse, purify, sanctify, and consecrate these bells with thy heavenly benediction.' 'Ut hoc tintinnabulum cœlesti benedictione perfundere, purificare, sanctificare, et consecrare dignareris.' The following were the words of consecration: 'Let the sign be consecrated and sanctified, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' 'Consecretur et sanctificetur signum istud, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.' The bishop, then turning to the people, said, the bell's name is Mary. He had previously demanded of the godfather and godmother what name they would have put upon the bell, and the lady gave it this name.

§ 26.—A more recent eye-witness of this ceremony in the city of Montreal, Canada, describes it as follows: "The two bells were suspended from a temporary erection of wood in the centre of the church. In the vacant space round them, a table and chairs were placed for

† Bona. Rer. Liturg., Lib. ii., cap. 22.
* Baronius' Annals, ann. 968.

the principal performers. The candles on the altar at the upper end of the church, were lighted in readiness for the exhibition, and in a short time a door on the left of the altar opened, and forth came the procession. At the head of it were two boys dressed in white, carrying two immense candles, each of which, with the candlestick, might probably measure seven or eight feet. After them came the priests, some in gorgeous silken robes, some in white, others in black, and some flaring with bright colors and gold; other boys also in white followed, one of whom bore a silver vase with water, and another a small vessel of oil. Some of the priests in black took their seats near the altar, the rest came forward to the bells; the large candles were placed upon the table, and beside them the vase and the vessel of oil. One of the priests, an old man dressed in white, then got up into the pulpit at the side of the church, to address the people; after which, descending from the pulpit, he put on a robe of various bright colors, and proceeded to the ceremonial. After chanting a hymn, he read Latin prayers over the water in the basin, and thus, I suppose, consecrated it; another of the priests then carried the basin to the bells, and the first dipped a pretty large brush in the water, and with it made the form of a cross upon the bell, pronouncing the form of words used on such occasions, 'In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti;' a third priest with another brush completed his work, making cross after cross, and then carefully brushing the intermediate places till the bell was wetted all over; the second bell was crossed and recrossed in the same manner, and immediately large clean towels were produced, and the bells were carefully wiped dry. Returning to the table, singing and reading of prayers succeeded, and the oil was next blessed and made holy; the principal priest then dipped his finger in the oil, and made the sign of the cross on one place on each bell, carefully wiping the place with cotton wool; he then repeated it on a great many places on the bells, both inside and outside, carefully wiping them as before with cotton. During the singing which followed, one of the boys went out and brought in a silver censer with red coals in it; a small box of incense stood on the table, out of which the priest took a spoonful and threw it on the coals, reading prayers over it as before; the incense smoked up and perfumed the air; then, after waving the censer with great solemnity three times, he carried it first to the one bell and then to the other, holding it under them till they were filled with smoke."*

§ 27.—It is regarded as a very great honor to stand godfather or godmother to one of these baptized bells, and rich presents are made on these occasions. On another occasion of the kind, which took place in the same city only a year or two ago, according to the public journals of that city, the velvet and gold cloth in which the holy bell was dressed, cost no less a sum than *two thousand dollars*. This is understood to be the gift of those who are honored

* M'Gavin's Protestant, vol. i., page 520.

Romish Ceremony of the Baptism of Bells

Consecration of a bell at Dublin. Senseless and childish mummeries

with the office of sponsors. Within a few weeks this absurd and senseless mummery has been performed in Marlborough street Romish chapel, Dublin. An eye-witness describes the ceremony in the Dublin Warder, in the following lively style: "On our entrance," says he, "we beheld the bell occupying the outer railed-in place opposite the altar, and elevated on a raised platform covered with some red stuff. Its upper periphery was garlanded with festoons of fading flowers, while a boquet in an earthenware vase was perched in the wood-work of the bell, and seemed to look with vegetable vanity on the idol of copper and tin beneath. Some thirty or forty priests in vestments were exceedingly busy, bustling here and there, to urge on the pageant, and encircled that venerable prelate, Doctor Murray, the lord archbishop of Dublin, whom they placed on a supposed throne, raised four or five steps from the floor. After placing a gilded mitre on his head, and a gold embroidered robe on his shoulders, they saluted him with several fantastic genuflexions, and then brought him a silver censer, and stooping under the raised platform, whereon the bell reposed, disappeared, and, I presume, were employed for some minutes in worshipping and fumigating the interior of the bell!! After this, four or five priests preceded by young boys, robed in red gowns, bearing lighted candles, perambulated around the bell, and then one of the priests, wielding a black-haired brush, dipped it in water, and wet the bell profusely; then arose a lugubrious chant from all the priests, the organ occasionally drowning all accompaniment in its sonorous diapason. Doctor Murray was now conducted from his throne, and came near the bell, and after reciting certain prayers, a napkin was handed him, wherewith he wiped part of the bell. This was the signal for about a dozen of napkins, which, in the fists of as many priests, began to rub, and scrub, and curry, and wipe the bell on all parts of its surface. While this was going on, the organ choir were chanting instrumental and vocal exhortations to the bell, to bear all patiently. And when the brawny arms and lusty fists of those priests had well dried the bell, Doctor Murray was again conducted *in pontificalibus* near the bell, and a small phial of ointment being handed to him, he dipped his thumb into it, and rubbed it to various parts of the periphery of the bell, crossing it, the priests, organ, and choir, meanwhile chanting out triumphant vociferations at what they supposed to be its consecration."

In reading the above accounts of the performance of these profane and idolatrous ceremonies in churches called *Christian*, and in *the nineteenth century*, one can hardly help imagining himself carried back some seven or eight centuries, to the gloom of the dark ages, when Popery was in its glory; or living in a heathen land, and perusing the account of some imposing ceremony in the idol temples of Bramha, Gaudama, or Juggernaut.

§ 28.—We cannot better close these remarks on the baptism of the bells, than by the following antique and curious account of the same

Curious and antique account of the mummery of bell-baptism, from old Philip Stubbes—1598.

ceremony, which is valuable, not only for the information it affords, and the piquancy of its style, but also as a choice historical relic It is taken from an old work, written in 1585, by Philip Stubbes, entitled "*The Theatre of the Pope's Monarchie.*"

"THE ORDER AND MANNER OF CHRISTENING OF BELLES, WITH RIDICULOUS CEREMONIES USED THEREIN BY THE PAPISTS.—When they are disposed to christen any bell, first of all there is warnying thereof giuen in the church a good while before the day appointed, which day being come the people flock thicke and three-fold to see the commedie played. The godfathers and godmothers also, being warned before the church wardens, are present in all the best apparrel that they haue. Besides whom you shall haue 2 or 3 others present, eury one striuing and contending who shall bee godfathers and godmothers to the bell, supposing it a wonderful preferment, a mirracilous promotion, and singular credit so to be. Thus all things made readie, the bishop in all his masking geare commeth forth like a coniuring iugler, and hauing made holy water with salt and other fibbersause he sprinkleth all things with the same as a thing of unspeakable force. And although it is at noone days, yet must he haue his tapers burning round about on eury side; and then kneeling down hee very solemnly desireth the people to pray, that God would vouchsafe to grannt to this bell a blessed and happie christendom, and with all a lustie sound to driue away diuels and to preuaile against all kinde of peril and tempests whatsoeuer. This prayer ended, the bishop anoynteth the bell in eury place with oyle, and chrisme, mumblying to himselfe certaine coniurations and exorcismes, which no man heareth but he alone, and yet do all men understande it as well as hee. Then commandeth hee the godfathers and godmothers to giue the name to the bell, which being giuen, he poureth on water three or four seueral times, anoynting it with oyle, and chrisme, as before, for what cause I know not, except it bee either to make his bellie soluble, his ioynts nimble or his colour fare. This done, he putteth on the Bell a white linnen chrisome, commanding the godfathers and godmothers to pull it up from the grounde by ropes and engines made for that purpose. Thene fall they downe before this new christtened bell, all prostrate upon their knees, and offer uppe to this idol, gifts of gold, siluer, frankensence, myrh and mayne other things, eury one striuing who shall giue most. These sacrifices and offerings to the Dieuell ended, the Bell is hanged uppe in the steeple with great applause of the people, euery one reioycing that the bell hath receiued such a happie christendome. For ioy whereof they celebrate a feast to Bacchus, spending all that day and peraduenture 2 or 3 dayes after in danncing and ryotting, in feasting and banketting, in swilling and drinking, like filthie epicures, tyll they being as drunken as swyne, vomit and disgorge their stinking stomaches, worse than any dogges. And thus endeth this satyre together with the plaies, enterludes, Pageants, office and ceremonies of this suffragan Bishop.

The popish Festival of the Ass. Ode sung by the priests in honor of the ass.

"Now whether there bee anything here, either prouable by the woorde of God, or by the example of the primitiue Apostolical churche, or any particular member of the same euer since the beginning of the world, I referre it to the judgment of the wyse and learned."

§ 29.—Another proof of the grovelling and worse than senseless superstition of this dark period of the world, was a festival called *the Feast of the Ass.* This absurd festival was celebrated in several of the Roman Catholic churches of this age, in commemoration of the Virgin Mary's flight into Egypt, which was supposed to have been made on an ass. Among other places, this Feast was regularly celebrated at Beauvais, on every 14th of January. Were not the fact established upon the most indubitable authority, it could be scarcely credited that such disgusting ceremonies were performed in places of worship called Christian. The following account of this festival is given by the learned Townley, in his "Illustrations of Biblical Literature," upon the unquestionable authority of the writers cited at the foot of the page. A beautiful young woman was chosen, richly attired, and a young infant placed in her arms, to represent the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus. She then mounted an ass richly caparisoned, and rode in procession, followed by the bishop and clergy, from the cathedral to the church of St. Stephen, where she was placed near the altar, and high mass commenced. Instead, however, of the usual responses by the people, they were taught to imitate the braying of the ass; and at the conclusion of the service the priest, instead of the usual words with which he dismissed the people, *brayed* three times, and the people *brayed* or imitated the sounds *hinham, hinham, hinham!* During the ceremony the following ludicrous composition, half Latin, half French, was sung by the priests and the people, with great vociferation, in praise of the ass:

	TRANSLATION.
"Orientis partibus	"From the country of the East
Adventavit asinus;	Came this strong and handsome beast;
Pulcher et fortissimus,	This able ass beyond compare,
Sarcinis aptissimus.	Heavy loads and packs to bear.
Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez;	Now, Signior Ass, a noble bray;
Belle bouche rechignez;	That beauteous mouth at large display,
Vous aurez du foin assez	Abundant food our hay-lofts yield,
Et de l' avoine a plantez.	And oats abundant load the field.
Lentus erat pedibus,	True it is, his pace is slow,
Nisi foret baculus;	Till he feels the quick'ning blow;
Et eum in clunibus	Till he feels the urging goad,
Pungeret aculeus.	On his buttock well bestow'd
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Hic in collibus Sichem,	He was born on Shechem's hill;
Jam nutritus sub Ruben;	In Reuben's vales he fed his fill;
Transiit per Jordanem,	He drank of Jordan's sacred stream,
Saliit in Bethlehem.	And gamboled in Bethlehem.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.

A braying match in honor of the ass, *by his representatives, the priests* and the people.

Ecce magnis auribus!	See that broad, majestic ear!
Subjugalis filius;	Born he is the poke to wear;
Asinus egregius,	All his fellows he surpasses!
Asinorum dominus!	He's the very lord of asses!
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Saltu vincit hinnulos,	In leaping he excels the fawn,
Damas et capreolos,	The deer, the colts upon the lawn;
Super dromedarios	Less swift the dromedaries ran,
Velox Madianeos.	Boasted of in Midian.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Aurum de Arabia,	Gold, from Araby the blest,
Thus et myrrham de Saba,	Seba myrrh, of myrrh the best,
Tulit in ecclesia	To the church this ass did bring;
Virtus asinaria.	We his sturdy labors sing.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Dum trahit vehicula	While he draws his loaded wain,
Multa cum sarcinula,	Or many a pack, he don't complain;
Illius mandibula	With his jaws, a noble pair,
Dura terit pabula.	He doth craunch his homely fare.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Cum aristis hordeum	The bearded barley and its stem,
Comedit et carduum;	And thistles, yield his fill of them;
Triticum à palea	He assists to separate,
Segregat in area	When it's thresh'd, the chaff from wheat.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c	Now, Signior Ass, &c.
Amen, dicas, asine,*	Amen! bray, most honor'd ass,
Jam satur de gramine:	Sated now with grain and grass;
Amen, amen, itera;	Amen repeat, Amen reply,
Aspernare vetera.	And disregard antiquity."†

HEZ VA! HEZ VA! HEZ VA HEZ!
BIALX SIRE ASNES CAR ALLEZ;
BELLE BOUCHE CAR CHANTEZ."‡

The learned Edgar closes the account which he gives of this ridiculous mummery, in the following caustic style: "The worship concluded with a BRAYING-MATCH between the clergy and laity, in *honor of the ass.* The officiating priest turned to the people, and in a fine treble voice, and with great devotion, *brayed three times like an ass, whose representative he was;* while the people, imitating his example in thanking God, brayed three times in concert. Shades of Montanus, Southcott, and Swedenborg, hide your diminished heads! Attempt not to vie with the extravagancy of Romanism. Your wildest ravings, your loudest nonsense, your most eccentric aberrations have been outrivalled by an INFALLIBLE CHURCH!"§

The final chorus, as given by Du Cange, is certainly an imitation of asinine *braying;* and when performed by the whole congregation must have produced a most inharmonious symphony.

* Here he is made to bend his knees. ‡ Du Cange, Glossarium, v., *Festum.*
† Literary Panorama, vol. ii., pp. 585–588; and vol. vii., pp. 716–718.
§ Edgar's Variations, page 19.

There is another translation of this SACRED ODE, sung by these *dignified* priests to the ASS, which exhibits the ludicrousness of the ceremony in a more striking light, than even the translation above given. At the risk of provoking a smile, which in such a case may be allowable, I will transcribe the first four stanzas.

TRANSLATION.

"The Ass did come from Eastern climes!
Heigh-ho! my Assy!
He's fair and fit for the pack at all times!
Sing, father Ass, and you shall have grass,
And hay, and straw too, in plenty!

The Ass is slow, and lazy too;
Heigh-ho, my Assy!
But the whip and spur will make him go,
Sing, father Ass, and you shall get grass,
And hay, and straw too, in plenty.

The Ass was born and bred with long ears,
Heigh-ho! my Assy!
And now the Lord of Asses appears,
Grin, father Ass, and you shall get grass,
And straw, and hay too, in plenty.

The Ass excels the hind at leap,
Heigh-ho! my Assy!
And faster than hound or hare can trot,
Bray, father Ass, and you shall get grass,
And straw, and hay too, in plenty."

Attempts were made, at various times, to suppress or to regulate these sottish superstitions, by Mauritius, bishop of Paris, Odo of Sens, Grosseteste of Lincoln in England, and others. By the latter prelate, on account of its licentiousness, it was abolished in Lincoln cathedral, where it had been annually observed on the Feast of the Circumcision.* On the continent, however, it continued for centuries to be celebrated, and was officially permitted by the acts of the chapter of Sens, in France, so late as 1517. Still later permissions are found, as we learn from Tilliot and the other authorities already cited, till at length, unable to stand against the light of the glorious reformation, this senseless and disgusting popish festival ceased, toward the end of the sixteenth century.†

CHAPTER IV.

PROFLIGATE POPES AND CLERGY OF THIS PERIOD.

§ 30.—THE present chapter will be devoted chiefly to a sketch of the profligate lives of several of the popes of this gloomy period, related not merely upon the testimony of protestant writers, but by the standard authors of that apostate church, of which each of these monsters of vice was, successively, the crowned and anointed head. It would hardly be desirable to stir the black pool of filth

* Tilliot, Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Féte des Foux, p. 26–32. Lausanne et Genève, 1751, 12mo.

† Illustrations of Biblical Literature, by Rev. James Townley, D. D., vol. i., p. 249.

composed of the lives of these "successors of the apostles," were it not to show the value of the lofty claims now so boldly put forth by the votaries of Rome, and all who trace their succession through the same polluted channel, to be exclusively the "HOLY APOSTOLIC CHURCH;" connected by an unbroken series of links with the apostle Peter himself; by the uninterrupted chain of "apostolic succession," from pope Peter in the first century, through the Johns and the Benedicts and the Alexanders, down to the popes and prelates of the *nineteenth*. Let us proceed then to sketch the character of a few of these *holy links* in this chain as related by the pen of impartial history.

§ 31.—JOHN VIII.—This pope was enriched with a great number of costly presents by the emperor Charles the Bald, in return for the services of the Pope in causing him to be elected Emperor. Upon the death of Louis II., a fierce and bloody contention for the empire ensued among the descendants of Charlemagne. Through the favor of the Pope, however, Charles, the grandson of Charlemagne, was successful. Advancing to Rome, at the invitation of the Pontiff, he was crowned by him with great solemnity in the church of St. Peter on Christmas day, 875, the same day on which his celebrated ancestor had been crowned in the same place, seventy-five years before, by pope Leo III. It is worthy of remark that the artful Pope spoke of this coronation as giving to Charles *a right* to the empire, thus insinuating that he had the power of conferring the empire, and from this time forward the popes claimed the right of confirming the election of an emperor.* In a sentence pronounced by pope John upon a certain bishop Formosus, is the following expression:—"He has conspired with his accomplices against the safety of the republic, and our beloved son Charles, whom WE HAVE CHOSEN *and consecrated Emperor.*† This Pope was a monster of blood and cruelty. He commended the unnatural barbarity of Athanasius, bishop of Naples, who put out the eyes of his own brother, Sergius, duke of the same city, and sent him in that state to the Pope, to answer to a charge of rebellion against the Holy See. He applied to Athanasius the words of the Saviour, "he that loveth father or mother" (the Pope adds "brother") "more than me, is not worthy of me," and promised to send him as a recompense for so meritorious an act, a handsome pecuniary reward.‡ It soon appeared, however, that the bishop had more regard to himself than to the Pope in this unnatural act, for he soon seized upon the brother's vacant dukedom, and in his turn was excommunicated by the Pope. Subdued by the terror of the spiritual thunder, the refractory bishop and duke sent to implore absolution of the Pope, but the blood-thirsty pontiff sent him a reply, that the only terms upon which he would grant

* Sigonius de reg. Italiæ, lib. vi.
† Epist. Joann., 319.
‡ Ibid., 66.

Pope Sergius III. the father of pope John XI., the bastard son of the harlot Marozia.

him absolution were, that he should deliver to his vengeance several men, of whose names he sent him a list, and that he should *cut the throats* of the rest, 'jugulatis aliis,' of the Pope's Saracen enemies in the presence of his legates.* Such was the cruel spirit of this professed disciple of the Prince of Peace, and *link* in the unbroken chain of apostolical succession!

§ 32.—SERGIUS III.—About the commencement of the tenth century, the singular spectacle was presented in Rome of almost the whole power and influence being concentrated in the hands of three notorious and abandoned prostitutes, Theodora and her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora. This extraordinary state of things arose from the almost unbounded influence of the Tuscan party in Rome, and the adulterous commerce of these wicked women with the powerful heads of this party. Marozia cohabited with Albert or Adalbert, one of the powerful counts of Tuscany, and had a son by him named Alberic. Pope Sergius III., who was raised to the papacy in 904, also cohabited with this woman, and by his *Holiness* she had another son named John, who afterward ascended the papal throne, through the influence of his licentious mother. Even Baronius, the popish annalist, confesses that pope Sergius was "the slave of every vice, and the most wicked of men."† Among other horrid acts, Platina relates that pope Sergius rescinded the acts of pope Formosus, compelled those whom he had ordained to be *reordained*, dragged his *dead body* from the sepulchre, *beheaded him as though he were alive*, and then *threw him into the Tiber!*‡

§ 33.—JOHN X.—This infamous Pope was the paramour of the harlot Theodora. While a deacon of the church at Ravenna, he used frequently to visit Rome, and possessing a comely person, as we are informed by Luitprand, a contemporary historian, being seen by Theodora she fell passionately in love with him, and engaged him in a criminal intrigue. He was afterwards chosen bishop of Ravenna, and upon the death of pope Lando, in 914, this shameless woman, for the purpose of facilitating her adulterous intercourse with her favorite paramour, "as she could not live at the distance of two hundred miles from her lover,"§ had influence sufficient to cause him to be raised to the papal throne. Mosheim says the paramour of pope John was the *elder* harlot Theodora, but his translator, Dr. Maclaine, agrees with the Romish historian Fleury (who admits these disgraceful facts), in the more probable opinion that it was the younger Theodora, the sister of Marozia.‖

§ 34.—JOHN XI.—This Pope was the bastard son of his *Holiness* pope Sergius III., who, as we have seen, was one of the favored lovers of the notorious Marozia. The death of pope Stephen in 931, presented to the ambition of Marozia, says Mosheim (ii., 392),

* Epist. Joann., 294.
† Baronius, ad Ann. 908.
‡ Platina's Lives of the Popes, vita Sergii III.
§ Luitprand, Lib. ii., cap. 12.
‖ Mosheim ii., 391, and Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, book liv.

"an object worthy of its grasp, and accordingly she raised to the papal dignity John XI., who was the fruit of her lawless amours with one of the pretended successors of St. Peter, whose adulterous commerce gave an *infallible* guide to the Roman church."

§ 35.—JOHN XII.—This monster of wickedness was a nephew of John the *bastard*, the last named Pope, and through the influence of the dominant Tuscan party in Rome, was raised to the popedom at the age of eighteen years. His tyranny and debaucheries were so abominable, that upon the complaint of the people of Rome, the emperor Otho caused him to be solemnly tried and deposed. Upon the Emperor's ambassadors coming to that city they carried back to their master an account of the notorious scandals of which the Pope was guilty; that "he carried on in the eyes of the whole city a criminal commerce with one Rainera, the widow of one of his soldiers, and had presented her with crosses and chalices of gold belonging to the church of St. Peter; that another of his concubines named Stephania, had lately died in giving birth to one of the Pope's bastards; that he had changed the Lateran palace, once the abode of saints, into a brothel, and there cohabited with his own father's concubine, who was a sister of Stephania, and that he had forced married women, widows, and virgins to comply with his impure desires, who had come from other countries to visit the tombs of the apostles at Rome." Upon the arrival of Otho, pope John fled from the city. Several bishops and others testified to the Emperor the above enormities, besides several other offences. The Emperor summoned him to appear, saying in the letter he addressed to him, "You are charged with such obscenities as would make us blush were they said of a stage-player. I shall mention to you a few of the crimes that are laid to your charge; for it would require a whole day to enumerate them all. Know, then, that you are accused, not by some few, but by all the clergy as well as the laity, of *murder*, *perjury*, *sacrilege*, and *incest with your own two sisters*, &c., &c. We therefore earnestly entreat you to come and clear yourself from these imputations," &c. To this letter his *Holiness* returned the following laconic answer:—"John, servant of the servants of God, to all bishops. We hear that you want to make another pope. *If that is your design, I excommunicate you all in the name of the Almighty, that you may not have it in your power to ordain any other, or even to celebrate mass!!!*" Regardless of this threat, however, the Emperor and council deposed "this monster without one single virtue to atone for his many vices," as he was called by the bishops in council, and proceeded to elect a successor. Still, be it remembered, this "monster" John XII. is reckoned in the regular line of the popes. The next of the name is called John the *Thirteenth*, and he is therefore an essential necessary link in the boasted chain of HOLY APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION! No sooner had the emperor Otho left Rome, than several of the licentious women of the city with whom pope John had been accustomed to spend the greater portion of his time in con-

Cruelties of pope John XII. Cardinal Baronius's admission of these enormities.

cert with several persons of rank, conspired to murder the new Pope, and to restore John to his See. The former was fortunate enough to make his escape to the Emperor then at Camerino, and the latter was brought back in triumph to the Lateran palace. Upon his return, pope John seized upon several of the clergy who were opposed to him, and inflicted on them the most horrible tortures. Otger, bishop of Spire, was whipped by his command till he was almost dead; another, cardinal John, was mutilated by having his right hand cut off, and Azo by the loss of his tongue, nose, and two fingers. But these horrible enormities were not permitted to continue long. Shortly after his return to the city, the Pope was caught in bed with a married woman, and killed on the spot, as some authors say, by the Devil, but probably by the husband in disguise.*

§ 36.—But decency demands that we should draw a veil over the further debaucheries and incests of these boasted successors of the prince of the apostles, and their shameless female associates in guilt and pollution. Historical fidelity demanded so much of the truth to be made known, and certainly the reader will conclude here is enough for a specimen. So conclusive is the evidence of the historical accuracy of these disgraceful facts, that popish writers are constrained to admit their truth. We have already referred to the celebrated Fleury, but shall cite the following remarkable language of Cardinal Baronius, one of the most powerful champions of popery, in reference to these events.

"Quæ tunc facies sanctæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ! quam fædissima cum Romæ dominarentur potentissimæ æque et *sordidissimæ meretrices!* quarum arbitrio mutarentur sedes, darentur Episcopi, et quod auditu horrendum et infandum est, intruderentur in Sedem Petri earum AMASSII PSEUDO-PONTIFICES, qui non sint nisi ad consignanda tantum tempora in catalogo Romanorum Pontificum scripti. Quis enim a *scortis hujusmodi* intrusos sine lege legitimos dicere possit Romanos fuisse Pontifices? Sic vindicaverat omnia sibi LIBIDO, sæculari potentia freta, insaniens, æstro PERCITA DOMINANDI."

"O! what was then the face of the holy Roman church! how filthy, when the *vilest* and *most powerful prostitutes* ruled in the court of Rome! by whose arbitrary sway dioceses were made and unmade, bishops were consecrated, and —which is inexpressibly horrible to be mentioned!—FALSE POPES, THEIR PARAMOURS, were thrust into the chair of St. Peter, who, in being numbered as popes, serve no purpose except to fill up the catalogues of the popes of Rome. For who can say that persons thrust into the popedom without any law by *harlots of this sort*, were legitimate popes of Rome? In this manner, LUST, supported by secular power, excited to frenzy, in the rage for domination, RULED IN ALL THINGS."

In another passage, Cardinal Baronius, the celebrated annalist of the Romish church, expresses his feelings in reference to the horri-

* Bower, vita John XII. The above particulars in the life of this vicious Pope are related by Bower, upon the incontestible authority of Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, an authentic contemporary historian. His work is frequently referred to by the cautious and learned Gieseler. *Hist. rerum in Europa suo temp. gestarum, Lib.* vi. *in Muratori Rer. Ital. Script.*

The holy See, according to Baronius, "without spot," yet "blackened with perpetual infamy."

bly flagitious lives of these popes, and the See which they dishonored, in the following remarkable language:

"Est plane, ut vix aliquis credat, immo, nec vix quidem sit crediturus, nisi suis inspiciat ipse oculis, manibusque contrectat, *quam indigna, quamque turpia atque deformia execranda, insuper, et abominanda sit coacta pati sacrosancta apostolica sedes* IN CUJUS CARDINE UNIVERSA ECCLESIA CATHOLICA VERTITUR, cum Principes sæculæ hujus quantumlibet Christiani, hac tamen ex parte dicendi tyranni sævissimi arrogaverunt sibi tyrannice electionem Romanorum pontificum. Quot tunc ab eis, proh pudor! proh dolor! in eandem Sedem *Angelis reverendam* VISU HORRENDA intrusa sunt MONSTRA? quot ex eis oborta sunt mala, consummatæ tragœdiæ? quibus tunc *ipsam sine macula et sine ruga* contigit aspergi sordibus, putoribus infici, inquinati spurcitiis, ex hisque PERPETUA INFAMIA DENIGRARI!"

"It is evident that one can scarcely believe, without ocular evidence, *what unworthy, base, execrable, and abominable things the holy, apostolical See, which is* THE PIVOT UPON WHICH THE WHOLE CATHOLIC CHURCH REVOLVES, was forced to endure, when the princes of this age, although Christian, yet arrogated to themselves the election of the Roman pontiffs. Alas, the shame! Alas, the grief! what MONSTERS HORRIBLE TO BEHOLD, were then, by them, intruded on the holy See, *which angels revere!* what evils ensued! what tragedies did they perpetrate! with what pollutions was this See, *though itself without spot or wrinkle*, then stained! with what corruptions infected! with what filthiness defiled! and by these things BLACKENED WITH PERPETUAL INFAMY."*

How the above assertions can be reconciled, that "THE HOLY SEE ITSELF" can be "without spot or wrinkle," and yet "BLACKENED WITH PERPETUAL INFAMY," must be left for popish casuists to explain.

"Who can say," asks Baronius, "that persons thrust into the popedom, by harlots of this sort, were legitimate popes of Rome?" Certainly, we answer, they have evidently no more claim to the character of bishops or ministers of Christ, than their scarcely more wicked master, Beelzebub himself. But then, what becomes of the boasted UNINTERRUPTED APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION? What, indeed! After reading the above brief recitals of but a few instances of papal profligacy, presented in this age, the reader will be prepared to acknowledge the justice of the remark of Mosheim, in reference to the tenth century: "The history of the Roman pontiffs that lived in this century," says he, "is a history of so many MONSTERS, AND NOT OF MEN, and EXHIBITS A HORRIBLE SERIES OF THE MOST FLAGITIOUS, TREMENDOUS, AND COMPLICATED CRIMES, as all writers, even those of the Romish communion, unanimously confess." (Vol. ii., 390.)

§ 37.—It would be amusing, were it not painful to witness the lame attempts of Roman Catholic writers to reconcile the horrible profligacy of many of their popes, with their views in relation to apostolical succession, and papal infallibility. Father Gahan, in his history of the church, already referred to, which is probably the most accessible and popular work of its kind, among the multitude of Romanists, after faintly admitting (page 279), that "some unworthy popes" who had been "thrust into the apostolic chair," by the

* Baronius Annal., ad Ann. 900, &c. The former of the above passages from the Annalist, is cited by Southey, in his Vindiciæ Anglicanæ, page 389. London, 1826.

Do what they say, and not what they do. Another monster, pope Benedict IX.

intrigues of "three women of scandalous lives," had "disgraced their high station, by the immorality of their lives," proceeds to remark as follows: "Christ promised infallibility," says he, "to the great body of her pastors, in their public doctrine, but he has nowhere promised them impeccability in their conduct. '*Go*,' said he to them, '*teach all nations: Baptize* and *teach* them to observe all that I have ordained, and *I will be with you*,' &c. In virtue of this promise, he is always with the pastors of his church, to guarantee them *from all error in the doctrine of faith*, but *not to exempt them from all vice;* for he did not say, as the great Bossuet observes, '*I will be with you* PRACTISING all that I have commanded, but *I will be with ye* TEACHING.' Hence, to show that the mark of the true faith was attached to the profession of the public doctrine, and not to the innocence of their morals, he said to the faithful who are taught, 'DO ALL THAT THEY SAY, AND NOT WHAT THEY DO."(!!)* I suppose that most of my readers have heard the old anecdote of the drinking and fox-hunting English parson, who used to admonish his congregation that they must do *as he said, and not as he did;* but probably few of them ever imagined, before reading the above precious specimen of papal reasoning that the parson was indebted for his maxim to the Saviour himself.

§ 38.—Among the popes of the eleventh century, while there were some whose lives were decent, there were others, worthy rivals in profligacy to their predecessors of the tenth. I shall add, however, but one to this disgraceful list, BENEDICT IX., on account of his pre-eminence in vice. He was a son of Alberic, count of Tuscany, and was placed on the papal throne, through the money and the influence of his father, at the age of *eighteen years*, A. D. 1033. His vicious life can only find a parallel in that of the most debauched of the Roman emperors, Heliogabalus, Commodus, or Caligula. The Romans, shocked at his daily public debaucheries, more than once expelled him from the city, but by means of the emperors, or some other powerful friends, he was as often restored. Finding himself at length an object of public abhorrence, on account of his flagitious crimes, he finally *sold* the popedom to his successor, Gregory VI., and betook himself to a private life, rioting without control in all manner of uncleanliness. One of his successors in the papal chair, Desiderius, or Victor III., describes pope Benedict as "abandoned to all manner of vice. *A successor of* SIMON THE SORCERER, and NOT OF SIMON THE APOSTLE."† No doubt this opinion is correct, but again we ask, what becomes of the UNINTERRUPTED APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION?

§ 39.—It might, of course, be expected that the examples thus set by the occupants of the vaunted Holy See, the boasted successors of St. Peter, would be imitated by the inferior orders of clergy, who were taught to regard the popes as their spiritual

* Gahan's History of the Church, page 280.
† Desid. Dialog., Lib. iii.

Licentiousness of the inferior clergy. Concubines of the priests confessing to their paramours

sovereign and head, as the vicegerents of God upon earth. Accordingly, we find that a universal corruption of morals had invaded the monks and the clergy. "The houses of the priests and monks," says the abbot Alredus, "were brothels for harlots, and filled with assemblies of buffoons; where in, gambling, dancing, and music, amid every nameless crime, the donations of royalty, and the benevolence of princes, the price of precious blood, were most prodigally squandered."*

"Atto's language on this topic," says Edgar, "is equally striking. He represents some of the clergy as sold in such a degree to their lusts, that they kept filthy harlots in their houses. These, in a public manner, lived, bedded, and boarded with their consecrated paramours. Fascinated with their wanton allurements, the abandoned clergy conferred on the partners of their guilt, the superintendence of their family and all their domestic concerns. These courtezans, during the lives of their companions in iniquity, managed their households: and, at their death, inherited their property. The ecclesiastical alms and revenues, in this manner, descended to the accomplices of vile prostitution.† The hirelings of pollution were adorned, the church wasted, and the poor oppressed by men who professed to be the patrons of purity, the guardians of truth, and the protectors of the wretched and the needy.

§ 40.—"Damian represents the guilty mistress as confessing to the guilty priest.‡ This presented another absurdity and an aggravation of the crime. The formality of confessing what the father confessor knew, and receiving forgiveness from a partner in sin, was an insult on common sense, and presented one of the many ridiculous scenes which have been exhibited on the theatre of the world. Confession and absolution in this way were, after all, very convenient. The fair penitent had not far to go for pardon, nor for an opportunity of repeating the fault, which might qualify her for another course of confession and remission. Her spiritual father could spare her blushes; and his memory could supply any deficiency of recollection in the enumeration of her sins. This mode of remission was attended with another advantage, which was a great improvement on the old plan. The confessor, in the penance which he prescribed on these occasions, exemplified the virtues of compassion and charity. Christian commiseration and sympathy took place of rigor and strictness. The holy father indeed could not be severe on so dear a friend; and the lady could not refuse to be kind again to such an indulgent father. Damian, however, in his want of

* "Fuisse clericorum domos prostibula meretricum conciliabulum histrionum, ubi aleæ, saltus, cantus, patrimonia regum, eleemosynæ principum profligarentur, imo pretiosi sanguinis pretium, et alia infanda." (*Alredus*, cap. ii.)

† Quod dicere pudet. Quidem in tantâ libidine mancipantur, ut obscœnas meretriculas sua simul in domo secum habitare, uno cibum sumere, ac publice degere permittant. Unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiæ vestantur, pauperes tribulantur. (*Atto*, Ep. 9. *Dachery*, i. 439.)

‡ Les coupables se confessent à leurs complices, qui ne leur imposent point de penitences convenables. (*Damian in Bruy.* 2, 356. *Giannon*, X. § 2.)

Concubinage openly practised. Regarded as a less crime in a priest than marriage.

charity and liberality, saw the transaction in a different light; and complained in bitterness of this laxity of discipline, and the insult on ecclesiastical jurisdiction and on rational piety. This adultery and fornication of the clergy degenerated, in many instances, into incest and other abominations of the grossest kind. Some priests, according to the council of Mentz in 888, 'had sons by their own sisters.'* Some of the earlier councils, through fear of scandal, deprived the clergy of all female company, except a mother, a sister, or an aunt, who, it was reckoned, was beyond all suspicion. But the means intended for prevention were the occasion of more accumulated scandal and more heinous criminality. The interdiction was the introduction to incestuous and unnatural prostitution." (*Edgar*, 516, 17.)

§ 41.—In the tenth and eleventh centuries, concubinage was openly practised by the clergy, and it was regarded by popes and prelates as a far less crime to keep a concubine than to marry a wife. "Any person, clergyman or layman, according to the council of Toledo in its seventeenth canon, who has not a wife but a concubine, is not to be repelled from the communion, if he be content with one.† And his *holiness* pope Leo, the vicar-general of God, confirmed, in the kindest manner and with the utmost courtesy, the council of Toledo and the act of the Spanish prelacy.‡ Such was the hopeful decision of a Spanish council and a Roman pontiff: but, ridiculous as it is, this is not all. The enactment of the council and the Pope has been inserted in the Romish body of the Canon Law edited by Gratian and Pithou. Gratian's compilation indeed was a private production, unauthenticated by any pope. But Pithou published by the command of Gregory XIII., and his work contains the acknowledged Canon Law of the Romish church. His edition is accredited by pontifical authority, and recognized through popish Christendom. Fornication therefore is sanctioned by a Spanish council, a Roman pontiff, and the canon law. Fornication, in this manner, was, in the clergy, not only tolerated but also preferred to matrimony. Many of the popish casuists raised whoredom above wedlock in the clergy. Costerus admits that a clergyman sins, if he commit fornication; but more heinously if he marry. Concubinage, the Jesuit grants, is sinful; but less aggravated, he maintains, than marriage. Costerus was followed by Pighius and Hosius. Campeggio proceeded to still greater extravagancy. He represented a priest who became a husband, as committing a more grievous transgression than if he should keep many domestic harlots.§ An ecclesiastic, rather than marry,

* Quidam sacerdotum cum propriis sororibus concumbentes, filios ex eis generassent. (*Bin.* 7, 137. *Labb.* 11, 586.)

† Christiano habere licitum est unam tantum aut uxorem, aut certe loco uxoris concubinam. (*Pithou*, 47. *Giannon*, v. 5. *Dachery*, 1, 528. *Canisius*, 2, 111.)

‡ Confirmatum videtur auctoritate Leonis Papæ. (*Bin.* 1, 737.)

§ Gravius peccat, si contrahat matrimonium. (*Cost.*, c. 15.)

Quod sacerdotes fiant mariti, multo esse gravius peccatum quam se plurimas

Amidst all this profligacy, the power and influence of the popes increased. Causes of this.

should, according to this precious divine, keep a seraglio. The clergyman, he affirms, who perpetrates whoredom, acts from a persuasion of its rectitude or legality; while the other knows and acknowledges his criminality. The priesthood, therefore, in Campeggio's statement, are convinced of the propriety of fornication."*

§ 42.—The most astonishing circumstance of all is, that amidst all this abandoned profligacy of popes and priests, their power, and wealth, and influence, should have gone on steadily increasing till it reached its *culminating point* during the pontificate of the imperious Hildebrand, who ascended the papal throne under the title of Gregory VII., A. D. 1073.

This strange fact is accounted for in the general ignorance of the bible, the supposed authority of the forged decretals, and the awful terror of excommunication and interdict. During these dark ages, the Scriptures were almost entirely unknown, not only among the laity, but even among the great majority of the clergy. Those of the priests who had some acquaintance with the sacred books labored hard to conceal from the eyes of the people a volume which so plainly condemned their vicious lives and their anti-scriptural doctrines and ceremonies. This, it is well known, has ever been the policy of popish priests, and down to the present day in countries where Popery generally prevails, multitudes of otherwise well educated people are ignorant even of the existence of the bible.†

§ 43.—During these dark ages, it is to be remembered, the *forged decretals*, and the spurious *donation of the emperor Constantine*, were universally received as genuine, and constantly appealed to in proof of the assumptions of the popes. On this point, in addition to what has already been said in a former chapter (see above, page 182, &c.), I shall quote a paragraph from the celebrated work of the learned John Daillé on "the right use of the fathers." Speaking of various early forgeries, says he, "I shall place in this rank the so much vaunted deed of the donation of Constantine, which

doni meretrices alunt. Nam illos habere persuasum quasi recte faciant, hos autem scire et peccatum agnoscere. (*Campeggio*, in Sleidan, 96.)

* See Edgar, 520.

† A remarkable and unexceptionable proof of this assertion is found in the recent work of George Borrow, entitled "the Bible in Spain." On one occasion, he says, "I asked a boy whether he or his parents were acquainted with the Scripture and ever read it; he did not, however, seem to understand me. I must here observe that the boy was fifteen years of age, that he was in many respects very intelligent, and had some knowledge of the Latin language; nevertheless, he knew not the Scripture, even by name, and I have no doubt, from what I subsequently observed, that at least two-thirds of his countrymen are on that important point no wiser than himself. At the doors of village inns, at the hearths of the rustics, in the fields where they labor, at the stone fountain by the way-side, where they water their cattle, I have questioned the lower classes of the children of Portugal about the Scripture, the Bible, the Old and New Testament, and in no one instance have they known what I was alluding to, or could return me a rational answer, though on all other matters their replies were sensible enough."

has for so long a time been accounted as a most valid and authentic evidence, and has also been inserted in the decrees, and so pertinaciously maintained by the bishop of Agobio, against the objections of Laurentius Valla. Certainly those very men, who at this day maintain the donation, do notwithstanding disclaim this evidence as a piece of forgery."*

In reference to the *decretal epistles*, Daillé remarks, "Of the same nature are the epistles attributed to the first popes, as Clemens, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, and others, down to the times of Siricius (that is to say, to the year of our Saviour 385), which the world read, under these venerable titles, at the least for eight hundred years together; and by which have been decided, to the advantage of the church of Rome, very many controversies, and especially the most important of all the rest, that of the Pope's monarchy. This shows plain enough the motive (shall I call it such?), or rather the purposed design of the trafficker that first circulated them. The greatest part of these are accounted forged by men of learning; for indeed their forgery appears clear enough from their barbarous style, the errors met with at every step in the computation of times and history, the pieces they are patched up of, stolen here and there out of different authors, whose books we have at this day to show; and also by the general silence of all the writers of the first eight centuries, among whom there is not one word mentioned of them."

§ 44.—When, in addition to these facts, we call to mind the immense power wielded by the popes and clergy, in consequence of the mysterious terror attached to the thunders of *excommunication and interdict*, we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the growth of papal power and assumption during this midnight of the world. During the dark ages, excommunication received that infernal power which dissolved all connexions, and the unfortunate or guilty victim of this horrid sentence was regarded as on a level with the beasts. The king, the ruler, the husband, the father, nay, even the *man*, forfeited all their rights, all their advantages, the claims of nature and the privileges of society, and was to be shunned like a man infected with the leprosy, by his servants, his friends or his family. Two attendants only were willing to remain with Robert, king of France, who was excommunicated by pope Gregory V., and these threw all the meats that passed his table into the fire. Indeed, the mere intercourse with a proscribed person incurred what was called the lesser excommunication, or privation of the sacraments, and required penitence and absolution. Everywhere the excommunicated were debarred of a regular sepulture, which has, through the superstition of consecrating burial-grounds,

* Daillé on the right use of the fathers, Philad., pages 46, 47.

At the time when Daillé wrote this valuable work, A. D. 1631, we see from the above sentence there were some who still contended for the genuineness of this spurious grant. The arguments of Laurentius Valla have since been universally admitted as conclusive, and the point is conceded by Romanists themselves.

The iron age of the world was the golden age of Popery.

been treated as belonging to ecclesiastical control. But as excommunication, which attacked only one and perhaps a hardened sinner, was not always efficacious, the church had recourse to a more comprehensive punishment. For the offence of a nobleman, she put a county, for that of a prince, his entire kingdom, under an *interdict*, or suspension of religious offices. No stretch of her tyranny was perhaps so outrageous as this. During an interdict, the churches were closed, the bells silent, the dead unburied, no rite but those of baptism and extreme unction performed. The penalty fell upon those who had neither partaken nor could have prevented the offence; and the offence was often but a private dispute, in which the pride of a pope or bishop had been wounded. This was the mainspring of the machinery that the clergy set in motion, the lever by which they moved the world. From the moment that these interdicts and excommunications had been tried, the powers of the earth might be said to have existed only by sufferance.* During the pontificates of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and their successors, while Popery sat on the throne of the earth and wielded the sceptre of the world, we shall see that these spiritual weapons were employed with tremendous effect.

§ 45.—It is a fact worthy of attentive observation, that the *iron age* of the world was the *golden age* of Popery. Its anti-Christian doctrines were never more extensively and implicitly received than during these dark ages; its superstitious rites never more reverently performed; its contemptible festivals never more generally observed; its corrupt and licentious clergy never more devoutly honored and munificently enriched; and its haughty and imperious popes never attained a loftier elevation of worldly dignity than during this intellectual and moral midnight of the world. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the Roman Catholic historian, Dupin, and others, should refer in terms of the highest complacency to this age. Speaking of the tenth century, which was the darkest part of this moral midnight, Dupin remarks, "In this century there was no controversy relating to the doctrine of faith, or points of divinity, because there were no heretics, or persons who refined upon matters of religion, and dived into our mysteries. However, there were some clergymen in England who would needs maintain that the bread and wine upon the altar continued in the same nature after the consecration, and that they were only the figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. This error was refuted by a miracle wrought by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, who made the body of Jesus Christ appear visibly in the celebration of the holy mysteries, and made some drops of blood flow out of the consecrated bread when it was broken. St. Dunstan likewise refuted that error very strenuously in his discourses. In fine, there was no council held in this century that disputed any point

* For a fuller account of these spiritual weapons, see Hallam's Middle Ages (chap. vii.); Mosheim, ii., 210, note; and Hume's Hist. of England, chap. xi.

of doctrine or discipline, which shows us that there was no error of faith that was of any consequence, or made any noise in the church."* Father Gahan re-echoes the same sentiments. "This age," says he, "was indeed happy in this respect, that no considerable heresy arose, or was broached in it, for which reason there was no occasion for general councils, nor for so many ecclesiastical writers, as in the foregoing ages."†

Before dismissing the subject of the present chapter, I would embrace the opportunity of recording a truth which it behoves every protestant, and especially every American protestant, well to remember—a truth, written in burning characters upon the dark back-ground of the world's midnight, evident as the lines of forked lightning upon a dark and cloudy sky—it is this: IGNORANCE AND DARKNESS ARE THE NATIVE ELEMENT OF POPERY. ITS MOST FLOURISHING DAYS WERE IN THE MIDNIGHT OF THE WORLD. THE GREATEST BLOW THAT ANTI-CHRISTIAN SYSTEM EVER RECEIVED WAS THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS AND THE INVENTION OF PRINTING. THE GOLDEN AGE OF POPERY WAS THE IRON AGE OF THE WORLD, AND ITS UNIVERSAL REIGN WOULD BE THE IRON AGE RESTORED!

CHAPTER V.

POPERY IN ENGLAND, PRIOR TO THE CONQUEST.—AUGUSTIN THE MISSIONARY, AND DUNSTAN THE MONK.

§ 46.—BEFORE proceeding to give a biographical sketch of the celebrated Hildebrand or Gregory VII., under whom the assumptions of the papacy reached their climax, we shall present a concise account of the most remarkable events connected with the establishment of Popery in Great Britain, and its subsequent history, to the Norman conquest. It was under the auspices of the first Gregory, bishop of Rome, that the monk Augustin, with his associates, arrived in England, near the close of the sixth century, to propagate among the rude and hardy Saxons, not the simple and uncorrupted gospel of Christ, but the religion of Rome, already corrupted, as the reader of the foregoing pages is aware, by the introduction of a variety of pagan ceremonies, and false and unscriptural dogmas. A much purer form of the Christian religion and worship was already observed in the mountains of Wales and other parts of the island, received, as is supposed by some, from the apostle Paul

* Dupin's Ecclesiastical History, cent. x.
† Gahan's History of the Church, p. 279.

himself, and by others, from Joseph of Arimathea, who were said to have visited Britain; or as is supposed by others, with more probability, from some primitive British-born disciples, who probably heard and received the true gospel from the lips of St. Paul, while a prisoner at Rome, and returning to their native island, disseminated its saving truths among their countrymen. These primitive disciples had been driven by the fierce and barbarous invaders of the island, chiefly to the mountainous districts of Wales, and notwithstanding the zeal of Augustin and other emissaries of Rome, steadily refused to admit the authority, or to receive the doctrines or the rites of that corrupt and apostate church.

§ 47.—It was in the year 596, that Augustin, and the other Roman missionaries, landed in the county of Kent, and despatched one of their interpreters to acquaint king Ethelbert with the news and design of their coming. After a few days' deliberation, Ethelbert went into the island, and appointed a conference to be held in the open air. The missionaries advanced in orderly procession, carrying before them a silver cross, and singing a hymn. The king commanded them to sit down, and to him and his earls they disclosed their mission. Ethelbert answered with a steady and not unfriendly judgment; "Your words and promises are fair, but they are new and uncertain. I cannot, therefore, abandon the rites which, in common with all the nations of the Angles, I have hitherto observed. But as you come so far to communicate to us what you believe to be most excellent, we will not molest you. We will receive you hospitably, and supply you with what you need; nor do we forbid any one to join your society whom you can persuade to prefer it." He gave them a mansion at Canterbury, his metropolis, for their residence, and allowed them to preach as they pleased. The labors of these zealous emissaries of Rome were so successful, that the King himself, and vast multitudes of his subjects, were persuaded to be baptized, and *ten thousand* are said to have submitted to that rite on the following Christmas day, thus exchanging with the same ease as they would exchange one garment for another, the ancient Paganism of their Saxon ancestors, for the Christianized Paganism of Rome.

§ 48.—Lest the attachments of the islanders to their pagan ceremonies might prove an obstacle to their nominal profession of Christianity, Gregory, as before mentioned (see above, page 130), wrote to Augustin, now raised to the dignity of archbishop, directing him, as we are informed by the venerable Bede, *not to destroy the heathen temples* of the Anglo-Saxons, but only to remove the images of their gods, to *wash the walls with holy-water*, to *erect altars*, and *deposit relics* in them, and so *convert them into Christian churches:* and this, not only to save the expense of building new ones, but that the people might be more easily prevailed upon to frequent those places of worship to which they had been accustomed. He directs him further to accommodate the Christian worship, as much as possible, to those of the heathen, that the people might not be so

much startled at the change; and, in particular, he advises him to allow the Christian converts, on certain festivals, to kill and eat a great number of oxen to the glory of God, as they had formerly done to the honor of the devil. In the course of the seventh century, monasteries, in great abundance, were founded in all parts of England, and rich endowments bequeathed them. To encourage persons to adopt the monastic life, the impious doctrine now began to be broached, that "as soon as any person put on the habit of a monk, all the sins of his former life were forgiven him." This engaged many princes and great men, who have as many sins as their inferiors, to put on the cowl, and end their days in monasteries. In fact, superstition, in various forms, made rapid strides in England in the seventh century; among which may be mentioned a ridiculous veneration for relics, in which the clergy of the church of Rome had for some time been driving a gainful trade—a traffic which never can be carried on, except between knaves and fools. Few persons, in those days, thought themselves safe from the machinations of the devil, unless they carried the relics of some saint about them; and no church could be dedicated without a decent quantity of this sacred trumpery. Stories of dreams, visions, and miracles, were propagated by the clergy, without a blush, and believed without a doubt by the laity. Extraordinary watchings, fastings, and other arts of tormenting the body, in order to save the soul, became frequent and fashionable; and it began to be believed that a pilgrimage to Rome was the most direct road to heaven.*

§ 49.—During the eighth century in England, no less than in Italy, ignorance and superstition advanced with rapid strides. The clergy became more knavish and rapacious, and the laity more abject and stupid than at any former period. Of this, the trade in relics alone affords abundant proof. The monks were daily making discoveries, as they pretended, of the precious remains of some departed saint, which they soon converted into gold and silver. In this traffic they had all the opportunities they could desire of imposing counterfeit wares upon their customers, seeing it was no easy matter for the laity to distinguish *the tooth or the toe-nail of a saint*, from that of a *sinner*, after it had been some centuries in the grave. The place where the body of Albanus, the protomartyr of Britain, lay, is said to have been revealed to Offa, king of Mercia, in vision, A. D. 794! The body was accordingly taken up, with all imaginable pomp and ceremony, in the presence of three bishops, and a vast number of people of all ranks, and lodged in a rich shrine, adorned with gold and precious stones. To do the greater honor to the memory of the holy martyr, king Offa built a stately monastery at the place where his body was found, which he called by his

* Bede, Epist. ad Egbert. Spelman, Concil, Tom. i., p. 99, as cited by William Jones, the venerable continuator of Russell's Modern Europe, to whose lectures on Ecclesiastical History I am indebted for many of the facts relative to the progress of Popery in Britain. See Lect. xxx.–xxxiv. London, 1834.

name, St. Alban's, and in which he deposited his remains, enriching it with many lands and privileges. As to the character of Offa, the monarch to whom the clergy were indebted for this ridiculous piece of pious fraud, it may suffice to say, that his life was disgraced by the commission of not a few very horrible crimes; to atone for which he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he lavished his money upon the Pope and the clergy, to procure the pardon of his sins. In particular, he made a grant of three hundred and sixty-five mancusses (pieces of money of the value of 13*s.* 4*d.* each), being one for each day in the year, to be disposed of by the Pope to certain charitable and pious uses. The Roman pontiff consented to become his almoner; but cunningly contrived to convert it into an *annual* tax upon the English nation, and in the most imperious manner, demanded it as a lawful tribute, and mark of subjection of the kingdom of England to the church of Rome. So early and so rapidly did the proud pontiffs of Rome strive to extend their dominion over the nations of the earth.

§ 50.—We have already seen in the case of Theodore (see above, page 135), how artfully the Pope contrived to extend and strengthen his power in England, by appointing a creature of his own to the dignity of archbishop of Canterbury, and we shall soon see that these lordly prelates were ready enough to imitate the pride and presumption of those to whom they were originally indebted for their dignity. In 934, the See of Canterbury was filled by a prelate of the name of Odo, who acted the primate with a very high hand, of which the following is a fair specimen. He issued a pastoral letter to the clergy and people of his province (commonly called the Constitutions of Odo), in which he addresses them in this magisterial style: "I strictly command and charge that no man presume to lay any tax on the possessions of the clergy, who are the sons of God, and the sons of God ought to be free from all taxes in every kingdom. If any man dares to disobey the discipline of the church in this particular, he is more wicked and impudent than the soldiers who crucified Christ. *I command the King*, the princes, and all in authority, to obey, with great humility, the archbishops, and bishops, for they have the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. If this Odo had lived a century or two later, we might have well supposed that he had stolen an arrow from the quiver of the imperious Hildebrand.

§ 51.—Of all the primates of England, none has obtained greater notoriety than the celebrated *Saint* Dunstan, so famous, or rather so *infamous* for his zeal in the cause of priestly celibacy, and for his pretended wonderful miracles. Dunstan, we are informed, was born in the year of our Lord, 925, near Glastonbury, and was descended from a respectable family who resided there. He was put to school, and his parents encouraged his application to learning, in which he is said to have made wonderful proficiency, such as evinced superior abilities. Having run with rapidity through the course of his studies, he obtained an introduction into the ecclesias-

tical establishment at the celebrated abbey of Glastonbury, where he continued his application to learning with commendable diligence, so that he seems to have attained all the knowledge that was within his reach. Having, by the persuasions of an uncle, embraced the monkish life, he made with his own hands a subterraneous cave, or cell, adjoining the church wall of Glastonbury. It was five feet long, and two and a half wide, and nearly of a sufficient height for a man to stand upright in the excavation. Its only wall was its door, which covered the whole, and in this a small aperture to admit light and air. One of the legendary tales which have been used to exalt his fame, shows the arts by which he gained it. In this cave Dunstan slept, studied, prayed, and meditated, and sometimes exercised himself in working on metals. One night all the neighborhood was alarmed by the most terrific howlings, which seemed to issue from his abode. In the morning, the people flocked to inquire the cause; he told them the devil had intruded his head into his window to tempt him while he was heating his work—that he had *seized him by the nose, with his red hot tongs*, and that the noise was Satan's roaring at the pain; and such was the credulity of the age, that the simple people believed him, and venerated the recluse for this amazing exploit!

§ 52.—In 941, the fame of Dunstan's sanctity and miracles was such that the King bestowed upon him the rich abbey of Glastonbury, the most ancient, and down to the time of king Henry VIII., the most celebrated monastic institution of the kingdom; and permitted him to make free use of the royal treasury to rebuild and to adorn it. While Dunstan was abbot of this monastery, he filled it with Benedictine monks, to which order he belonged, and of which he was a most active and zealous patron. On an adjoining page is a correct and beautiful view of the remains of Glastonbury abbey, the scene of many of his legendary miracles, which is situated in Somersetshire, England, and which continues to be an object of deep interest to travellers and antiquaries. We learn from an accurate writer,* that the foundation plot upon which this vast fabric and its immense range of offices were erected, included a space of not less than sixty acres, and was surrounded on all sides by a lofty wall of wrought freestone. The principal building, the great abbey church, consisted of a nave of two hundred and twenty feet in length, and forty-five in breadth; a choir of one hundred and fifty-five feet; and a transept of nearly one hundred and sixty feet; and with the chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea, which stood at the West end, one hundred and ten feet in length, by twenty-four in breadth, its extreme length measured the vast extent of five hundred and thirty feet. Adjoining the church on the south side, was a noble cloister, forming a square of two hundred and twenty feet. The church contained five chapels, St. Edgar's, St. Mary's, St. Andrew's, the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, and the chapel of the

* Collinson, in his history of Somersetshire.

holy Sepulchre. St. Joseph's chapel, which is the prominent object in the engraving, is still pretty entire, excepting the roof and floor, and must be admired for the richness of the finishing, as well as for the great elegance of the design. The communication with the church was by a spacious portal. There are doors also to the North and South; one is ornamented with flower-work, the other with very elaborate flourishes and figures. The arches of the windows are semi-circular, and adorned with the lozenge, zigzag, and embattled mouldings; underneath appears a series of compartments of interlaced semi-circular arches, springing from slender shafts, and also ornamented with zigzag mouldings, and in their spandrils are roses, crescents, and stars. Altogether this is one of the most remarkable remains of antiquity in the world.

§ 53.—In 960, the former abbot of Glastonbury was made archbishop of Canterbury, and assured of the favor of king Edgar, prepared to execute the grand design which he had long meditated—of compelling the secular canons to put away their wives, and become monks; or of driving them out, and introducing Benedictine monks in their room. With this view he procured the promotion of his intimate friend, Oswald, to the See of Worcester, and of Ethelwald to that of Winchester; two prelates who were themselves monks, and animated with the most ardent zeal for the advancement of their order. This trio of bishops, the three great champions of the monks, and enemies of the married clergy, now proceeded by every possible method of fraud or force, to drive the married clergy out of all the monasteries, or compel them to put away their wives and children. Rather than consent to the latter, by far the greatest number chose to become beggars and vagabonds, for which the monkish historians give them the most opprobrious names. To countenance these cruel, tyrannical proceedings, Dunstan and his associates held up the married clergy as monsters of wickedness for cohabiting with their wives, magnified celibacy as the only state becoming the sanctity of the sacerdotal office, and propagated a thousand lies of miracles and visions to its honor. Among other popish contrivances, hollow crosses or images were constructed sufficiently large to conceal a monk, which, when appealed to by Dunstan, *miraculously* spoke in a human voice, and declared in the hearing of the gaping and astonished multitudes, the horrible guilt of those who claimed to be priests, and yet chose also to be husbands and fathers.

§ 54.—In the year 969, a commission was granted by king Edgar, who appears to have been an obedient tool of Dunstan, to the three prelates, to expel the married canons out of all the cathedrals and larger monasteries, promising to assist them in the execution of it with all his power. On this occasion he made a flaming speech, in which he painted the manners of the married clergy in the most odious colors, calling upon them to exert all their power in conjunction with him, to exterminate those abominable wretches who kept

The Remains of Glastonbury Abbey—the scene of a great part of St. Dunstan's Life and Miracles

wives. In the conclusion of his speech he thus addressed Dunstan: "I know, O holy father Dunstan! that you have not encouraged those criminal practices of the clergy. You have reasoned, entreated, threatened. From words it is now time to come to blows. All the power of the crown is at your command. Your brethren, the venerable Ethelwald, and the most reverend Oswald, will assist you. To you three I commit the execution of this important work. Strike boldly; drive those irregular livers out of the church of Christ, and introduce others who will live according to rule." And yet this furious champion for chastity had, some time before the delivery of this harangue, ravished a nun, a young lady of noble birth, and great beauty, at which his holy father confessor was so much offended, that he enjoined him, by way of penance, not to wear his crown for seven years; to build a nunnery, and *to persecute the married clergy with all his might*—a strange way of making atonement for his own libertinism, by depriving others of their natural rights and liberties.

§ 55.—At length this famous *Saint* Dunstan died in the year 988, and England was relieved of one of the most cunning and successful impostors, and obedient tools of Rome, the world ever saw. When it is mentioned that Dunstan pretended to many other miracles, about equal in probability and absurdity to that already mentioned, of pulling the devil's nose with his red hot tongs, this judgment will not be regarded as unduly severe. As, however, Dunstan was mainly instrumental in restoring and promoting the monastic institutions, the grateful monks, who were almost the only historians of those dark ages, have loaded him with the most extravagant praises, and represented him as the greatest miracle-monger and highest favorite of heaven, that ever lived. To say nothing of his many conflicts with the devil, in which we are told he often belabored that enemy of mankind most severely, the following short story, which is related with great exultation by his biographer, will give some idea of the astonishing impiety and impudence of those monks, and of the no less astonishing blindness and credulity of those unhappy times. "The most admirable, the most inestimable father Dunstan," says his biographer, "whose perfections exceeded all human imagination, was admitted to behold the mother of God, and his own mother, in eternal glory; for before his death he was carried up into heaven, to be present at the nuptials of his own mother with the Eternal King, which were celebrated by the angels with the most sweet and joyous songs. When the angels reproached him for his silence on this great occasion, so honorable to his mother, he excused himself on account of his being unacquainted with those sweet and heavenly strains; but being a little instructed by the angels, he broke out into this melodious song; 'O King and Ruler of nations, &c.'" The original author of this impious fiction was Dunstan himself, who, upon his pretended return from this celestial visit, summoned a monk to commit the heavenly song to writing from Dunstan's lips, and the morning after, all the monks

were commanded to learn and to sing it, while Dunstan loudly declared the truth of the vision.

In the year 1066, an event occurred, which constitutes an important epoch, both in the civil and ecclesiastical history of England. That event was the conquest by William of Normandy. The consequences upon Popery in England, of this memorable revolution, as they belong chiefly to the succeeding period, must be reserved for a future chapter.

BOOK V.

POPERY THE WORLD'S DESPOT.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF POPE GREGORY VII., A. D. 1073, TO THE DEATH OF BONIFACE VIII., A. D. 1303.

CHAPTER I.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF POPE HILDEBRAND OR GREGORY VII.

§ 1.—One of the most extraordinary characters on the page of history, and probably the most conspicuous person in the history of the eleventh century, was the famous monk Hildebrand, now reverenced by papists as *Saint* Gregory VII., who ascended the papal throne in 1073, and who carried the assumptions of the papacy to a height never before known, claimed supreme dominion over all the governments of the world, and attempted to bring all emperors, kings, and other earthly rulers, under his authority as his vassals and dependents. This artful and ambitious monk had succeeded in obtaining an almost unlimited influence at Rome long before his election to the pontificate, and the attempts of the three or four popes who preceded him, to exercise their haughty sway over the sovereigns of the earth, is to be attributed chiefly to his influence and counsels. So early as previous to the accession of pope Victor II. in 1055, the authority of Hildebrand was such that he was empowered by the people and clergy of Rome to go to Germany, and to select by his own unaided judgment, in their name, a successor to the preceding Pope, Leo IX., by performing which trust to the satisfaction of all, he greatly increased his own popularity and power.

During the reign of Victor, a complaint was received from the emperor Henry III., that Ferdinand of Spain had assumed the title of Emperor, and begging that unless he would immediately relinquish the title, Ferdinand might be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict. Hildebrand saw at once that this would be a favorable opportunity of advancing the scheme he had doubtless already formed of reducing all earthly sovereigns to subjection to the papal power, and accordingly persuaded the Pope to dispatch legates into Spain, threatening Ferdinand with the thunders of excommunication and interdict unless he immediately obeyed

Hildebrand and the Pope persuade Robert of Normandy to acknowledge himself a vassal of Rome.

the papal mandates and renounced a title which had been conferred by the Holy See only on Henry. The terrified prince was glad to maintain his peace with the spiritual tyrants of Rome, by submissive obedience to his commands.

§ 2.—A few years later, Hildebrand and pope Nicholas II., who was elected in 1059, had the address to prevail upon Robert Guiscard, the famous Norman conqueror, in consideration of the Pope's confirming to him certain territories he had conquered, and to which neither Nicholas nor Robert had a particle of right, to own himself a vassal of the Holy See, and to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope, which is transcribed by Cardinal Baronius, from a volume in the Vatican library, in the following terms:—"I, Robert, by the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and future duke of Sicily, promise to pay to St. Peter, to you, pope Nicholas, my lord, to your successors, or to your and their nuncios, twelve deniers, money of Pavia, for each yoke of oxen, as an acknowledgment for all the lands that I myself hold and possess, or have given to be held and possessed by any of the Ultramontanes; and this sum shall be yearly paid on Easter Sunday by me, my heirs and successors, TO YOU, POPE NICHOLAS, MY LORD, and to your successors. So help me God, and these his holy Gospels." When Robert had taken this oath, the Pope acknowledged him for lawful duke of Apulia and Calabria, confirmed to him and his successors for ever the possession of those provinces, promised to confirm to him in like manner the possession of Sicily, as soon as he should reduce that island, and putting a standard in his right hand, declared him vassal of the apostolical See, and standard-bearer of the holy church. From this time Robert styled himself 'dux Apuliæ and Calabriæ and futurus Siciliæ.'*

§ 3.—Soon after the election of pope Nicholas, and probably by the advice of Hildebrand, an important decree was issued relative to the manner of the election of future popes. Before his time, there had been no settled rules accurately defining the electors of the popes, but they had been chosen by the whole Roman clergy, nobility, burgesses, and assembly of the people. The consequence of such a confused and jarring multitude uniting in the election was, that animosities and tumults, sometimes accompanied with bloodshed, frequently occurred in consequence of the collisions of the different contending factions; each party striving to secure the election of its own favorite candidate to the honor of being *the successor of St. Peter* and *the vicar of God upon earth.* To prevent these disorders in future, as well as to enhance the power of the higher clergy at Rome, Nicholas issued his decree that the power of electing a pope should be henceforth vested in the cardinal bishops (*cardinales episcopi*), and the cardinal clerks or presbyters (*cardinales clerici*). By the *cardinal bishops* we are to understand the seven bishops, who belonged to the city and territory of Rome,

* Leo Ostiens., l. ii., c. 16.

whom Nicholas calls, in the same edict, *comprovinciales episcopi;* and by the *cardinal clerks*, the ministers of twenty-eight Roman parishes or provincial churches. These were to constitute in future the college of electors, and were henceforward called *the college of Cardinals*, in a new and unusual sense of the term, which is properly the origin of that dignity in its modern sense.

It was customary for bishops in these ages, to be consecrated by the metropolitan, but (in the swelling and bombastic language of the papal edict), "Since the apostolic See cannot be under the jurisdiction of any superior or metropolitan, the *cardinal bishops* must necessarily supply the place of a metropolitan, and fix the elected pontiff on THE SUMMIT OF APOSTOLIC EXALTATION AND EMPIRE."* All the rest of the clergy, of whatever order or rank they might be, were, together with the people, expressly excluded from the right of voting in the election of the pontiff, though they were allowed what is called a *negative* suffrage, and their consent was required to what the others had done. In consequence of this new regulation, the cardinals acted the principal part in the creation of the new pontiff; though they suffered for a long time much opposition both from the sacerdotal orders and the Roman citizens, who were constantly either reclaiming their ancient rights, or abusing the privilege they yet retained of confirming the election of every new pope by their approbation and consent. In the following century there was an end put to all these disputes by Alexander III., who was so fortunate as to finish and complete what Nicholas had only begun, and who, just one hundred years after the decree of Nicholas, transferred and confined to the college of cardinals the sole right of electing the popes, and deprived the body of the people and the rest of the clergy of the right of *vetoing* the choice of the cardinals left them by the decree of pope Nicholas. To appease the tumults occasioned by these acts, the popes, at various times, added other individuals to the college of Cardinals, and in subsequent ages, an admission to this high order of purpled prelates, the obtaining of a cardinal's hat, was regarded, next to the papal chair, as the highest object of Romish sacerdotal ambition, and moreover a necessary step to all aspirants to the dignity of sovereign pontiff, as no one but a cardinal can be elected pope.†

§ 4.—At length in the year 1073, Hildebrand was himself chosen Pope, and assumed the title of Gregory VII., and his election was confirmed by the emperor Henry IV., to whom ambassadors had been sent for that purpose. This prince indeed had soon reason to repent of the consent he had given to an election which became so prejudicial to his own authority, so fatal to the interests and liberties of the church, and so detrimental, in general, to the sovereignty

* "Quia sedes apostolica super se metropolitanum habere non potest; cardinales episcopi metropolitani vice procul dubio fungantur, qui electum antistatem ad apostolici culminis apicem provebant." (*Edict of Nicholas, in Baluzius* iv., 62.)

† See a learned dissertation on Cardinals in Mosheim, cent. xi., part ii.

and independence of kingdoms and empires. Hildebrand was a man of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution; sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, nothing could escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage; haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wishful eye, and labored up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardor, and invincible perseverance; void of all principle, and destitute of every pious and virtuous feeling, he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits, from the dictates of religion or the remonstrances of conscience. Such was the character of Hildebrand, and his conduct was every way suitable to it; for no sooner did he find himself in the papal chair, than he displayed to the world the most odious marks of his tyrannic ambition. Not contented to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to augment the opulence of the See of Rome, he labored indefatigably to render the universal church subject to the despotic government and the arbitrary power of the pontiff alone, to dissolve the jurisdiction which kings and emperors had hitherto exercised over the various orders of the clergy, and to exclude them from all part in the management or distribution of the revenues of the church. Nay, this outrageous pontiff went still farther, and impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the See of Rome.

§ 5.—The views of Hildebrand, or *Hellbrand*, as from his insane ambition he has been appropriately styled, were not confined to the erection of an absolute and universal monarchy in the church; they aimed also at the establishment of a civil monarchy equally extensive and despotic; and this aspiring pontiff, after having drawn up a system of ecclesiastical canons for the government of the church, would have introduced also a new code of political laws, had he been permitted to execute the plan he had formed. His purpose was, says Mosheim, to engage in the bonds of fidelity and allegiance to St. Peter, i. e., to the Roman pontiffs, all the kings and princes of the earth, and to establish at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whom the contests that might arise between kingdoms or sovereign states were to be decided, the rights and pretensions of princes to be examined, and the fate of nations and empires to be determined. The imperious pontiff did not wholly succeed in his ambitious views, for had his success been equal to his plan, all the kingdoms of Europe would have been this day tributary to the Roman See, and its princes, the soldiers or vassals of St. Peter, in the person of his pretended vicar upon earth. But though his most important projects were ineffectual, yet many of his attempts were crowned with a favorable issue; for from the time of his pontificate the face of Europe underwent a considerable change, and the prerogatives of the emperors and other sovereign princes were much diminished. It was particularly under the ad-

ministration of Gregory, that the emperors were deprived of the privilege of ratifying, by their consent, the election of the Roman pontiff; a privilege of no small importance, and which they never recovered. (*Mosh.*, ii., 484.)

§ 6.—The contest which Gregory carried on for several years with the unfortunate emperor Henry IV. affords an instructive comment upon the deep-laid plans of this most imperious and ambitious pope. Soon after his election, Gregory was informed that Solomon, king of Hungary, dethroned by his brother Geysa, had fled to Henry for protection, and renewed the homage of Hungary to the empire. Gregory, who favored Geysa, exclaimed against this act of submission; and said in a letter to Solomon, "You ought to know, that the kingdom of Hungary *belongs to the Roman church;* and learn that you will incur the indignation of the Holy See, if you do not acknowledge that *you hold your dominions of the Pope, and not of the Emperor!*" This presumptuous declaration, and the neglect it met with, brought the quarrel between the empire and the church to a crisis. It was directed to Solomon, but intended for Henry. And if Gregory could not succeed in one way, he was resolved that he would in another: he therefore resumed the claim of investitures, for which he had a more plausible pretence; and as that dispute and its consequences merit particular attention we shall relate briefly the origin and history of this protracted quarrel between the Pope and the emperors.

§ 7.—The *investiture* of bishops and abbots commenced, undoubtedly, at that period of time when the European emperors, kings, and princes, made grants to the clergy of certain territories, lands, forests, castles, &c. According to the laws of those times, laws which still remain in force, none were considered as lawful possessors of the lands or tenements which they derived from the emperors or other princes, before they repaired to court, took the oath of allegiance to their respective sovereigns as the supreme proprietors, and received from their hands a solemn mark by which the property of their respective grants was transferred to them. Such was the manner in which the nobility, and those who had distinguished themselves by military exploits, were confirmed in the possessions which they owed to the liberality of their sovereigns. But the custom of *investing* the bishops and abbots with the *ring* and the *crosier*, which are the ensigns of the sacred function, is of a much more recent date, and was then first introduced, when the European emperors and princes assumed to themselves the power of conferring on whom they pleased the bishoprics and abbeys that became vacant in their dominions: nay, even of selling them to the highest bidder.

This power, then, being once usurped by the kings and princes of Europe, they at first confirmed the bishops and abbots in their dignities and possessions, with the same forms and ceremonies that were used in investing the counts, knights, and others, in their feudal tenures, even by written contracts, and the ceremony of

Ceremony of investing bishops with the ring and crosier.

presenting them with a wand or bough. And this custom of *investing* the *clergy* and the *laity* with the same ceremonies would have undoubtedly continued, had not the *clergy*, to whom the right of electing bishops and abbots originally belonged, eluded artfully the usurpation of the emperors and other princes by the following stratagem. When a bishop or abbot died, they who looked upon themselves as authorized to fill up the vacancy, elected immediately some one of their order in the place of the deceased, and were careful to have him consecrated without delay. The consecration being thus performed, the prince, who had proposed to himself the profit of selling the vacant benefice, or the pleasure of conferring it upon some of his favorites, was obliged to desist from his purpose, and to consent to the election, which the ceremony of consecration rendered irrevocable. No sooner did the emperors and princes perceive this artful management, than they turned their attention to the most suitable means of rendering it ineffectual, and of preserving the valuable privilege they had usurped. For this purpose they ordered, that as soon as a bishop expired, his *ring* and *crozier* should be *transmitted to the prince* to whose jurisdiction his diocese was subject. For it was by the solemn delivery of the *ring* and *crosier* of the deceased to the new bishop that his election was irrevocably confirmed, and this ceremony was an essential part of his *consecration:* so that when these two badges of the episcopal dignity were in the hands of the sovereign, the clergy could not *consecrate* the person whom their suffrages had appointed to fill the vacancy.

Thus their stratagem was defeated, as every election that was not confirmed by the ceremony of consecration might be lawfully annulled and rejected; nor was the bishop qualified to exercise any of the episcopal functions before the performance of that important ceremony. As soon therefore as a bishop drew his last breath, the magistrate of the city in which he had resided, or the government of the province, seized upon his *ring* and *crosier*, and sent them to court.* The emperor or prince conferred the vacant See upon the person whom he had chosen by delivering to him these two badges of the episcopal office, after which the new bishop, thus invested by his sovereign, repaired to his metropolitan, to whom it belonged to perform the ceremony of consecration, and delivered to him the *ring* and *crosier* which he had received from his prince, that he might receive it again from his hands, and be

* "Nec multo post annulus cum virga pastorali Bremensis episcopi ad aulam regiam translata. Eo siquidem tempore ecclesia liberam electionem non habebant . . . sed cum quilibet antistes viam universæ carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanei civitatis illius annulum et virgam pastoralem ad Palatium transmittebant, sicque regia auctoritate, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbatæ plebi idoneum constituebat præsulem . . . Post paucos vero dies rursum annulus et virga pastoralis Bambenbergensis episcopi Domino imperatori transmissa est. Quo audito, multi nobiles ad aulam regiam confluebant, qui alteram harum prece vel pretio sibi comparare tentabant." (*Ebbo's* Life of Otho, bishop of Bamberg, Lib. i., § 8, 9, *in Actis Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i., p. 426.)

thus doubly confirmed in his sacred function. It appears therefore from this account, that each new bishop and abbot received twice the *ring* and the *crosier;* once from the hands of the sovereign, and once from those of the metropolitan bishop, by whom they were consecrated.*

§ 8.—Considering the character of Gregory VII., it is no wonder that he could ill brook this conduct of the emperors in thus securing to themselves the right of confirming the election of bishops by the ceremony of investing them with the ring and the crosier Accordingly, we find that in 1075, Gregory assembled a council at Rome, in which he excommunicated certain favorites of Henry, and pronounced a formal "anathema, or curse, against whoever received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from the hands of a layman, as also against *those by whom the investiture should be performed.*" This decree was doubtless aimed chiefly at the Emperor, who strenuously insisted on his asserted right of investiture, which his predecessors had enjoyed. As Henry continued to disregard the Pope's decree, Gregory sent two legates to summon him to appear before him as a delinquent, because he still continued to bestow investitures, notwithstanding the apostolic decree to the contrary; adding, that *if he should fail to yield obedience to the church, he must expect to be* EXCOMMUNICATED *and* DETHRONED. Incensed at that arrogant message from one whom he considered as his vassal, Henry dismissed the legates with very little ceremony, and convoked an assembly of all the German princes and dignified ecclesiastics at Worms; where, after mature deliberation, they concluded, that Gregory having usurped the chair of St. Peter by indirect means, infected the church of God with many novelties and abuses, and deviated from his duty to his sovereign in several scandalous attempts, the Emperor, by that supreme authority derived from his predecessors, ought to divest him of his dignity, and appoint another in his place.

§ 9.—Henry immediately dispatched an ambassador to Rome with a formal deprivation of Gregory; who, in his turn, convoked a council, at which were present a hundred and ten bishops, who unanimously agreed, that the Pope had just cause to depose Henry, to dissolve the oath of allegiance which the princes and states had taken in his favor, and to prohibit them from holding any correspondence with him on pain of excommunication. And that sentence was immediately fulminated against the Emperor and his adherents. "In the name of Almighty God, and by your authority," said Gregory, alluding to the members of the council, "I prohibit Henry, the son of our emperor Henry, from governing the Teutonic kingdom and Italy; *I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him;* and *I strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king.*" Thus, says Hallam, Gregory VII. ob-

* For a full and learned dissertation on the subject of *investitures*, see Mosheim, vol. ii., pp. 494–503, with references to, and quotations from, original authorities.

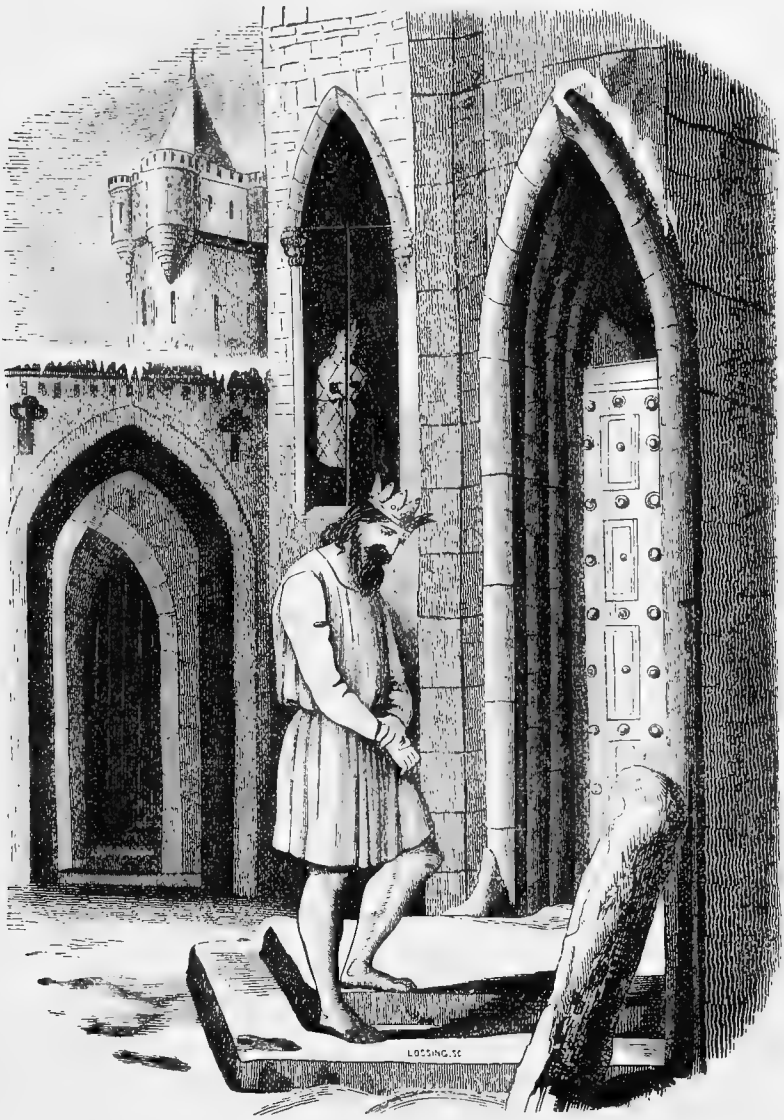
The Emperor stands three days at the gate of the Pope's palace, before he is admitted to his presence.

tained the glory of leaving all his predecessors behind, and astonishing mankind by an act of audacity and ambition which the most emulous of his successors could hardly surpass.

The first impulses of Henry's mind on hearing this denunciation were indignation and resentment. But, like other inexperienced and misguided sovereigns, he had formed an erroneous calculation of his own resources. A conspiracy long prepared, of which the dukes of Swabia and Carinthia were the chiefs, began to manifest itself; some were alienated by his vices, and others jealous of his family; the rebellious Saxons took courage; the bishops, intimidated by excommunications, withdrew from his side; and he suddenly found himself almost insulated in the midst of his dominions. In this desertion he had recourse, through panic, to a miserable expedient. He crossed the Alps with the avowed determination of submitting, and seeking absolution from the Pope. Gregory was at Canossa, a fortress near Reggio, belonging to his faithful adherent, the countess Matilda. (A. D. 1077.) It was in a winter of unusual severity. The Emperor was admitted, without his guards, into an outer court of the castle, and three successive days remained, from morning till evening, in a woollen shirt and with naked feet, while Gregory, shut up with the tender and loving countess, refused to admit him to his presence.

At length, after continuing for three days in the cold month of January, barefoot and fasting, the humbled Emperor was admitted into the palace, and allowed *the superlative honor of kissing the Pope's toe!* The haughty pontiff condescended to grant him absolution, but only upon condition of appearing on a certain day to learn the Pope's decision, whether or no he should be restored to his kingdom, until which time the Pope forbad him to wear the ornaments or to exercise the functions of royalty. Intoxicated with his triumph, Gregory now regarded himself as lord and master of all the crowned heads of Christendom, and boasted in his letters that it was his duty "TO PULL DOWN THE PRIDE OF KINGS!"

§ 10.—The pusillanimous conduct of the Emperor excited the indignation of a large portion of the nobility and other subjects of the empire, and they would probably have deposed him in reality, if he had not softened their resentment by violating his promise to the imperious pontiff, and immediately resuming the title and the ensigns of royalty. The princes of Lombardy especially could never forgive either the abject humility of Henry, or the haughty insolence of Gregory. A bloody war ensued between the domestic German enemies of Henry, headed by Rodolph, duke of Swabia, whom, in consequence of the Pope's sentence of deposition, they had crowned as Emperor at Mentz, on the one side; and the Lombard princes who, impelled by compassion for the humbled monarch, and indignation against the lordly Pope, had rallied round the Emperor on the other. As the result of this war appeared extremely doubtful for a time, Gregory assumed an appearance of neutrality, affected to be displeased that Rodolph had been consecrated as Em-



The Emperor Henry IV doing Penance at the Gate of the Pope's Palace.

Henry retracts his submission to the Pope. Gregory excommunicates him a second time.

peror *without his order*, and avowed his intention of acknowledging *that one* of the competitors who should be most submissive to the Holy See. Henry had already learned too much of the character of pope Gregory to place much dependence on his generosity, and therefore, with renewed courage and energy, he marched against his enemies, and defeated them in several engagements, till Gregory, seeing no hopes of submission, thundered out a second sentence of excommunication against him, confirming at the same time the election of Rodolph, to whom he sent a golden crown, on which the following well known verse, equally haughty and puerile, was written:

Petra dedi Petro, petrus diadema Rodolpho.

This donation was also accompanied with a prophetic anathema against Henry, so wild and extravagant, as to make one doubt whether it was dictated by enthusiasm or priestcraft. After depriving him of *strength in combat*, and condemning him *never to be victorious*, it concludes with the following remarkable apostrophe to St. Peter and St. Paul: "MAKE ALL MEN SENSIBLE THAT, AS YOU CAN BIND AND LOOSE EVERYTHING IN HEAVEN, YOU CAN ALSO UPON EARTH TAKE FROM, OR GIVE TO, EVERY ONE ACCORDING TO HIS DESERTS, EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, PRINCIPALITIES—LET THE KINGS AND PRINCES OF THE AGE THEN INSTANTLY FEEL YOUR POWER, THAT THEY MAY NOT DARE TO DESPISE THE ORDERS OF YOUR CHURCH; LET YOUR JUSTICE BE SO SPEEDILY EXECUTED UPON HENRY, THAT NOBODY MAY DOUBT BUT THAT HE FALLS BY YOUR MEANS, AND NOT BY CHANCE." Thus had Popery now assumed the character of DESPOT OF THE WORLD.

§ 11.—Before proceeding to relate a few other proofs of pope Gregory's determination to reduce all the kingdoms of the world and their sovereigns under his absolute sway, we will dismiss the case of Henry, by briefly relating the sequel of his remarkable life. With the hopes of shielding himself from the effects of this second excommunication, the Emperor assembled a council at Brixen, in the Tyrol, which resolved that Hildebrand, by his misconduct and rebellion, had rendered himself unworthy of the pontifical throne, and elected in his stead, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the name of Clement III., and was at length consecrated at Rome, but is not reckoned by Romanists in the line of popes. Notwithstanding the temporary triumph of Henry over the papal tyranny, he at last became its victim. After the death of Gregory, the succeeding pope, Urban II., and Paschal II., unable to forgive or forget his rebellion against the holy See, seduced two sons of the unfortunate emperor, first Conrad, and afterward Henry, to take up arms against their father. Paschal, who was a worthy successor of Hildebrand, after the death of Conrad, excited the young Henry to rebel against his father, under pretence of defending the cause of the orthodox; alleging that he was bound to take upon himself the reins of government, as he could neither acknowledge a king nor a

father that was excommunicated.* In vain did the Emperor use every paternal remonstrance to dissuade his son from proceeding to extremities: the breach became wider and wider, and both prepared for the decision of the sword. But the son, dreading his father's military superiority, and confiding in his tenderness, made use of a stratagem equally base and effectual. He threw himself unexpectedly at the Emperor's feet, and begged pardon for his undutiful behavior, which he imputed to the advice of evil counsellors. In consequence of this submission, he was immediately taken into favor, and the Emperor dismissed his army. The ungrateful youth now bared his perfidious heart: he ordered his father to be confined; while he assembled a diet of his own confederates, at which the Pope's legate presided, and repeated the sentence of excommunication against the emperor Henry IV., who was instantly deposed, and the parricidous usurper, Henry V., proclaimed Emperor in his stead.

§ 12.—Upon the perpetration of this unnatural act, two worthy servants of the church, the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, very readily undertook the grateful office of waiting upon the old Emperor, and demanding his crown and other regalia. The unfortunate monarch besought them not to become abettors of those who had ungratefully conspired his ruin, but finding them inexorable, he retired and put on his royal ornaments; then returning to the apartment he had left, and seating himself on a chair of state, he renewed his remonstrance in these words: "Here are the marks of that royalty, with which we were invested by God and the princes of the empire: if you disregard the wrath of heaven, and the eternal reproach of mankind, so much as to lay violent hands on your sovereign, you may strip us of them. We are not in a condition to defend ourselves." This speech had no more effect than the former upon the unfeeling prelates, who instantly snatched the crown from his head; and, dragging him from his chair, pulled off his royal robes by force. While they were thus employed, Henry exclaimed, "Great God!"—the tears trickling down his venerable cheeks—"thou art the God of vengeance, and wilt repay this outrage. I have sinned, I own, and merited such shame by the follies of my youth; but thou wilt not fail to punish those traitors, for their perjury, insolence, and ingratitude." To such a degree of wretchedness was this unhappy prince reduced by the barbarity of his son, that, destitute of the common necessaries of life, he entreated the bishop of Spire, who owed his office to him, to grant him a canonicate for his subsistence, representing that he was capable of performing the office of "chanter or reader!" Being denied that humble request, he shed a flood of tears, and turning to those who were present, said with a deep sigh, "My dear friends, at least have pity on my condition, for I am touched by the hand of the Lord!" The

* Dithmar. Hist. Bell. inter Imp. et Sacerdot.

Pope Gregory claims Spain as belonging to St. Peter.

hand of man, at least, was heavy upon him, for he was not only in want, but under confinement.

After the death of the unfortunate and deeply afflicted old man, which occurred soon after, his unnatural son, Henry V., was depraved enough to gratify the papal vengeance still further, by the barbarous and hypocritical act of digging up the dead body of his poor old father, from consecrated ground in the cathedral of Spire, and causing it to be cast with indignity into a cave at Spire. Such is popish morality, and such is the terrible vengeance which anti-Christian Rome, in those days of her glory, exhibited toward such as resisted her authority, or disobeyed her mandates !*

CHAPTER II.

LIFE OF GREGORY VII. CONTINUED.—OTHER INSTANCES OF HIS TYRANNY AND USURPATION.

§ 13.—THE life of Hildebrand abounds with instances of his haughty insolence and tyranny, over earthly sovereigns and nations, almost equalling in atrocity the above related history of his conduct toward Henry IV. We shall proceed to mention a few of these as related by Bower, upon the authorities cited at the foot of the page.

Not satisfied with pulling down and setting up princes, kings, and emperors, at his pleasure, Gregory, as King of Kings, monarch of the world, and sole lord, both spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth, claimed the sovereignty of all the kingdoms of Europe, as having once belonged to St. Peter, whose right was unalienable. Thus, being informed in the very beginning of his pontificate that count Evulus, a man of wealth and power, had formed a design of recovering the countries, which the Moors had seized in *Spain*, and was levying forces with that view, he sent cardinal Hugh, surnamed the White, to let him know that Spain belonged to St. Peter before it was conquered by the Moors; that though the infidels had subdued that country, and held it for a long course of years, the right of St. Peter still subsisted, there being no prescription against that apostle or his church, and that he, as supreme lord of the whole kingdom, not only approved of the count's design, but granted him all the places he should recover from the barbarians, upon condition that he held them of St. Peter and his See. In the letter which he wrote at this time, addressed to all who were disposed to join in driving the Saracens out of Spain, he

* See Russell's Modern Europe, Part i., Letter 22.

Claims Peter-pence in France. Claims Hungary also, as belonging to the holy See.

forbids any to enter that country, who is not resolved to hold of St. Peter what acquisitions he may make, as he had rather it should remain in the hands of the infidels, than that the holy Roman and universal church should be robbed of her undoubted right by her own children ;* that is, that he had rather Christians in Spain should continue under the oppressive yoke of those infidels, than be rescued from it by a prince, who did not pay homage, as a vassal, to the apostolic See. This letter, dated the last of April, 1073, and consequently written a few days after his election, shows what sentiments Gregory brought with him to the pontifical chair. Four years after he wrote again to the kings and princes of Spain, renewing his claim to their respective kingdoms and principalities, as having belonged to his See when the Saracens seized them, and requiring those, who held them, to pay the tribute they owed to St. Peter as their sovereign lord.†

§ 14.—With reference to the kingdom of *France*, Gregory pretended that formerly each house in that kingdom paid at least a penny a year to St. Peter, as their father and pastor, and that this sum was, by order of Charlemagne, collected yearly at Puy in Velai, at Aix la Chapelle, and at St. Giles. For this custom the Pope quotes a statute of that Emperor, lodged, as he says, in the archives of St. Peter's church. But as that statute is to be found nowhere else, it is universally looked upon as a forgery, and by some even thought to have been forged by Gregory himself. However, he ordered his legates in France to exact that sum, and insist upon its being paid by all, as *a token of their subjection* to St. Peter and his See.‡

The legitimate sovereign of *Hungary*, Solomon, being driven from his throne by Geisa, his cousin, had recourse to the Emperor, whose sister he had married, and was by him restored to his kingdom, upon condition that he should hold it of him as his feudatory. This Gregory no sooner understood than he wrote to Solomon, claiming the kingdom of Hungary as belonging to St. Peter, to whom he pretended it had been given by Stephen, the first Christian king of the country. The elders of your country, said he, in his letter to the king, will inform you that the kingdom of Hungary is *the property of the holy Roman church*, 'sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ proprium est ;' that king Stephen, upon his conversion, offered it to St. Peter, and that the emperor Henry, of holy memory, having conquered the country, sent the lance and the crown, the ensigns of royalty, to the body of St. Peter. If it be true therefore that you have agreed to hold your kingdom of the king of the Germans, and not of St. Peter, you will soon feel the effects of the apostle's just indignation, for we, who are his servants and ministers, cannot tamely suffer the honor that is due to him, to be taken from him and given to others.§ Solomon was again driven out by Geisa,

* Gregorii, lib. i., epist. 7.
† Gregorii, lib. iv., epist. 28.
‡ Gregorii, lib. viii., epist. 25.
§ Gregorii, lib. ii., epist. 13.

The Pope claims Corsica and Sardinia as the patrimony of St. Peter. Dalmatia and Russia.

which Gregory construed into a judgment for the injustice he had done to St. Peter, telling the usurper that the prince of the apostles had given the kingdom to him, as Solomon had forfeited all right to it by rebelling against the holy Roman church, and paying that homage to the king of Germany, which was due to none but her and her founder.* Geisa, thus countenanced by the Pope in his usurpation, held the kingdom of Germany until the hour of his death, which happened in 1077. He was succeeded by Ladislaus, who, to avoid the disturbances which he was sensible the Pope would raise and foment among his subjects, if he held not his kingdom of him, immediately *acknowledged himself for his vassal*, declaring that he owed his power to God, and under him to none but St. Peter, whose commands he should ever readily obey, when signified to him by his successors in the apostolic See.

§ 15.—The two islands of *Corsica* and *Sardinia* he claimed as the patrimony of St. Peter, pretending that they had been formerly given, nobody knows when nor by whom, to the apostolic See. Hence he no sooner heard that the Christians had gained considerable advantages in Corsica over the Saracens, and recovered great part of that island, than he sent a legate to govern the countries, which they had recovered, as the demesnes of his See, to encourage them in so laudable an undertaking, and assure them that he would assist them, to the utmost of his power, with men as well as with money, till they had reduced the whole island, provided they engaged to restore it to *its lawful owner, St. Peter.*†

In order to subject *Dalmatia* to the Roman See, Gregory conferred the title of king upon Demetrius, duke of that country, obliging him, on that occasion, *to swear allegiance* to him and his successors in the See of St. Peter. That oath the Pope's legate required upon delivering to the duke, in the Pope's name, a standard, a sword, a sceptre, and a royal diadem. The new king at the same time promised to pay yearly on Easter-day two hundred pieces of silver to the holy pope Gregory, and his successors lawfully elected as supreme lords of the kingdom of Dalmatia; to assist them, when required, to the utmost of his power; to receive, entertain, and obey their legates; to reveal no secrets that they should trust him with, but to behave on all occasions, as became a true son of the holy Roman church, and a faithful vassal of the apostolic See.‡

Demetrius was at that time king of *Russia*, and his son coming to Rome to visit the tombs of the apostles, Gregory made him partner with his father in the kingdom, requiring him on that occasion, to take *an oath of fealty to St. Peter*, and his successors. This step the Pope pretended to have taken at the request of the son, who, he said, had applied to him, being desirous to receive the kingdom from St. Peter, and to hold it *as a gift of that apostle.* The

* Gregorii, lib. ii., epist. 2.
† Gregorii, lib. v., epist. 24.
‡ Baron. ad An. 1076.

Gregory less successful with king William of England.

Pope added in his letter to the King, that he had complied with the request of his son, not doubting but it would be approved of by him and all the lords of his kingdom, since the prince of the apostles would thenceforth look upon their country and *defend it as his own.**

The despotic views of this lordly pontiff were attended with less success in England, than in any other country. William the Conqueror was a prince of great spirit and resolution, extremely jealous of his rights, and tenacious of the prerogatives he enjoyed as a sovereign and independent monarch, and accordingly, when Gregory wrote him a letter demanding the arrears of the *Peter-pence*, and at the same time summoning him to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the apostolic See, William granted the former, but refused the latter, with a bold obstinacy, declaring that he held his kingdom of his God only, and his own sword.†

§ 16.—Mr. Bower relates similar instances of Gregory's haughty assumption toward the sovereigns of Denmark, Poland, Saxony, as well as various principalities of Italy, who were compelled by the spiritual tyrant to acknowledge themselves as his vassals, but the above are certainly sufficient to demonstrate the all-grasping ambition of this pontiff, and his settled plan of reducing all kingdoms into one vast monarchy, of which the prince of the apostles should be the sovereign and head.

"Gregory was," remarks the same historian, "to do him justice, a man of most extraordinary parts, of most uncommon abilities, both natural and acquired, and would have had at least as good a claim to the surname of Great, as either Gregory or Leo, had he not, led by an ambition the world never heard of before, grossly misapplied those great talents to the most wicked purposes, to the establishing of an uncontrolled tyranny over mankind, of making himself the sole lord, spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth, becoming by that means sole disposer, not only of all ecclesiastical dignities and preferments, but of Empires, States, and Kingdoms. That he had nothing less in his view, sufficiently appears from his whole conduct, from his letters, and from a famous piece entitle Dictatus Papæ, containing his maxims."‡ This piece, which is found in the 55th letter of the second book of Gregory's epistles, contains his twenty-seven celebrated propositions, among which are the following:

The Roman pontiff alone should of right be styled UNIVERSAL BISHOP.

* Gregorii, lib. ii., epist. 74.

† For the letter of William, see Collier's Ecclesiastical History, in the Collection of Records, at the end of the first volume, p. 713, No. 12. "Hubertus legatus tuus," says king William, to the audacious pontiff, "admonuit me, quatenus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia, quam antecessores mei ad ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem. Unam admisi, alterum non admisi Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo," &c.

‡ Bower, in vita Greg. VII.

Dictates of Hildebrand. Advocated and defended by Romanist authors.

No man ought to live in the same house with persons excommunicated by the Pope.

The Pope alone can wear the imperial ornaments.

All princes are to kiss his foot, and pay that mark of distinction to him alone.

It is lawful for him to depose emperors.

No general council is to be assembled without his order.

His judgment no man can reverse, but he can reverse all other judgments.

He is to be judged by no man.

No man shall presume to condemn the person that appeals to the apostolic See.

The Roman church has never erred, nor will she ever err, according to Scripture.

He can depose and restore bishops without assembling a synod.

The Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to a bad prince.

§ 17.—The genuineness of these *dictates of Hildebrand*, as they are called, is testified by several of the most famous of the Roman Catholic writers, Harduin, Baronius, Lupus and others. Cardinal Baronius (An. 1076) not only admits the genuineness of these sentences, but says that the same doctrine was received in the Romish church down to his day (about 1609). His words are, "Istas hactenus in ecclesiæ catholicæ usu receptas fuisse." Lupus, another Romish writer, has given an ample commentary on them, and regards them as both authentic and sacred.* Whether, however, they were written in this present form by Gregory, or were extracted by some other author from his epistles, as Mosheim seems to suppose, is a matter of but small importance. The whole life of that haughty and imperious spiritual and temporal despot, is a proof that he believed and acted upon these principles. In the epistles of Gregory, he more than once undertakes a labored defence of the doctrine that all earthly governments, nations, sovereigns and rulers are subject to the Pope, and after referring to several instances in which he asserts this subjection had been previously recognized and acted upon, he proceeds to prove it by the following reasons:

(1.) The apostolic See has received of our Saviour the power of judging spiritual matters, and consequently that of judging temporal concerns, which is a power of an inferior degree.

(2.) When our Saviour said to St. Peter, Feed my sheep, when he granted him the power of loosing and binding, he did not except kings.

(3.) The episcopal dignity is of divine institution; the royal is the invention of men, and owes its origin to pride and ambition. As bishops therefore are above kings as well as above all other men, they may judge them as well as other men.†

* Lupus—Notæ et Dissertationes in Concilia, tom. iv., p. 164.

† Greg. epist., Lib. ii., epist. 10, 11, 12.

The tyrannical doctrines of Hildebrand advocated in the nineteenth century.

Many popish writers of eminence have advocated these doctrines. Thus Bellarmine asserts that though Christ exercised no temporal power himself, yet he vested St. Peter, the prince of the apostles and his successors, with all *temporal* as well as spiritual power, leaving him and them at full liberty to exert it, when thought *expedient and necessary for the good of his church.* Probably amidst the light and intelligence of the nineteenth century it is not thought *expedient* for the good of the church to advocate or practise these doctrines of the infallible pope Gregory, at least in the United States. Yet it ought to be known, that so late as the year 1819, a volume appeared, from the pen of an Italian Catholic, *De Maistre*, which has since often been reprinted, advocating to the fullest extent the doctrines of pope Gregory, maintaining that kings are but *delegates* of the Holy See; that the Roman pontiffs have power to depose them at will, and even prescribing a form of petition which nations should address to his *holiness*, when they wish their sovereign to be dethroned. It is worthy to be known also by Americans, that this spiritual despot who maintained the right of the Roman See to trample at will upon the governments of the earth is enrolled in the Roman Catholic calendar as a SAINT, and as such reverenced and honored, even in the land of Washington, with all due worship on a day annually set apart for that purpose. In an edition of that standard popish book of devotion, called "the Garden of the Soul," now lying before me, published in New York, 1844, "with the approbation of the Right Reverend Dr. Hughes, bishop of New York," in the calendar of the saints' days, I find the twenty-fifth of May designated as the day set apart in honor of SAINT GREGORY VII!*

§ 18.—We have now traced the march of priestly and popish usurpation from the earliest attempts of ambitious ecclesiastics to domineer over their brethren, and to usurp the prerogatives of HIM who has said, "one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." We have seen the gradual steps by which the power of ambitious prelates in general, and of the bishop of Rome in particular, was increased, till the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was established in the early part of the seventh century. We have followed these haughty tyrants in their career of ambition, till a century and a half later they united the crown to the mitre, the sceptre to the crosier, and took their place among the temporal sovereigns of the world, till at last in the eleventh century they reached the climax of their power and usurpation, under the reign of *Saint* Gregory VII. We cannot better close the present chapter than by quoting from the learned Deylingius the following eleven propositions in relation to the rise of this power; which he has sustained, beyond contradiction, by a vast amount of erudition and research in a disquisition occupying 117 pages. The reader will perceive, that though quoted in the language of another, these

* See also the Acta Sanctorum, Antwerp, ad d. xxv. Maii.

The learned Deylingius's account of the gradual rise of the popes' tyrannical power.

propositions constitute a comprehensive summary of the historical account, which we have given in the preceding pages, of the gradual and successive steps by which the despotic power of the popes was eventually established.

"*Proposition* 1. Christ did not institute in his church any sacred dominion, and much less *a monarchical government, such as the Roman prelates during a long period have claimed and usurped.*

"2. In the beginning, *all the ministers of the church were equal;* and bishops before the second century, after the birth of Christ, were not exalted above presbyters; nor did they arrogate to themselves any peculiar duties or privileges of the sacred office.

"3. Although the government and the jurisdiction of the church at that period were not in bishops alone, but the presbyters and deacons, with the whole assembly, participated in the rule and determination of affairs; yet the authority of the prelates gradually and rapidly obtained a large increase.

"4. *All bishops then were equal,* nor had the Roman bishop or any other the least right or precedence over his brethren.

"5. In the third century after the Saviour, metropolitans arose; who were placed in the principal city of the province, so that the other prelates in the same province by degrees became subject to their jurisdiction.

"6. Whatever prerogatives of bishops, and distinction of authority and power, then were admitted, were derived *solely from the dignity of the city where they presided.*

"7. Although the metropolitan dignity was supreme after the council of Nice (in 325), yet there were three chiefs, the Roman, Alexandrian, and the Antiochian, each of whom ruled his own diocese unrestricted, and *neither of them possessed any right or power more than the others.*

"8. In the fourth century of the Christian church, the Roman pontiff was not patriarch of all Western Europe, much less was he head and monarch of the whole church; but only a particular prelate, *not superior to other* metropolitans, exarchs, or primates.

"9. After the peace granted to the churches by Constantine, the luxury and pomp of the bishops greatly increased; and especially the ambition, authority, and power of the Roman prelate were extended, so that they could not be restrained within the limits of the suburban cities; but by various artifices, they continually became more amplified.

"10. At length the Roman prelates, not content with having obtained the primacy of order among the other hierarchs, endeavored to establish their authority in both divisions of the empire. After long and severe strife with the Constantinopolitan patriarch, *by the parricide of Phocas, they obtained the title of Universal Bishop;* and extended their jurisdiction, but could not grasp domination over all the church, because they were opposed by the authority of emperors and councils.

"11. Finally, *in the eleventh century* after Christ, the power of

Sprinkling with ashes on Ash-Wednesday.

the Roman pontiff, by the ferocity of pope Gregory VII., was carried to its *utmost extent*; and the nominal Christian church, through the debasement of the imperial and royal prerogatives, were forced to submit their necks to the yoke of the despotic court of Rome."*

CHAPTER III.

POPE URBAN AND THE CRUSADES.

§ 19.—UPON the death of pope Gregory, which took place at Salernum, in 1085, the faction which supported his measures proceeded to the election of a successor, who assumed the title of Victor III., while Clement III., who, as we have already remarked, had been elected by the Emperor's party at the council of Brixen, was acknowledged as pope by a great part of Italy, and continued to maintain his pretensions to the papal throne till his death, in 1100, that is, during the whole of the pontificates of Victor III. and Urban II. Thus, as in many other instances, both in earlier and later times, were there rival competitors for the popedom, hurling defiance and anathemas at each other, and each at the same time claiming to be the vicegerent of God upon earth, and the infallible and authoritative interpreter of the will of God to man.

During the pontificate of Urban, in the year 1091, it was enacted in a council held at Benevento, among other superstitious ceremonies, that on the Wednesday which was the first day of the fast of Lent, the faithful laymen as well as clerks, women as well as men, should have their heads sprinkled with ashes, "a ceremony," says Bower, "that is observed to this day."† Ash-Wednesday, so called from the ceremony of giving the ashes, is the fortieth day before Easter Sunday, and the Romish *fast* of Lent continues during the whole of this interval. The ashes used at this ceremony must be made from the branches of the olive or palm that was "*blessed*" (to use the unmeaning language of Popery), on the Palm Sunday of the preceding year. The priest *blesses* the ashes by making on them the sign of the cross, and perfuming them with incense. The ashes are first laid on the head of the officiating priest in the form of a cross, by another priest. After he has received the ashes himself, he then gives them to his assistants and the other clergy present, after which the congregation, women as well as men, one after another, approach the altar, kneel before the priest, and receive this "mark of the beast" on their foreheads.

* Deylingii Observationum Sacrarum, pars i., exercit. 6.
† Bower, in vita Urban II.

Marking the Foreheads of the People with Ashes on Ash-Wednesday

The Ceremony of Incen ing a Cross

Ceremony of incensing a cross. Councils of Placentia and Clermont, in 1095

The other engraving represents the popish custom of incensing a new cross. All crosses designed for public places, for high roads and cross ways, as they are seen in popish countries, and for the tops of Romish chapels, where one is always placed, are consecrated with much ceremony. Candles are first lighted at the foot of the cross, after which the celebrant, having on his pontifical ornaments, sits down before the cross, and makes a discourse to the people upon its excellence; after which prayers and anthems follow. Then he sprinkles and afterward incenses the cross, as represented in the engraving; which being performed, candles are set upon the top of each arm of the cross. In the engraving, two of the attendants are seen with the candles lighted and prepared, when the childish and unmeaning ceremony is over, to affix them on the two arms of the cross. How long the candles remain there, before the piece of wood is regarded as sufficiently holy for its contemplated destination, I am unable to say.

§ 20.—Pope Urban, though inferior in ability and courage to the imperious Hildebrand, was yet fully equal to him in pride and arrogance. At a council held at Placentia, in 1095, he confirmed all the laws and anathemas enacted by Gregory, to terrify and to crush the rebels to the holy See, and at the council of Clermont, held in November of the same year, Urban proceeded a step further than even Gregory had done, by enacting a decree forbidding the bishops and the rest of the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to their respective kings or governments. 'Ne episcopus vel sacerdos regi vel alicui laico in manibus ligiam fidelitatem faciunt.' The council of Clermont, just mentioned, has become celebrated in history from the fact that through the persuasions of Peter the hermit, pope Urban resolved, on this occasion, upon the commencement of those expeditions to the holy land called the *Crusades*.

The object of these holy wars, which occupy so conspicuous a figure in the history of the period of which we are now treating, was the recovery of the city of Jerusalem, and the holy sepulchre, from the hands of the Turkish infidels, by whom it had been taken in the year 1065. For centuries past, the practice had prevailed of making *pilgrimages* to Jerusalem. In the tenth century, this custom had much increased, and had become almost universal, from a general belief which prevailed of the near approach of the end of the world, arising from a misinterpretation of Rev., chap. xx., 2–5. Toward the conclusion of the century, crowds of men and women flocked from all parts of Europe, to Jerusalem, in the frantic hope of expiating their sins by the long and painful journey to the Holy land. When the dreaded epoch assigned by these misguided individuals, for the end of the world, had passed by, the current of pilgrimages still continued to flow on in the direction it had taken, and that too in spite of the heavy tax of a piece of gold per head laid upon the pilgrims, and the brutal cruelties and indignities to which they were often exposed, from the barbarians and infidel conquerors of the holy city. Thus it appears that among the causes which eventually gave birth to the Crusades, was the wide-spread

delusion of the immediate conflagration of the world, in the year *one thousand* of the Christian era.*

* The language in which Mosheim relates the effects of this wide-spread delusion, is so striking, and the lesson it teaches so important, viz.: the folly of attempting to be wise above what is written, or to fathom what God has wisely concealed, viz.: the time of the end of the world, that I shall embrace the opportunity of quoting it in the present note. Speaking of the darkness of the tenth century, when this opinion was propagated, he says, "That the whole Christian world was covered at this time, with a thick and gloomy veil of superstition, is evident from a prodigious number of testimonies and examples which it is needless to mention. This horrible cloud, which hid almost every ray of truth from the eyes of the multitude, furnished a favorable opportunity to the priests and monks of propagating many absurd and ridiculous opinions, which dishonored so frequently the Latin church, and produced from time to time such violent agitations. None occasioned such a universal panic, nor such dreadful impressions of terror and dismay, as the notion that now prevailed, of the immediate approach of the day of judgment. Hence prodigious numbers of people abandoned all their civil connexions, and their parental relations, and giving over to the churches or monasteries all their lands, treasures, and worldly effects, repaired with the utmost precipitation to Palestine, where they imagined that Christ would descend from heaven to judge the world. Others devoted themselves by a solemn and voluntary oath to the service of the churches, convents, and priesthood, whose slaves they became, in the most rigorous sense of that word, performing daily their heavy tasks; and all this from a notion that the Supreme Judge would diminish the severity of their sentence, and look upon them with a more favorable and propitious eye, on account of their having made themselves the slaves of his ministers. When an eclipse of the sun or moon happened to be visible, the cities were deserted, and their miserable inhabitants fled for refuge to hollow caverns, and hid themselves among the craggy rocks, and under the bending summits of steep mountains. The opulent attempted to bribe the Deity, and the saintly tribe, by rich donations conferred upon the sacerdotal and monastic orders, who were looked upon as the immediate vicegerents of heaven. In many places, temples, palaces, and noble edifices, both public and private, were suffered to decay, nay, were deliberately pulled down, from a notion that they were no longer of any use, since the final dissolution of all things was at hand. In a word, no language is sufficient to express the confusion and despair that tormented the minds of miserable mortals upon this occasion. This general delusion was indeed opposed and combated by the discerning few, who endeavored to dispel these groundless terrors, and to efface the notion from which they arose, in the minds of the people. But their attempts were ineffectual; nor could the dreadful apprehensions of the superstitious multitude be entirely removed before the conclusion of this century." As an undeniable evidence, both of the existence of this panic, and of its profitable results to its artful propagators and fomenters, may be mentioned the fact that almost all the donations that were made to the church about this time, assign as the cause of the donation, and the motive of the donor, the fact that the end of the world was just now at hand, and that therefore, of course, the property would be no longer of value. They generally commenced with these words: "*Appropinquante mundi termino, &c.*" i. e., *the end of the world being now at hand, &c.* (*Mosheim*, ii., page 410.) Similar panics to the above, originating from the presumption of ignorant and visionary men, who have predicted the day and the hour, or at least the year of the world's conflagration, are not peculiar to the dark ages. They have been produced to a more limited extent in different countries and in various ages of the world, but in no one instance on record has the delusion been so universal as amid the gloom of this *midnight of the world*. The extent to which such infatuations have prevailed, has invariably been proportioned to the degree of the darkness and ignorance existing in the field of their propagation. Amid the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, there is but little danger of delusions of this kind shaking the universal foundations of society as they did in the tenth, or, if they exist at all, extending beyond the very narrow circle of the credulous and unenlightened portion of the community.

Peter the hermit returns from Palestine, and engages pope Urban to sanction a Crusade.

Of many thousands who passed into Asia, says a recent historian of the Crusades,* a few isolated individuals only returned; but these every day, as they passed through the different countries of Europe, on their journey back, spread indignation and horror by their account of the dreadful sufferings of the Christians in Judea. Various letters are reported as having been sent by the emperors of the East, to the different princes of Europe, soliciting aid to repel the encroachments of the infidel; and if but a very small portion of the crimes and cruelty attributed to the Turks by these epistles, were believed by the Christians, it is not at all astonishing that wrath and horror took possession of every chivalrous bosom. The lightning of the crusade was in the people's hearts, and it wanted but one electric touch to make it flash forth upon the world.

§ 21.—At this time a man, of whose early days we have no authentic knowledge, but that he was born at Amiens, and from a soldier had become a priest, after living for some time a hermit, became seized with the desire of visiting Jerusalem. Peter the hermit was, according to all accounts, small in stature and mean in person; but his eyes possessed a peculiar fire and intelligence, and his eloquence was powerful and flowing. Peter accomplished in safety his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, paid the piece of gold demanded at the gates, and took up his lodging in the house of one of the pious Christians of the holy city. Here his first emotion seems to have been indignant horror at the barbarous and sacrilegious brutality of the Turks. The venerable prelate of Tyre represents him as conferring eagerly with his host upon the enormous cruelties of the infidels, even before visiting the general objects of devotion. Doubtless the ardent, passionate, enthusiastic mind of Peter had been wrought upon at every step he took in the holy land, by the miserable state of his brethren, till his feelings and imagination became excited to almost frantic vehemence.

Upon the return of Peter to Italy, he immediately sought the pontiff Urban, and laid before him such a touching recital of the suffering pilgrims in the holy land, as brought tears from his eyes; the general scheme of the crusade was sanctioned instantly, by his authority; and, promising his quick and active concurrence, he sent the pilgrim to preach the deliverance of the holy land, through all the countries of Europe. Peter wanted neither zeal nor activity—from town to town, from province to province, from country to country, he spread the cry of vengeance on the Turks, and deliverance to Jerusalem! The warlike spirit of the people was at its height; the genius of chivalry was in the vigor of its early youth; the enthusiasm of religion had now a great and terrible object before it, and all the gates of the human heart were open to the eloquence of the preacher. That eloquence was not exerted in vain; nations arose at his word, and grasped the spear, and it only wanted some one to direct and point the great enterprise that was

* James, in his History of Chivalry and the Crusades.

Pope Urban's eloquent speech, urging the people to engage in the Crusades.

already determined, and this was accomplished by the eloquence and zeal of pope Urban, at the council of Clermont.

§ 22.—The following account of the address which the Pope delivered on this occasion, is derived from the relation given by Robert the monk, who was present. After having completed the other business of the council, and which occupied the deliberations of seven days, pope Urban came forth from the church into one of the public squares, as no public building was large enough to hold the immense concourse of people, and addressing the multitude as the peculiarly favored of God, in the gifts of courage, strength, and the true faith, he began to depict in glowing terms the miseries of the Christian pilgrims in the holy land. He told them that their brethren there were trampled under the feet of the infidels, to whom God had not granted the light of his Holy Spirit—that fire, plunder, and the sword, had desolated the fair plains of Palestine—that her children were led away captive, or enslaved, or died under tortures too horrible to recount—that the Christian females were subjected to the impure passions of the pagans, and that God's own altar, the symbols of salvation, and the precious relics of the saints, were all desecrated by the gross and filthy abomination of a race of heathens. To whom, then, he asked—to whom did it belong to punish such crimes, to wipe away such impurities, to destroy the oppressors and to raise up the oppressed? To whom, if not to those who heard him, who had received from God strength, and power, and greatness of soul; whose ancestors had been the prop of Christendom, and whose kings had put a barrier to the progress of infidels? "Think!" he cried, "of the sepulchre of Christ, our Saviour, possessed by the foul heathen!—think of all the sacred places dishonored by their sacrilegious impurities! That land, too, the Redeemer of the human race rendered illustrious by his advent, honored by his residence, consecrated by his passion, re-purchased by his death signalized by his sepulture. That royal city, Jerusalem—situated in the centre of the world—held captive by infidels, who deny the God that honored her—now calls on you and prays for her deliverance. From you—from you, above all people, she looks for comfort, and she hopes for aid; since God has granted to you, beyond other nations, glory and might in arms. Take, then, the road before you *in expiation of your sins*, and go, assured that, after the honor of this world shall have passed away, imperishable glory shall await you even in the kingdom of heaven!"

§ 23.—At this point in the oration of the Pope, loud shouts are said to have burst simultaneously from the assembled multitude, as if impelled by inspiration, "*It is the will of God! It is the will of God!*"—words regarded as so remarkable, that they were employed as the signal of rendezvous, and the watchword of battle in their future adventures. Skilfully seizing upon this simultaneous burst of enthusiasm, and turning it to good account, the pontiff proceeded, as soon as silence was obtained, "Brethren, if the Lord God had not been in your souls, you would not all have pronounced the same

The Crusades resolved on. General enthusiasm of the people, and desire to engage in them.

words; or, rather, God himself pronounced them by your lips, for he it was that put them in your hearts. Be they, then, your war-cry in the combat, for those words came forth from God. Let the army of the Lord, when it rushes upon his enemies, shout but that one cry, '*God wills it! God wills it!*'" Then exhorting them to engage in this holy crusade, he exclaimed, "Let the rich assist the poor, and bring with them, at their own charge, those who can bear arms to the field. Still, let not priests nor clerks, to whatever place they may belong, set out on this journey, without the permission of their bishop; nor the layman undertake it without the blessing of his pastor, for to such as do, their journey shall be fruitless. Let whoever is inclined to devote himself to the cause of God, make it a solemn engagement and bear *the cross* of the Lord either on his breast or on his brow till he set out; and let him who is ready to begin his march place the holy emblem on his shoulders, in memory of that precept of the Saviour—'He who does not take up his *cross* and follow me, is not worthy of me.'"*

When Urban had concluded his oration, the vast multitude prostrated themselves before him, and repeated, after one of the cardinals, the general confession of sins; upon which the Pope *pronounced absolution* of their sins, and bestowed on them his benediction. The people then returned to their homes, to prepare immediately for the expedition to the holy land, to which they had thus solemnly devoted themselves.

§ 24.—"As soon as the council of Clermont was concluded," says Guibert of Nogent, another cotemporary writer and eye-witness of these scenes, "a great rumor spread through the whole of France, and as fame brought the news of the orders of the pontiff to any one, he went instantly to solicit his neighbors and his relations to engage with him in the *way of God*, for so they designated the purposed expedition. The counts Palestine were already full of the desire to undertake this journey, and all the knights of an inferior order felt the same zeal. The poor themselves soon caught the flame so ardently, that no one paused to think of the smallness of his wealth, or to consider whether he ought to yield his house, and his fields, and his vines; but each one set about selling his property, at as low a price as if he had been held in some horrible captivity, and sought to pay his ransom without loss of time. At this period, too, there existed a general dearth. The rich even felt the want of corn; and many, with everything to buy, had nothing, or next to nothing, wherewithal to purchase what they needed. The poor tried to nourish themselves with the wild herbs of the earth; and, as bread was very dear, sought on all sides food heretofore unknown, to supply the place of corn. The wealthy and powerful were not exempt; but finding themselves menaced with the famine which spread around them, and beholding every day the terrible wants of the poor, they contracted their expenses, and lived with

* Robertus Monachus, lib. i., as cited in James' History of Chivalry and the Crusades, chap. iii. See also Mill's History of the Crusades.

Guibert's account of the multitudes that engaged in the Crusades.

the most narrow parsimony, lest they should squander the riches that now became so necessary.

"The ever insatiable misers rejoiced in days so favorable to their covetousness; and casting their eyes upon the bushels of grain which they had hoarded long before, calculated each day the profits of their avarice. Thus some struggled with every misery and want, while others revelled in the hopes of fresh acquisitions. No sooner, however, had Christ inspired, as I have said, innumerable bodies to seek a voluntary exile, than the money which had been hoarded so long, was spread forth in a moment; and that which was horribly dear while all the world was in repose, was on a sudden sold for nothing, as soon as every one began to hasten toward their destined journey. Each man hurried to conclude his affairs, and, astonishing to relate, we then saw—so sudden was the diminution in the value of everything—we then saw seven sheep sold for five deniers. The dearth of grain, also, was instantly changed into abundance, and every one, occupied solely in amassing money for his journey, sold everything that he could, not according to its real worth, but according to the value set upon it by the buyer.

"In the mean while, the greater part of those who had not determined upon the journey, joked and laughed at those who were thus selling their goods for whatever they could get; and prophesied that their voyage would be miserable, and their return worse. Such was ever the language of one day; but the next—suddenly seized with the same desire as the rest—those who had been most forward to mock, abandoned everything for a few crowns, and set out with those whom they had laughed at but a day before. Who shall tell the children and the infirm, that, animated with the same spirit, hastened to the war? Who shall count the old men and the young maids who hurried forward to the fight?—not with the hope of aiding, but for the crown of martyrdom to be won amid the swords of the infidels. 'You, warriors,' they cried, 'you shall vanquish by the spear and brand; but let us, at least, conquer Christ by our sufferings.' At the same time, one might see a thousand things springing from the same spirit, which were both laughable and astonishing: the poor shoeing their oxen, as we shoe horses, and harnessing them to two-wheeled carts, in which they placed their scanty provisions and their young children; and proceeding onward, while the babes, at each town or castle they saw, demanded eagerly whether that was Jerusalem."*

§ 25.—The history and exploits of the vast multitudes who advanced like clouds of locusts, over Hungary, Thrace, and Asia, under the fanatical Peter the hermit, or the more disciplined troops that were led to the scene of conflict, by Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin, Raimond, and other leaders in successive expeditions, of the taking of Jerusalem in 1099, and the establishment of a Christian kingdom in that city, are too well known, and besides, are too re-

* Guibert of Nogent, see James, chap. iv.

Effects of the Crusades. Enriched the clergy. Introduced vast quantities of pretended relics

motely connected with the history of Romanism, to demand a place in the present work. Whatever were the motives which prompted Urban II. and other pontiffs to engage in these holy wars, whether of superstition, of policy, of avarice, or ambition, there can be no doubt that they tended vastly to increase the influence and authority of the Roman pontiffs; they also contributed, in various ways, to enrich the churches and monasteries with daily accessions of wealth, and to open new sources of opulence to all the sacerdotal orders. For they who assumed the cross disposed of their possessions, as if they were at the point of death, on account of the imminent and innumerable dangers they were to be exposed to in their passage to the holy land, and the opposition they were to encounter there upon their arrival. They, therefore, for the most part made their wills before their departure, and left a considerable part of their possessions to the priests and monks, in order to obtain, by these *pious* legacies, the favor and protection of the Deity. Nor were these the only pernicious effects of these *holy* expeditions. For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine, the priests and monks who had lived under their jurisdiction, and were more or less awed by their authority, threw off all restraint, lived the most lawless and profligate lives, and abandoning themselves to all sorts of licentiousness, committed the most flagitious and extravagant excesses without reluctance or remorse.

§ 26.—Another effect of the expeditions to the holy land, was the introduction of vast quantities of old bones of saints and other reputed relics. The inhabitants of the country were aware of the passion of the crusaders for these articles, and strove to make the gullibility of Christians as large a source of profit as possible to themselves. Upon their return from Palestine, after the taking of Jerusalem, they brought with them a vast number of pretended relics, which they bought at a high price from the cunning Greeks and Syrians, and which they considered as the noblest spoils that could crown their return from the holy land. These they committed to the custody of the clergy in the churches and monasteries, or ordered them to be most carefully preserved in their families from generation to generation.

Among others of these pretended relics, Matthew Paris relates that the Dominican friars brought a white stone in which they asserted Jesus Christ had left the impression of his feet. A handkerchief said to have been Christ's is worshipped at Bezancon, which was brought by the crusaders from the holy land; and the Genoese pretend to have received from Baldwin, second king of Jerusalem, the very dish in which the paschal lamb was served up to Christ and his disciples, at the last supper, though this famous dish excites the laughter of even father Labat in his travels in Spain and Italy.* The Greeks and Syrians, whose avarice and fraud

* Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie. Tom ii., p. 63.

were excessive, imposed upon the credulity of the simple and ignorant Latins, and often sold them fictitious relics at enormous prices. The sacred treasures of musty bones and rags which the French, German, and other European nations preserved formerly with so much care, and show "even in our times with such pious ostentation," says Mosheim (ii., 441), "are certainly not more ancient than these holy wars, but were then purchased at a high rate from these cunning traders in superstition." There are other incidents in the life of pope Urban, which are worthy of relation, as exhibiting the pomp and pride of the popes in this age of the world, but as they are chiefly connected with the history of Popery in England, the relation of them will be deferred to the next chapter, which is to be devoted to that department of our subject.

CHAPTER IV.

POPERY IN ENGLAND AFTER THE CONQUEST. ARCHBISHOPS ANSELM AND THOMAS A BECKET.

§ 27.—THE successors of Hildebrand, as we have seen, were by no means slow to copy the example left by him of tyrannizing over the sovereigns and governments of the earth. As several of the most remarkable instances of papal assumption, during the eleventh and two following centuries, occurred in Great Britain, we shall again invite the attention of the reader for a chapter or two to the history of affairs in that island. About the middle of the eleventh century, a most important revolution occurred in the government of England. William, duke of Normandy, afterwards surnamed the *Conqueror*, had long looked with a greedy eye upon England. Before undertaking its conquest, however, William thought it prudent to secure the powerful alliance of the Pope, who, says Hume, in his History of England, "had a mighty influence over the ancient barons, no less devout in their religious principles than valorous in their military enterprises. It was a sufficient motive to Alexander II., the reigning Pope, for embracing William's quarrel, that he *alone* had made an appeal to his tribunal, but there were other advantages which that pontiff foresaw must result from the conquest of England by the Normans. That kingdom maintained still a considerable independence in its ecclesiastical administration, and forming a world within itself, entirely separated from the rest of Europe, it had hitherto proved inaccessible to those exorbitant claims which supported the grandeur of the papacy. Alexander therefore hoped that the French and Norman barons, if successful

A ring with one of St. Peter's hairs. King William's resistance to priestly usurpation

in their enterprise, might import into that country a more devoted reverence for the Holy See. He, therefore, declared immediately in favor of William's claim, pronounced the legitimate king Harold a perjured usurper, denounced excommunication against him and his adherents, and the more to encourage the duke of Normandy in his enterprise, sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with *one of St. Peter's hairs* (!) in it."*

§ 28.—Upon the accession of Gregory VII., that imperious pontiff wrote to king William, requiring him to fulfil his promise of doing homage for the kingdom of England to the See of Rome, and to send him over that tribute which his predecessors had been accustomed to pay to the vicar of Christ (meaning *Peter's Pence*, a charitable donation of the Saxon princes, which the court of Rome construed into a badge of subjection acknowledged by the kingdom). William coolly replied, that the money should be remitted as formerly, but that he neither had promised to do homage to Rome, nor entertained any thoughts of imposing that servitude on his kingdom. Nay, he went so far as to refuse the English bishops liberty to attend a general council, which Gregory had summoned against his enemies. The following anecdote shows, in a still stronger light, the contempt of this prince for ecclesiastical dominion. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's maternal brother, whom he had created earl of Kent, and intrusted with a great share of power, had amassed immense riches; and, agreeable to the usual progress of human wishes, he began to regard his present eminence as only a step to future grandeur. He aspired at nothing less than the papacy, and had resolved to transmit all his wealth to Italy, and go thither in person, accompanied by several noblemen, whom he had persuaded to follow his example, in hopes of establishments under the future pope. William, from whom this object had been carefully concealed, was no sooner informed of it than he accused Odo of treason, and ordered him to be arrested; but nobody would lay hands on the bishop. The king himself was therefore obliged to seize him; and when Odo insisted, that, as a prelate, he was exempted from all temporal jurisdiction, William boldly replied, "*I arrest not the bishop, I arrest the earl!*" and accordingly sent him prisoner into Normandy, where he was detained in custody, during this whole reign, notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of Gregory.

The fact is, that the haughty Pope found it a more difficult matter to break down the proud spirit of these sturdy Normans, than of any of the monarchs whom he aimed to reduce to his sway In the following reign, William Rufus, the son and successor of the Conqueror, upon the death of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1089, refused for five years to appoint a successor, and kept the temporalities of the archbishopric in his own hands. During this interval the bishops and clergy tried various methods to prevail

* Hume's History of England, p. 42; one vol. edition London.

upon the king to appoint a primate, in vain. At one time, when they presented a petition, that he would give them leave to issue a form of prayer, to be used in all the churches of England—that God would move the heart of the king to choose an archbishop, he returned this careless answer:—"*You may pray as you please; I will do as I please.*"

§ 29.—At length, in a fit of sickness, the king consented to the election of Anselm, who soon after requested permission to go to Rome to receive his *pall*, or robe of office, from the Pope. Angry at this request, William summoned a council to consider of it, which, after due deliberation, returned for an answer, that "unless he yielded obedience to the king, and retracted his submission to pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or obey him as their primaet." On hearing this sentence, the archbishop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with great solemnity, *appealed to St. Peter*, whose vicar he declared he was determined to obey, rather than the king; and upon the bishops declining to report his words, he rushed into the council, and pronounced them before the king and his nobility.

This was the time of schism mentioned in a previous chapter, between the two rival popes, Urban and Clement, and king William hoping to conquer the obstinacy of Anselm by violence, had recourse to stratagem, and privately dispatched two of his chaplains to Rome, with an offer to Urban, of acknowledging him as Pope, if he would consent to the deposition of Anselm, and send a pall to the King, to be bestowed on whom he pleased. Urban, transported with joy at the accession of so powerful a prince, promised everything, and sent Walter, bishop of Alba, his legate, into England with a pall. The legate passed through Canterbury, without seeing the archbishop; and arriving at court, prevailed upon the King to issue a proclamation, commanding all his subjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful Pope. But no sooner had the King performed his engagements, and began to speak of proceeding to the deposition of the archbishop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the prelate who should be chosen in his room, than the legate changed his tone, and with a perfidiousness characteristic of Popery, declared plainly, that the Pope would not consent to the deposition of so great a saint, and so dutiful a son of the church of Rome: and moreover, that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anselm; which he accordingly performed, with great pomp, in the cathedral church of Canterbury.

§ 30.—During the absence of Anselm on a visit to Rome, the King seized all his estates and revenues, but the most extraordinary honors were paid to the Archbishop on his arrival in that city. The Pope addressed him in a long speech before the whole court, in which he lavished the highest encomiums upon him, called him the pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome to *kiss his toe.* He further promised to support him with all his power, in his disputes with the king of Eng-

Honors paid to Anselm at Rome by the Pope. Henry I. succeeds William Rufus.

land, to whom he wrote a letter, commanding him to restore all that he had taken from Anselm. While at Rome, the Archbishop was present at a papal council, held in 1098, in which it was declared by pope Urban, that the king of England deserved to be excommunicated for his conduct towards Anselm; but, at the request of that prelate, the execution of the sentence was postponed. At this council, the famous canon against lay-investitures was confirmed, denouncing excommunication against all laymen who presumed to grant investitures of any ecclesiastical benefices, and against all clergymen who accepted of such investitures, or did homage to temporal princes. The reason assigned for this canon by the Pope, as related by one who was present in the council, and heard his speech, is horrid and impious in the highest degree. "It is execrable," said his holiness, "to see those hands which *create God, the Creator of all things*—a power never granted to angels—and offer Him in sacrifice to the Father, for the redemption of the whole world—put between the hands of a prince, stained with blood, and polluted day and night with obscene contacts!" To which all the fathers of the council responded, "Amen!—Amen!" "At these transactions," said Eadmer, "I was present, and all these things I saw and heard."

§ 31.—William Rufus was succeeded on the throne of England in 1100 by Henry I., whose reign extended to the long period of five-and-thirty years. He was the youngest son of William the Conqueror, and got the reins of government into his hands by supplanting his elder brother Robert; but, having succeeded, he set himself with all his might to conciliate all those who were likely either to support or disturb him in the possession of the prize he had obtained, and especially the Pope and court of Rome. With a view to this, he recalled the archbishop of Canterbury from his exile; and accordingly Anselm landed at Dover on the 23d September, A. D. 1100. A few days after, he was introduced to the King, at Salisbury, who received him with every possible mark of affection and respect. But the cordiality was of short continuance. The King was far from being of an amiable character: Anselm, too, was the same unbending prelate still; and the instant he was called upon to do homage to the King for the temporalities of his See, he met it with *a flat refusal*, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct, at the same time declaring, that, if the King insisted on his pretensions to the homage of the clergy, he could hold no communion with him, and would immediately leave the kingdom. This threw the King into great perplexity; for, on the one hand, he was very reluctant to resign the right of bestowing ecclesiastical benefices, and of receiving the homage of the prelates, and, on the other, he dreaded the departure of the Archbishop, who might take part with his brother Robert, then in Normandy, and preparing to assert his right to the throne of England. In this critical conjuncture, the King proposed, or rather begged, a truce, till both parties could send ambassadors to

the Pope, to know his final determination; to which Anselm, at the solicitations of the nobility, consented.

§ 32.—In due time the messengers who had been despatched to Rome returned with letters from pope Pascal II., who had succeeded Urban, in which his holiness asserted in the strongest terms, that the church and all its revenues belonged to St. Peter and his successors; and that emperors, kings, and princes had no right to confer the investiture of benefices on the clergy, or to demand homage from them. This he endeavored to prove by several texts of Scripture, most grossly misapplied, and by other arguments, which are either blasphemous or nonsensical, of which take this specimen:—"How abominable is it for a son to beget his father, and a man to create his God? and are not priests your fathers and your Gods?* The effect of this curious piece of papal reasoning was not precisely such as his holiness anticipated. The King was rather irritated than convinced by it. For, the first time Anselm appeared at court, Henry, in a somewhat peremptory tone, required him to do homage to him for the revenues of his See, and to consecrate certain bishops and abbots, according to ancient custom, or to quit the kingdom; adding, "I will suffer no subject to live in my dominions who refuses to do me homage." The Archbishop boldly replied, "I am prohibited by the canons of the council of Rome to do what you require. I will not leave the kingdom, but stay in my province, and perform my duty; and *let me see who dares to do me an injury;*" on saying which, he abruptly quitted the court, and returned to Canterbury.

The King had suffered so much from the opposition and obstinacy of Anselm, that upon the death of that prelate, which took place in 1109, he was in no haste to appoint a successor, but kept the See of Canterbury vacant no less than five years. At length, after a warm contest between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, Radulphus, bishop of Rochester, was elected primate, 26th April, 1114. As all this had been done without consulting the Pope, the latter was not a little enraged, and wrote a long letter to the King and bishops, in which many texts of Scripture are quoted to prove that no business of any importance ought to be transacted in any nation of Europe without the knowledge and direction of the Pope; it also contained the strongest expressions of resentment against the King and prelates of England for their late neglect of the Holy See, with *threats of excommunication* if they did not behave in a more dutiful manner in time to come. The King was not a little offended with the insolent strain of this epistle, and sent the bishop of Exeter to Rome to expostulate with the Pope on that and some other subjects.

One of the most specious and successful arts employed by the court of Rome to subject the several churches of Europe to her dominion, was that of sending legates into all countries, with com-

* Eadmer, p. 61.

National councils. Cardinal Crema, the Pope's legate to England, detected in gross licentiousness.

missions to hold national councils, in the name and by the authority of the Pope. Hitherto the kings of England had successfully resisted this; but the policy of Rome was still upon the watch to seize the first favorable opportunity for renewing these attempts. Such an opportunity presented itself at this time, when the king of England was engaged in a dangerous war upon the continent, and stood in need of the favor of the court of Rome; and it was not neglected.

§ 33.—Honorius II., who then filled the papal chair, granted a commission, April 13th, 1126, to John de Crema, a cardinal priest, to be his legate in England and Scotland.* The Legate, in passing through France, waited on king Henry, then in Normandy, and at length, with much difficulty, obtained his permission to pass over into England, where he gratified his pride and avarice, with little regard to decency. Among other things, he presided in a national council at Westminster, on the 9th of September, in which both the archbishops, twenty bishops, forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude both of the clergy and people were present. In this council no fewer than seventeen canons were made, in the name and *by the authority of the Pope alone!* In these canons there was little new, except the edicts enjoining the strictest celibacy to the clergy of every order. At the conclusion of the council, the legate summoned the archbishops of Canterbury and York to repair immediately to Rome to plead the cause about the prerogatives of their respective Sees, which was depending before the Pope. To such a height had the usurpations of Rome, and the insolence of the papal legates, then arrived!

In the night which succeeded the conclusion of this council, an incident occurred which made a prodigious noise throughout England, and brought no little scandal on the Roman clergy. John de Crema, the Pope's legate, who had declaimed with great warmth in the council, the day before, in honor of immaculate chastity, and inveighed, with no less vehemence, against the horrid impurity of the married clergy, was actually detected in bed with a common prostitute! The detection was so undeniable, and soon became so public, that the Legate was both ashamed and afraid to show his face; but sneaked out of England with all possible secrecy and precipitation.† This incident gave a temporary triumph to the married clergy, who had probably been the detectors, and thus rendered the canon of the late council against them abortive and contemptible.

§ 34.—Yet so intent was the court of Rome on making good its

* Spelman, Concil., t. ii., pp. 32, 33.

† R. Hoveden, p. 274; H. Knyghton, col. 2382; Chron. Homingford, l. i., c. 48. J. Brompt., col. 1015; Hen. Hunt., l. vii., p. 219. It is remarkable, says Mr. Hume, referring to this disgraceful occurrence, that the last cited author, H. Huntingdon, who was a clergyman, makes an apology for using such freedom with the fathers of the church, but says that the fact was notorious, and ought not to be concealed. (Hist. of Eng., p. 68.)

Cruel measures against the married clergy. The Pope *gives* Ireland to king Henry

right to the character of anti-Christ by prohibiting marriage, that, in the following year (1127), a national synod was convened at Westminster, on the 17th May, in the canons of which the marriage of the clergy is styled "the plague of the church," and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their most zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of priests and canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be seized by the ministers of the church, and subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the bishop; and if any persons, great or small, attempted to deliver these unhappy victims out of the hands of the ministers of the church, they were to be excommunicated. Such were the violent and cruel measures necessary to be employed in order to compel the clergy to do violence to the laws of nature, and by breaking up all the domestic relations, to render them the more willing, subservient, and devoted tools of Rome.

In the year 1156, which was the year after the accession of Henry II. to the throne of England, that monarch inadvertently contributed to exalt the power and pretensions of the Pope, under which he and his successors so severely smarted, by accepting a grant of the kingdom of Ireland, from pope Adrian IV. Little was Henry aware of what he was doing in this instance; for the soliciting, or even accepting this grant, was a plain and virtual acknowledgment, that the Pope had a right to deprive the Irish princes of their dominions, and bestow them upon whom he pleased; and in the body of the grant, his holiness takes care to mention this acknowledgment. "For it is undeniable," says he, "*and your majesty acknowledges it*, that all islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shined, and which have received the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter, and the most holy Roman church."*

§ 35.—Shortly after this, at the instigation of the popish priests, king Henry was prevailed upon to disgrace his reign by the first instances of death for *heresy* that ever occurred in England from the landing of the emissaries of Rome on her shores. There existed, at that dark period, when "all the world wondered after the beast," a numerous body of the disciples of Christ, who took the New Testament for their guidance and direction in all the affairs of religion, rejecting doctrines and commandments of men. Their appeal was from the decisions of councils, and the authority of popes, cardinals, and prelates, to the law and the testimony—the words of Christ and his holy apostles. Egbert, a monkish writer of that age, speaking of them, says, that he had often disputed with these heretics, whom he terms *cathari*, or puritans; "a sort of people," he adds, "who are very pernicious to the catholic faith, which, like moths, they corrupt and destroy. They are armed," says he, "*with the words of Scripture which in any way seem to favor their*

* M. Paris, Hist. p. 67.

First instances of death for heresy in England.

sentiments, and with these they know how to defend their errors, and to oppose the catholic truth. They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, to the great danger of the church (of Rome); for their words eat like a canker, and, like a flying leprosy, run every way, infecting the precious members of Christ."*

These people went under different names in different countries; but their faith was substantially one and the same. They invariably protested against the corruptions of the church of Rome; such as the doctrine of purgatory, offering alms for the dead, and celebrating masses, the ringing of bells, and praying for the dead, &c., &c. Throughout the whole of the twelfth century, they were exposed to severe persecution; and in the year 1159, a company of them, amounting to thirty in number, partly men and partly women, all of whom spoke the German language, made their appearance in England, hoping, no doubt, to find an asylum here from the rage of bigotry and intolerance to which they were exposed in their own country. They appear to have constituted a small Christian church in their native place; and their pastor, whose name was Gerard, was a person of some learning and talent. They are said to have been the disciples of Arnold, of Brescia. Taking up their residence in the neighborhood of Oxford, they were not long in attracting notice, by the strangeness of their language, and the singularity of their religious practices. They were, consequently, taken up, and brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. When interrogated as to who and what they were, their leader answered in their name, that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. On a more particular inquiry, it was found that they denied several of the received doctrines of the Catholic church; such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints: and refusing to abandon these "damnable heresies," as the clergy were pleased to call them, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the civil magistrates to be punished. The King, at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red-hot iron on the forehead; to be whipped through the streets of Oxford; and, having their clothes cut short by the girdles, to be turned into the open fields; all persons being forbidden to afford them either shelter or relief, under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigor; and taking place in the depth of winter, they all perished through cold and famine! Would that, as these instances of popish persecution were the first that had ever been witnessed in England, they had also been the last! then we might be spared the task, painful though necessary, of tracing the blood-red footsteps of the Babylonish "mother of harlots" (Rev. xvii., 5), as she has reeled on in the career of ages over the fair fields of Britain, "drunk with the blood of the saints."

§ 36.—A disagreement occurred A. D. 1161, between king Henry

* Serm. I. in Bib. Patrum, p. 898, Cologne edit.

II. of England, and Louis VII. of France, which would probably have resulted in a war, had it not been for the mediation and authority of pope Alexander III., at that time residing in France, having been driven from Rome by the successful rival-pope, Victor IV. "That we may form an idea," says Hume, "of the authority possessed by the Roman pontiffs during those ages, it may be proper to observe, that the two kings had, the year before, met the Pope at the castle of Toici, on the Loire; and they gave him such marks of respect, that they both dismounted to receive him, and holding, each of them, one of the reins of his bridle, walked on foot by his side, and conducted him in that submissive manner into the castle."* In relating this circumstance, Cardinal Baronius is in ecstasies of delight; "a spectacle this," says he, "to God, to angels, and to men; and such as had never before been exhibited in the world!"†

§ 37.—The submissive homage of king Henry on this occasion did not prevent pope Alexander from engaging in a warm dispute with him soon after, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas a Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 1163, the hostilities commenced between the Sovereign and the Primate. Various instances of the most scandalous impunity of atrocious crimes, perpetrated by the clergy, had recently occurred. Some of these had reached the King's ears, before he returned to England, and he was greatly incensed at them. One abominable instance brought the King and Becket into direct collision on this point. A clergyman in Worcester had debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and, for her sake, had murdered the father. The King demanded that he should be brought before his tribunal, to answer for the horrible act. Becket resisted this, and gave him into the custody of his Bishop, that he might not be delivered to the King's justice. The King, who had seen repeated instances of the clergy permitting their offending brethren to escape with impunity, and as their crimes, instead of being repressed, became daily more flagrant, was the more intent upon accomplishing his important object. He justly imputed these atrocities to the exemption of the clergy from trial before the secular courts, while the ecclesiastical tribunals, to whom they were subject, had no power to inflict capital, or, indeed, any adequate punishment. With a view to redress this crying evil, king Henry summoned a great council at Westminster, which he opened with an excellent speech, in which he complained of the mischiefs occasioned by the thefts, robberies, and even murders committed by the clergy, who were suffered to go unpunished; and he concluded with requiring, that the Archbishop and the other bishops would consent that when a clergyman was degraded for any crime, he should be immediately delivered up to the civil power, that he might be punished for the

* History of England, reign of Henry II., An. 1161.
† Baronius's Annals, Ann. 1160.

Two Kings leading the Pope's Horse, at the Castle of Toici, in France

Becket swears to obey the Constitutions of Clarendon. The Pope absolves him from his oath.

crime, according to the laws of the land. Becket, at first, refused to comply with this reasonable demand, but in the following year he solemnly swore to obey the "Constitutions of Clarendon," by which all clergymen guilty of criminal offences were rendered amenable to the civil law.

As it was with manifest reluctance that Becket had sworn to obey those hated Constitutions, so he soon began to give indications of his repentance, by extraordinary acts of mortification, and by refraining from performing the sacred offices of his function. He dispatched a special messenger to the Pope, apprising him of what had been done. The latter sent him a bull, *releasing him from the obligation of his oath*, and enjoining him to resume the duties of his sacred office. But though this bull reconciled his conscience to the violation of his oath, it did not dispel his fears of the King's indignation—to avoid which, he determined to retire privately out of the kingdom. With this intention he went down to Romney, accompanied by two of his friends, and there embarked for France; but being twice put back by contrary winds, he landed, and returned to Canterbury. About the same time the King's officers came to that city with orders to seize his possessions and revenues; but on his showing himself, they retired, without executing their orders. Conscious that he had transgressed those laws which he had sworn to observe, by attempting to leave the kingdom without permission, he waited upon the King at Woodstock, who received him without any other expression of displeasure than merely asking him if he had left England because he thought it too little to contain them both.

§ 38.—Soon after this interview, fresh misunderstandings arose between the King and the Primate, who publicly protected the clergy from those punishments which their crimes deserved, and flatly refused to obey a summons to attend the King's court. Henry was so much enraged at these daring insults on the laws and the royal authority, that he determined to call him to account before his peers, in a parliament which he summoned to meet at Northampton, on the 17th October, 1164. This parliament was unusually full, the whole nation being now deeply interested in the issue of this contest between the crown and the mitre. On the first day, the King in person accused the Archbishop of contumacy, in refusing to attend his court when he was summoned; against which accusation, having made only a very weak defence, he was unanimously found guilty by the bishops, as well as by the temporal barons, and all his goods and chattels were declared to be forfeited. Many of the bishops waited upon Becket, and earnestly entreated him to resign his office, assuring him that if he did not he would be tried for perjury and high treason. Becket, however, was made of sterner stuff—he reproached them bitterly for deserting him in his contest—charged them not to presume to sit in judgment upon their Primate—and declared, that though he should be burnt alive, he would not abandon his station, nor forsake his flock! Having celebrated

mass, he set out from his residence, dressed in his pontifical robes, with a consecrated host in one hand; and when he approached the hall where the King and parliament sat, he took the cross from the bearer, and carried it in the other hand. When the King was informed of the posture in which Becket was advancing, he retired hastily into an inner room, commanding all the bishops and barons to follow him. Here he complained of the insufferable annoyance of Becket; and was answered by the barons, "That he had always been a vain and obstinate man, and ought never to have been raised to so high a station; that he had been guilty of high treason, both against the King and the kingdom; and they demanded that he should be immediately punished as a traitor." The clamors of the barons against Becket became so loud and vehement, that the archbishop of York, fearing they would proceed to acts of violence, hastily retired, that he might not be a spectator of the tragical scene. The bishop of Exeter went into the great hall, where the Primate sat almost alone, and, falling at his feet, conjured him to take pity on himself and on his brethren, and preserve them all from destruction, by complying with the king's will. But, with a stern countenance, he commanded them to begone.

§ 39.—The bishops, apprehensive of incurring the indignation of the Pope if they proceeded to sit in judgment on their Primate, and of the King and barons if they refused, begged that they might be allowed to hold a private consultation, which was granted. After deliberating some time, they agreed to renounce all subjection to Becket as their Primate; to prosecute him for perjury before the Pope; and, if possible, to procure his deposition. This resolution they reported to the King and barons, who, not knowing that Becket had already obtained a bull from the Pope, absolving him from his oath, too rashly gave their consent; and the bishops went into the hall in a body, and intimated their resolutions to the Archbishop. The latter not deigning to give them any answer, except "I hear," a profound silence ensued. In the mean time the King and barons came to a resolution, that if the Primate did not give in his accounts without delay, they would declare him guilty of perjury and treason, and deputed certain barons to communicate this resolution. The earl of Leicester, who was at the head of these barons, addressing himself to Becket, said, "The King commands you to come immediately, and give in your accounts, or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" exclaimed Becket, starting on his feet, "No! my son, hear me first. I was given to the church free, and discharged from all claims when I was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore I never will render any account. Besides, my son, neither law nor reason permits sons to judge their father. I decline the jurisdiction of the King and barons, and appeal to God, and my lord the Pope, by whom alone I am to be judged. For you, my brethren and fellow bishops, I summon you to appear before the Pope, to be judged by him for having obeyed man rather than God. I put myself, the church of

Becket's violent death. Pretended miracles at his shrine.

Canterbury, and all that belongs to it, under the protection of God and the Pope; and under their protection I depart hence." Having said this, he walked out of the hall in great state, leaving the spectators so much disconcerted by his boldness, that not an individual had the courage to stop him.

§ 40.—The tragical result of this controversy is well known. The haughty but courageous Primate was assassinated December 29th, 1171, by four gentlemen of king Henry's court, in consequence of a passionate exclamation they had heard drop from the lips of their royal master, and was soon after his death canonized as a saint of the very highest rank. Endless were the panegyrics pronounced on his virtues; and the miracles wrought by his relics, according to the popish historians, were more numerous, more nonsensical, and more impudently attested, than those which ever filled the legend of any saint or martyr. His shrine not only restored dead men to life; it also restored cows, dogs, and horses. Presents were sent, and pilgrimages performed, from all parts of Christendom, in order to obtain his intercession with Heaven: and it was computed that, in one year, above a hundred thousand pilgrims arrived at Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.*

The following quaint verse in relation to the throngs of pilgrims that came to pay their devotions at the shrine of St. Thomas a Becket, in Canterbury Cathedral, is from Chaucer, one of the most ancient of our English poets, who was born about a century and a half after the death and canonization of the saint.

> "And specially from every shire's end
> Of Engle-land to Canterbury they wend,
> The holy blissful martyr for to seek,
> That them hath holpen when that they were sick."

CHAPTER V.

POPERY IN ENGLAND CONTINUED—POPE INNOCENT AND KING JOHN.

§ 41.—The most remarkable exhibition of priestly tyranny and successful papal arrogance that has ever occurred in Great Britain, and perhaps in the world, was that which signalized the pontificate of Innocent III., a pope that carried out the policy of Hildebrand to an unprecedented extent in his treatment of the kingdom of England, and its weak and contemptible king John, in the early part of the thirteenth century. It is justly remarked by the his-

* Russell's Modern Europe, i., 168.

torian of the middle ages, that "the pontificate of Innocent III. may be regarded as the meridian or noonday of papal usurpation." In each of the three leading objects which Rome had pursued—namely, independent sovereignty, supremacy over the Christian church, and control over the princes of the earth—it was the fortune of this pontiff to conquer. The maxims of Gregory VII. were now matured by more than a hundred years, and the right of trampling upon the necks of kings had been received, at least among churchmen, as an inherent attribute of the papacy. "As the sun and the moon are placed in the firmament," says the pontiff, "the greater as the light of the day, and the lesser of the night; thus are there two powers in the church—the pontifical, which, as having the charge of souls, is the greater; and the royal, which is the less, and to which the bodies of men only are intrusted."* Intoxicated with these conceptions, the result of successful ambition, he thought no quarrel of princes beyond the sphere of his jurisdiction. On every side the thunders of Rome broke over the heads of princes. At his pleasure, he would place a kingdom under an interdict, and instantly public worship is suspended, and the dead lie unburied. If the clergy complain to him that the people, cut off from the offices of religion, refuse to pay tithes, and go to hear the sectaries, he consents that divine service shall be performed with closed doors, but denies them the rites of sepulture.†

§ 42.—Pope Innocent commenced his course of lordly arrogance towards England almost as soon as he ascended the papal throne, and during the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, the predecessor of John. In order to counteract the influence of the monks of Canterbury in the election of the primates, and to place future elections more under the royal influence, king Richard authorized the erection of an episcopal palace at Lambeth, intending to remove the place of election in future from Canterbury to that place. The suspicious monks, jealous of the exclusive right which they had claimed of electing the archbishops of Canterbury, secretly dispatched a messenger to pope Innocent at Rome, from whom they obtained a bull, addressed to the archbishop Hubert, who was himself in favor of the change, commanding him, within thirty days, to demolish the works at Lambeth, and threatening him with suspension from his office in case of disobedience; for, says the insolent Pope, "it is not fit that any man should have any authority who does not revere and obey the apostolic See."‡

The King was enraged at the conduct of the monks in applying to Rome without his permission, and the Archbishop dispatched his agents to Rome, who were admitted to an audience of the Pope on one day, and the monks of Canterbury were permitted to reply on the next. The result of these proceedings was, that

* Vita Innocentii III., St. Marc., tom. v., p. 325. This life of pope Innocent was written by a contemporary.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. vii.

‡ Gervas. Chron., col. 1602, &c.

The Pope orders the works of Lambeth Palace to be demolished. The King obliged to obey.

the Pope confirmed his former sentence against the Archbishop, which he intimated to him by a bull, dated November 20th, threatening him with the highest censure of the church, if he did not immediately demolish the works at Lambeth. His Holiness, at the same time, directed another bull to the King, commanding him, in a magisterial tone, to see the sentence of the apostolic See executed; and telling him further, that if he presumed to oppose its execution, he would soon convince him, by the severity of his punishment, how hard it was "to kick against the pricks!" In another bull, which he addressed to the King, dictated, if possible, in a still higher strain, he commands him immediately to restore to the monks of Canterbury all their possessions; for "he would not endure the least contempt of himself, *or of God, whose place he held upon earth; but would punish, without delay, and without respect of persons, every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the whole world that he was determined to act* IN A ROYAL MANNER."* These bulls had the desired effect; the King and the Archbishop, terrified at the thunders of Rome, submitted to the commands of the Pope, and the pertinacious monks had the satisfaction of seeing the obnoxious buildings razed to the foundation in the months of January and February, 1199, a short time before the death of king Richard, which took place on the 6th of April, of the same year.

§ 43.—In the course of the following century, however, considerable progress was made in the erection of the venerable and remarkable pile of buildings, so well known to visitors in London as Lambeth Palace, and which possesses such painful interest to the protestant descendants of British martyrs, on account of that single melancholy room called Lollard's Tower, where many of the noblest of their protestant forefathers, victims of popish oppression and cruelty, breathed their sighs to the cold stone walls and iron-barred doors, sent up their prayers to the God of the oppressed; held sweet communion with that Saviour for whose cause they were languishing in chains, and in many instances left behind them the now time-worn memorials of their suffering, in rude inscriptions upon its walls.

Lambeth Palace exhibits specimens of the architecture of different ages. The venerable apartment called the Chapel, and the crypt beneath, were probably built by archbishop Boniface, as early as 1262. It is seventy-five feet in length, twenty-five in breadth, and thirty feet in height, and is divided in the middle by a richly ornamented screen. There is another magnificent and more spacious apartment built at a later period, called the Great Hall. It stands on the right of the principal court-yard, and is built of fine red brick, the walls being supported by stone buttresses, and also coped with stone, and surmounted by large balls or orbs. The length of this noble room is ninety-three feet, its breadth thirty-eight, and its height fifty. The roof, which is of oak and elaborately

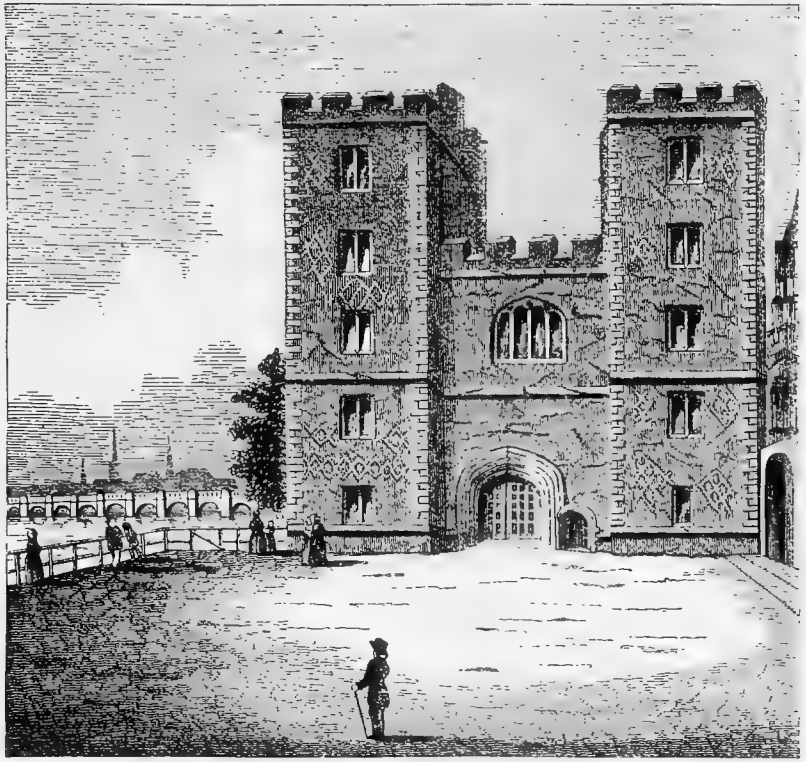
* Gervas. Chron., col. 1616–1624.

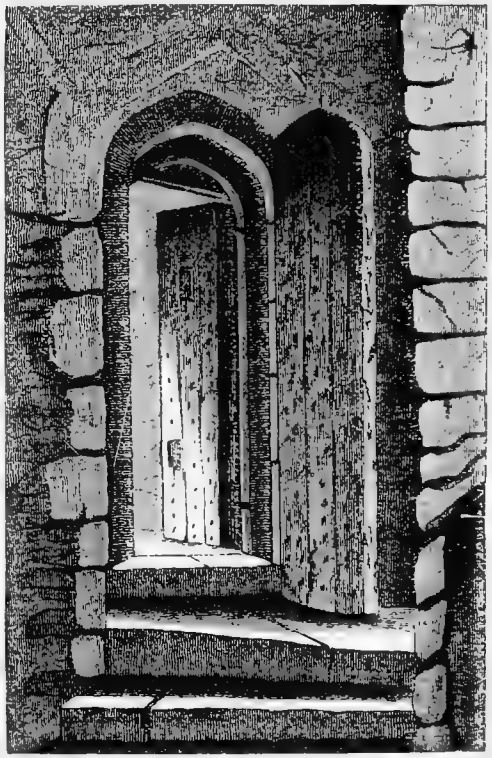
carved, is particularly splendid and imposing. The Gate-house, which forms the principal entry to the Palace, and is the prominent object in the engraving, was erected by Cardinal Morton, about the year 1490, and is a very beautiful and magnificent structure. It consists of two lofty towers, from the summits of which is one of the finest views in the neighborhood of the metropolis.

But of all the parts of this venerable and imposing pile, there is a single contracted room, cold, dark and dreary, twelve feet by nine, with two holes called windows, fourteen inches by seven, measured on the outside, but enlarging, by a funnel-shaped cavity through thick, stone walls, to about double the size on the inside, which possesses a deeper and more tender interest than any, or than all the rest. I need not add, it is Lollard's Tower. This gloomy apartment was erected by Archbishop Chichely, in the early part of the fifteenth century, as a place of confinement for the unhappy heretics from whom it derives its name. Under the tower is an apartment of somewhat singular appearance, called the *post room*, from a large post in the middle of it, by which its flat roof is partly supported. The prison in which the poor Lollards were confined is at the top of the tower, and is reached by a very narrow winding staircase. Its single doorway, which is so narrow as only to admit one person at a time, is strongly barricaded by both an outer and an inner door of oak, each three inches and a half thick, and thickly studded with iron. Both the walls and roof of the chamber are lined with oaken planks an inch and a half thick; and eight large iron rings still remain fastened to the wood, the melancholy memorials of the barbarous popish tyranny whose victims formerly pined in this dismal prison-house. Many names, and fragments of sentences, are rudely cut out on various parts of the walls.

§ 44.—To return to the thread of our history. A few years after the accession of king John the brother of Richard, the violent dispute between him and pope Innocent commenced, which has rendered so memorable the history of the reign of that weak and contemptible sovereign. The occasion of it was as follows. After the death of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury in 1205, a contest arose between two individuals who each claimed to have been elected to that dignity by the monks. The bishops who had not been consulted in either, formed a third party, and dispatched their agents to Rome to protest against both elections. Pope Innocent, to whom nothing could be more grateful than these clashing claims and appeals, decided against both elections, declared the See of Canterbury vacant, and resolved, like one of his predecessors, six centuries before (see above, page 135), to raise a creature of his own to the dignity of primate of England.

To give this assumption at least a semblance of regularity, however slight, the Pope sent for some monks of Canterbury, fourteen in number, who happened at that time to be in Rome as agents for the bishop of Norwich, one of the rejected competitors, and





Lambeth Palace, and Doorway in the Lollard's Tower

Langton, by the Pope's orders, appointed archbishop of Canterbury. King John's useless anger

commanded them, under penalty of excommunication, immediately to choose for their archbishop, cardinal Stephen Langton. The monks in vain protested that they were incompetent to elect an archbishop without the consent of the whole convent, and that they had been entrusted with no such authority; but the Pope hastily and sternly replied that *his* authority was sufficient to supply all defects. They urged, too, that before leaving England, they had solemnly sworn to the King that they would acknowledge no person for primate except the bishop of Norwich, who was a personal favorite of the sovereign. This obstacle, however, was soon removed by the plenitude of papal authority, which had long since assumed the blasphemous power of annulling the laws of God, and sanctioning the most deliberate perjury by absolving from the obligation of oaths. Having, therefore, removed this obstacle by absolving them from their solemn oath to king John, the monks at length overcome by the menaces and authority of the Pope, proceeded, with the single exception of Elias de Brantefield, to comply with his demands and elected Langton archbishop, who was consecrated by the Pope himself on the 37th of June, 1207.

§ 45.—Pope Innocent, well aware that this flagrant usurpation would be highly resented by the court of England, wrote to John a mollifying letter, accompanied by four golden rings set with precious stones, and endeavored to enhance the value of the present by informing him of the mysteries implied in it. Their round *form*, he said, shadowed forth eternity without beginning or end, and should teach him to aspire from temporal to eternal things; their *number*, four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind; their *matter*, gold, the most precious of metals signified wisdom. The blue color of the sapphire, represented Faith; the green of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendor of the topaz, good works.* King John, who, like most weak minds, was fond both of trinkets and flattery, was much gratified by this papal present, but his satisfaction only continued during his ignorance of the means by which the artful Pope had sought to deprive him of what he regarded as one of the most valuable prerogatives of his crown. A few days after the reception of the present, the Pope's bull arrived announcing the election and consecration of cardinal Langton, which threw the King into a violent rage against both the Pope and the monks of Canterbury. As these last were most within his reach, they felt the first effects of his indignation. He dispatched two officers, with a company of armed men, to Canterbury, who took possession of the convent of the Holy Trinity, banished the monks out of the kingdom, and seized all their estate.

John next wrote a spirited and angry letter to the Pope, in which he accused him of injustice and presumption, in raising a stranger to the highest dignity in the kingdom, without his knowledge. He reproached the Pope and court of Rome with ingrati-

* Rymer, vol. i., p. 139. Matth. Paris, p. 155.

tude, in behaving as they had done towards a country from which they derived more money than from all the other kingdoms on this side the Alps. He declared that he was determined to sacrifice his life in defence of the rights of his crown; and that, if his Holiness did not immediately repair the injury he had done him, he would break off all communication with Rome. This letter, though written in a strain very becoming a king of England, was quite intolerable to the pride of the haughty pontiff, who had been long accustomed to trample on the majesty of kings. Innocent was not tardy in returning an answer, in which, after many expressions of displeasure and resentment, he plainly tells the King, that if he persisted in this dispute, he would plunge himself into inextricable difficulties, and at length be crushed by him, before whom every knee must bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth.*

§ 46.—These letters might be regarded in the light of a formal declaration of war between the Pope and the king of England; but the contest was very unequal. The former had now attained that extravagant height of power which made the greatest monarchs tremble upon their thrones; and the latter had sunk very low in both his reputation and authority, having before this time lost his foreign dominions by his indolence, and the esteem and affection of his subjects at home by his follies and his crimes. Indeed, the Pope was not ignorant of the advantage he possessed in the contest; and consequently, without delay, he laid all the dominions of king John under an *interdict;* and this sentence was published in England, at the Pope's command, March 23d, A. D. 1208, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, though the King endeavored to deter them from it by the most dreadful threats.

The consequences of this terrific sentence are thus described by Mr. Hume: "The execution," says he, "was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was, of a sudden, deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with closed doors, and none but the priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except the communion to the dying; the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not attended with prayers or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the

* Matt. Paris, pp. 156, 157.

churchyard, and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent, or times of the highest penance; were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards, and give any decent attention to their apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation."*

When this interdict had continued about two years, the Pope proceeded a step further, and pronounced the awful sentence of *excommunication* against king John, which he commanded the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, his most obsequious tools, to publish in England. These prelates, who then resided on the continent, sent copies of the sentence, and of the Pope's commands to publish it in their churches, to the bishops and clergy who remained in England. But such was their dread of the royal indignation, that none of them had the courage to execute these commands. Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, one of the King's judges, when sitting on the bench in the Exchequer, at Westminster, declared to the other judges, that the King was excommunicated, and that he did not think it lawful for him to act any longer in his name; for which declaration he was thrown into prison, where he soon died.†

§ 47.—In the year 1211, the Pope sent two legates into England, whose names were Pandulph and Durand. These legates were admitted to an audience, at a parliament which was held at Northampton, when a most violent altercation took place between them and the King. Pandulph plainly told the King, even in the face of his parliament, that he was bound to obey the Pope in temporals as well as in spirituals! and when John refused to submit to the will of his Holiness without reserve, the Legate, with shameless effrontery, published the sentence of excommunication against him, with a loud voice, *absolving all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and declared that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England.*‡ This was certainly carrying clerical insolence to the height of extravagance. But in those unhappy times the meanest agents of the Pope insulted the greatest princes with impunity.

On the return of the legates to Rome, in the following year, pope Innocent solemnly ratified all their proceedings against the king of England; and finding that all the success which he expected from them had not ensued, he proceeded to more violent measures; he pronounced with great solemnity a sentence of *deposition* against king John, and of *excommunication against all who should obey him, or have any connection with him.*§ When these sentences were known in England, they began to excite the super-

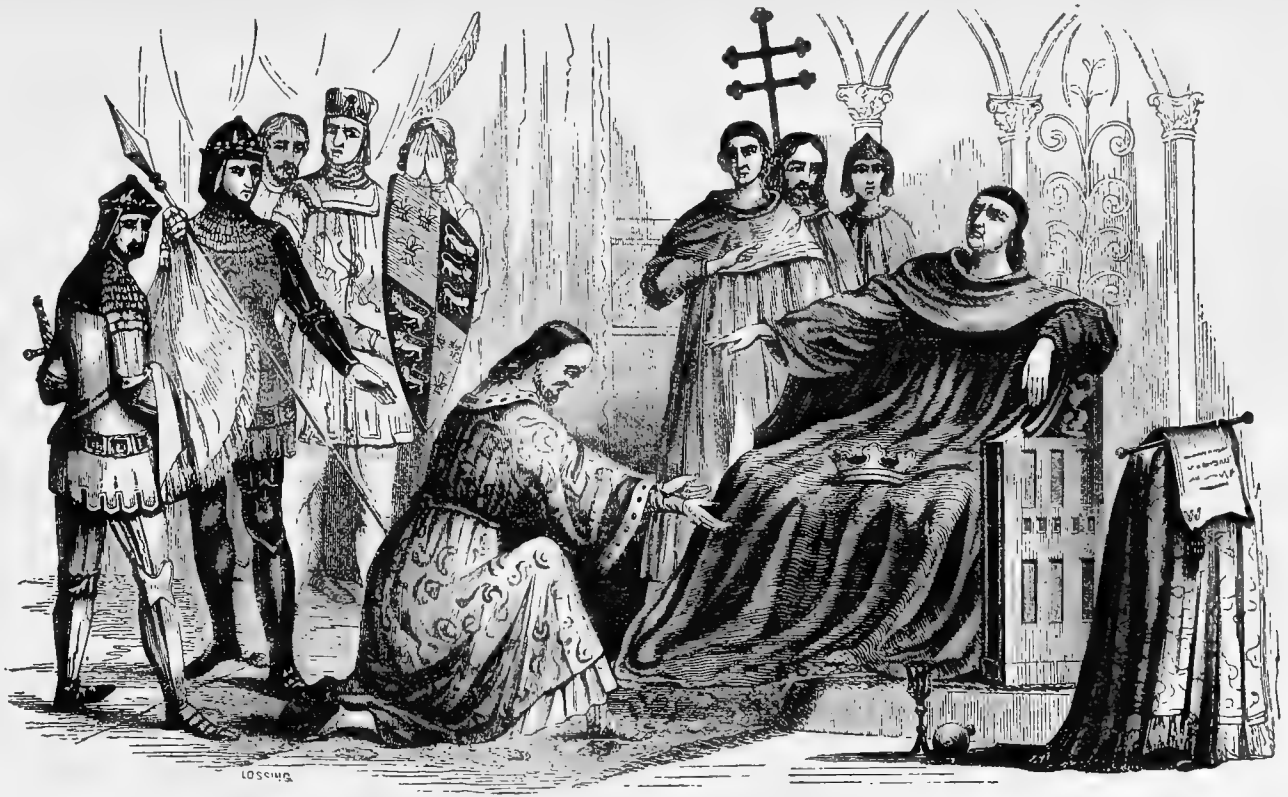
* Hume's Hist. of England, p. 110.
† Matt. Paris, pp. 158, 159.
‡ Annal. Monast. Burton, apud Rerum Anglican. Script., t. i., pp. 165, 166.
§ Matt. Paris, p. 161.

stitious fears of some of the barons, who were at the same time much dissatisfied with the prince, for his imprudent, illegal, and oppressive government. John, having received intimations of this from various quarters, became not a little alarmed, and began to stagger in his resolution.

§ 48.—To render the sentence of deposition against king John effectual, the Pope appointed Philip, king of France, to put it in execution, and promised him *the pardon of all his sins*, and the kingdom of England for his reward—a temptation which that prince had neither the wisdom nor virtue to resist. Blinded by his ambition, he commanded a large army to assemble at Rouen, and prepared a fleet of seventeen hundred vessels, to convey them to England. All these preparations, however, only served to promote the purposes of the court of Rome; for as soon as John was sufficiently intimidated by his dread of the French army, and his suspicions of his own subjects, to induce him to make an ignominious surrender of his crown and kingdom to the Pope, the French king was obliged to abandon his enterprise against England, to avoid the thunders of the church, the dreadful effects of which he had before his eyes.

The trembling John now implored the protection of Rome, whatever submission it might cost. The Legate assured him that the supreme pontiff would require nothing which was not absolutely necessary either to the honor of the church or the safety of the King himself. He proposed, therefore, to withdraw the excommunication immediately, on condition of John's promising to receive Langton as archbishop, whose promotion to the primacy had been the occasion of all this furious contest, with all the bishops and clergy who acknowledged him, and to indemnify them for all the damage they had sustained. To all this the king of England consented; but the consummation of ignominy was yet to come. Under the specious pretext of securing England from attacks by Philip, it was suggested to John to surrender his kingdoms to the Pope, as to a lord-paramount—to swear fealty to him—to receive the British islands back as fiefs of the holy See; and to pay an annual tribute for them of 700 marks of silver for England, and 300 for Ireland. On the 12th of May, 1213, John performed all the degrading ceremonials of resignation, homage and fealty. On his knees he *humbly* offered his kingdoms to the Pope, and put them into the hands of the Legate, Pandulph, who retained them for five days. He offered his tribute, which the Legate threw down and trampled on, but afterwards condescended to gather up again!

In the engraving, which is a representation of this scene, the humbled monarch is seen on his knees before the Pope's legate, who has just received the crown from the hands of the King, and is trampling upon the gold, with the gift of which John accompanied his submission. Some of the barons of England are looking on, grieved and indignant alike at the degradation of their weak-minded sovereign, and the haughty and contemptuous insolence of the triumphant priest. (*See Engraving.*)



King John delivering up his Crown to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate.

Deed of surrender of England to the Pope. Haughty insolence of the papal legate.

The nuncio immediately went to France, to announce to Philip, that he must no longer molest a prince who was a penitent son and a faithful vassal of the Holy See, nor presume to molest a kingdom which was now part of the patrimony of St. Peter.

§ 49.—The language of the deed of surrender which king John delivered to Pandulph, and which had doubtless been dictated to him by the haughty legate, is so remarkable, that I shall subjoin a copy of it, as a monument of the unbounded arrogance and tyranny of the apostate church of Rome, and of the heads of that false church, the pretended successors of St. Peter, and disciples of him who said, "MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD." The following are the words of this document:—"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England, &c., FREELY GRANT UNTO GOD, AND THE HOLY APOSTLES, PETER AND PAUL, AND TO THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, OUR MOTHER, AND UNTO THE LORD, POPE INNOCENT, AND TO HIS CATHOLIC SUCCESSORS, THE WHOLE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, AND THE WHOLE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, with all the rights and all the appurtenances of the same, *for the remission of our sins*, and of all our generation, both for the living and the dead, that from this time forward we may receive and hold them of him, and of the Roman church, as second after him, &c. We have sworn, and do swear, unto the said lord, pope Innocent, and to his catholic successors, and to the Roman church, a liege homage, in the presence of Pandulphus. If we can be in the presence of the lord pope, we will do the same; and to this we oblige our heirs and successors for ever, &c. And for the sign of this our perpetual obligation and concession, we will and ordain, that out of our proper and especial revenues from the said kingdoms, for all our service and custom which we ought to render, the Roman church receive a thousand marks sterling yearly, without diminution of St. Peter's-pence; that is, five hundred marks at the feast of St. Michael, and five hundred at Easter, &c. And IF WE, OR ANY OF OUR SUCCESSORS, PRESUME TO ATTEMPT AGAINST THESE THINGS, LET HIM FORFEIT HIS RIGHT TO THE KINGDOM, &c."

Matthew Paris tells us, that, on delivering this letter, the King placed a sum of money at the feet of Pandulph, the Pope's legate, which the former *trode upon with his foot, in token of the subjection of the country to the Roman See.* "Pandulphus pecuniam, quam in arcem subjectionis rex contulerat, sub pede suo conculcavit archiepiscopo dolente et reclamante."

§ 50.—King John having made this ignoble submission to the will of pope Innocent, he was soon after absolved from the sentence of excommunication by the new primate, Langton, who immediately came to England, and took possession of his See of Canterbury, and after a short interval, upon the King's sending to Innocent a large sum of money, and renewing his promise of obedience, his Holiness gave a commission to his legate in England to remove the interdict, which was accordingly done in St. Paul's cathedral, on the 29th of June, 1214.

Henceforward king John conducted himself as an obedient vas-

sal of HIS SOVEREIGN LORD THE POPE, who, in return, condescended, in all the future quarrels of John with his barons, to spread over the humbled monarch the shield of his apostolic protection. The violent disputes that arose, after John's submission to the Pope, between him and the barons of England, are familiar to every reader of English history. In the council of Lateran, in 1215, pope Innocent hurled the thunders of excommunication at these sturdy barons, and in a letter written to certain ecclesiastics soon after, he alludes to this event in the following pompous language:—"We will have you to know that in the general council we have excommunicated and anathematized, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in the name of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and in our own name, the barons of England, with their partizans and abettors, for persecuting John, the illustrious king of England, who *has taken the cross*, and is a VASSAL OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, and for striving to deprive him of A KINGDOM THAT IS KNOWN TO BELONG TO THE ROMAN CHURCH."* These barons, however, were less terrified by the spiritual thunders of Innocent than their weak-minded King had been, and, as is well known, pursued their object with a steady aim, till they finally extorted from the King that charter of English liberty, Magna Charta.

Before dismissing the subject of the present chapter, I will remind the reader that one of the proudest boasts of Popery is, that it is *unchangeable*. Hence, there can be no possible doubt that the principles of Rome are the same now as they were in the days of Innocent and John, those days of darkness, when she reigned Despot of the World; and the only reason why her sovereign pontiffs do not now renew their claim to reign as universal monarchs with all the nations at their feet, is that they are destitute of the power to enforce such claims. Should the present imbecile and contemptible occupant† of the throne of Hildebrand only breathe the thought of ever renewing such pretensions, he would be pointed at with scorn, as the laughing-stock of the world. Thanks to God, the dark ages are passed! Popery has still the same mind and heart, but it is quaking with the decrepitude of age. The strong men have bowed themselves, the keepers of the house are trembling. Its power to tyrannize is gone!—gone, if the protestant world is faithful, never, never to return!

* Matthew Paris, p. 192.

† Pope Gregory XVI.—A. D. 1845.

CHAPTER VI.

MORE INSTANCES OF PAPAL DESPOTISM. POPES ADRIAN IV., ALEXANDER III., AND INNOCENT III.

§ 51.—The extravagant pretensions of the pontiffs of this age to the supreme dominion of the world, and to an authority over all emperors, kings, and governments, were maintained without interruption by the whole line of popes, from Hildebrand to Boniface VIII., who died in 1303, that is, from the latter part of the eleventh through all the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They inculcated and acted upon that pernicious and extravagant maxim, "THAT THE BISHOP OF ROME IS THE SUPREME LORD OF THE UNIVERSE, AND THAT NEITHER PRINCES NOR BISHOPS, CIVIL GOVERNORS NOR ECCLESIASTICAL RULERS, HAVE ANY LAWFUL POWER IN CHURCH AND STATE BUT WHAT THEY DERIVE FROM HIM."

We have already shown in the history of Popery in England, as given in the last two chapters, a specimen of the manner in which two of the most famous of the successors of Hildebrand claimed and exercised this monstrous power in the affairs of our father land. We shall now proceed to relate the acts of the most celebrated of these spiritual tyrants, during this noontide of their power in other parts of the world.

After the death of pope Urban, the originator of the crusades, which took place in 1098, there was no pontiff of much importance in history, till the accession of pope Adrian IV., by birth an Englishman, which occurred in 1154. During his pontificate the ancient contest between the Pope and the empire was renewed. Frederic I., surnamed *Barbarossa*, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in Italy; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. Adrian perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigor and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the Emperor at Rome, in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon Frederic's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his Holiness. After some objection, Frederic submitted to lead the Pope's white mule, though with an ill grace, for, mistaking the stirrup, he apologised by remarking that he had never learned the trade of a groom. For many years this act of constrained humiliation galled the proud spirit of the Emperor, and led him to seize every opportunity in his power to humble the overgrown power of the popes.

Submission of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa to pope Alexander III.

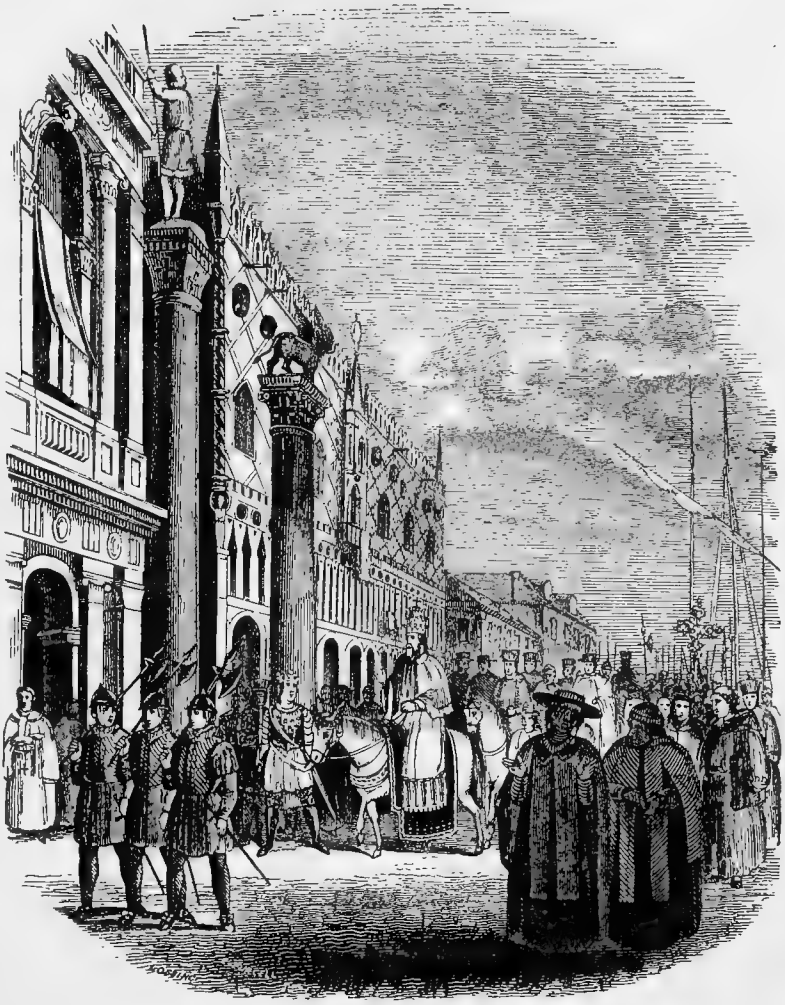
§ 52.—Adrian died in 1159, and the next pope acknowledged by the Romish annalists, was Alexander III., though he had two or three rivals, who successively disputed with him the papal throne, and were sustained by the emperor Frederic and others, and succeeded for a time in chasing him from Rome. In 1167, Alexander held a council at Rome, in which he solemnly *deposed the Emperor* (whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas and execrations), *dissolved the oath of allegiance* which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But soon after this audacious proceeding, the Emperor made himself master of Rome, upon which the insolent pontiff fled to Benevento. Ten years later, the Emperor, dejected at the difficulties which encompassed him, was glad most humbly to conclude a treaty of peace with pope Alexander at Venice, and a truce with the rest of his enemies. The account given by Voltaire, and confirmed by other historians, of this reconciliation, is as follows:—"Every point being settled, the Emperor goes to Venice. The doge of Venice carries him in his gondola to St. Mark's. The Pope waits for him at the gate with the *Tiara* upon his head. The Emperor, Barbarossa, having laid aside his mantle, leads him to the chair with a beadle's staff in his hand. The Pope preaches in Latin, which Frederic does not understand. After sermon, the Emperor goes and *kisses the Pope's feet*, receives the communion from him, and coming from church leads the Pope's white mule through St. Mark's Square."* The accompanying engraving is an accurate representation of this occurrence, and of St. Mark's Square, Venice, where it transpired.

Besides thus humbling the pride of monarchs, not sufficiently obsequious to the Holy See, Alexander taught that the popes have power to *set up* kings, as well as to pull them down, and gave a practical illustration of the same shortly after the submission of the emperor Frederic, by conferring, in the year 1179, the title of King, upon Adolphus I., duke of Portugal, who had rendered his province tributary to the Roman See under pope Lucius II.†

§ 53.—But the Pope that carried out the doctrines of Hildebrand most fully in his treatment of earthly sovereigns and worldly governments, was Innocent III., whom we have already seen tyrannizing over the kingdom of England, and by his haughty legate

* Voltaire's Annals of the Empire, An. 1177. I do not find sufficient authority for what is related by some historical writers, that on this occasion, while the Emperor kissed the foot of the haughty pontiff, the latter trod upon the neck of the suppliant monarch, at the same time repeating the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." The humiliation of the Emperor was certainly sufficiently abject without this (probably) apocryphal addition. I do not assert that such an event never occurred, but as I have adopted in the present work the principle of omitting a probable fact rather than inserting a doubtful relation, I have chosen to omit this incident in the text.

† Baronius, Annal., An. 1179, Epist. Innocentii III., Epist. xlix.



The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa leading the Pope's Mule through St. Mark's Square, Venice

Instances of the despotism of pope Innocent III. towards various sovereigns.

literally trampling under foot the crown of its contemptible sovereign John. Innocent ascended the papal throne in the year 1198, and continued to claim and to exercise universal sovereignty for the first sixteen years of the thirteenth century. The very day after his consecration, he compelled the prefect of the city of Rome and other magistrates to take that oath of allegiance to him as their lawful sovereign, which they had formerly taken to the Emperor. He soon after compelled several cities of Tuscany who threw themselves upon his protection, to swear that they would receive no one as emperor unless he was acknowledged as such by the Pope. This was in consequence of the different claims that were at that time set up to the empire by Otho, duke of Brunswick, and Philip, duke of Swabia. He compelled Philip, by threatening him with excommunication and interdict if he refused, to liberate the archbishop of Salerno, confined in prison on a charge of treason. In the same year he excommunicated Alphonsus, king of Galicia and Leon, for refusing to dismiss his wife Tarsia, daughter of Sanctius, king of Portugal, whom Innocent pronounced to be within the degrees of affinity forbidden by the church; and threatened her father, Sanctius himself, with the same spiritual thunders, unless he should promptly pay up the yearly tribute which his father, Alphonso, had promised to the successors of St. Peter, upon receiving the title of king from pope Alexander.*

§ 54.—Innocent soon after conferred the title of King upon Premislaus, duke of Bohemia, in consequence of his forsaking the party of Philip, who aspired to the empire, and joining that of Otho, who at this time was supported by the Pope. The next year, 1201, the lordly pontiff issued his anathemas against Philip II., king of France, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, till he compelled him to receive back Ingelburga, his wife, whom he had put away, and taken in her stead Mary, daughter of the duke of Bohemia. In this instance, doubtless, king Philip was compelled by the terrors of excommunication and interdict, to perform an act of justice; but our object in relating these instances of papal authority over the kings of the earth, is not so much to examine the guilt or innocence of those who were the subjects of them, as to illustrate the enormous and overgrown power of the popes during this period.

The following year, Calo-Johannes, a descendant of the ancient kings of Bulgaria, having expelled the Greeks from that country, wrote a submissive letter to pope Innocent, beseeching his Holiness to send him a crown. With this the Pope complied, and sent Leo, his legate, with a crown and other ensigns of royalty, into Bulgaria. After the king had taken an oath of "*perpetual obedience to Innocent and his successors, lawfully elected,*" he was solemnly crowned by the Legate, who on this occasion, to show the entire vassalage of the kingdom of Bulgaria to the apostolic See, pretended to grant, in the Pope's name, the privilege of coining money, a right which

* Epist. Innoc. III., L. i. ep. 91, 92. Bower, vi., 187.

Peter, king of Arragon, and the emperor Otho take an oath of allegiance to pope Innocent.

had always been regarded as inherent in the crown of all kings and emperors.

§ 55.—In the year 1204, Peter II., king of Arragon, travelled expressly to Rome, to enjoy the honor of being crowned by the Pope himself. He was received with honors suitable to his rank, and, on the 11th November, solemnly crowned by the Pope, who, with his own hand, placed the crown upon his head, after extracting from him the following extraordinary oath: "I, Peter, king of Arragonians, profess and promise to be EVER FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT TO MY LORD, POPE INNOCENT, to his Catholic successors, and the Roman church, and faithfully to preserve my kingdom in his obedience, defending the Catholic faith, and PERSECUTING HERETICAL PRAVITY. I shall maintain the liberty and immunity of the churches, and defend their rights. I shall strive to promote peace and justice throughout my dominions. So help me God, and these his holy gospels." The King, thus crowned, returned with the Pope to the church of St. Peter, and there laying his crown and his sceptre upon the altar of that saint, he received a sword from his Holiness, and in return made his kingdom tributary to the apostolic See, binding himself, his heirs, and successors for ever, to pay yearly to Innocent and his successors, two hundred and fifty pieces of gold. This grant was signed by the King, and is dated as we read it in the Acts of Innocent, at St. Peter's, the 11th of November, the eighth year of king Peter's reign, and of our Lord, 1204.*

§ 56.—A few years later, upon the death of Philip, the competitor of Otho in the empire, the latter was solemnly crowned anew at Rome, upon the invitation of pope Innocent. The legates whom Innocent sent to Germany to tender this invitation to Otho, were charged by their master with the form of an oath, to be taken by the Emperor, before setting out for Rome. This oath was accordingly taken at Spire, on the 22d of March, 1208. The form of the oath was as follows: "I promise to HONOR AND OBEY POPE INNOCENT as my predecessors have honored and obeyed him. The elections of bishops shall be free, and the vacant Sees shall be filled by such as have been elected by the whole chapter, or by a majority. Appeals to Rome shall be made freely, and freely pursued. I promise to suppress and abolish the abuse that has obtained of seizing the effects of deceased bishops, and the revenue of vacant Sees. I promise TO EXTIRPATE ALL HERESIES, to restore to the Roman church all her possessions, whether granted to her by my predecessors, or by others, particularly the march of Ancona, the dukedom of Spoleti, and the territories of the countess Matilda, and inviolately maintain all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the apostolic See in the kingdom of Sicily."†

Upon Innocent receiving intelligence that Otho had taken the prescribed oath, he caused a copy of it to be lodged in the archives

* Acta Innocentii.—Bower, vi., 192, 193.
† Acta Innocentii et Epist., 189.

of the Roman church, as a pattern of the oath to be taken by all future emperors. He then wrote a letter to Otho, inviting him to receive the crown from his hands, and commending him for his filial submission and obedience to the holy See. Otho, after some delay, accepted the invitation, and was solemnly crowned by the Pope, in the church of St. Peter's, on the 17th of September, 1209. Thus we perceive that Popery maintained in the thirteenth century, as it had in the twelfth, its character of DESPOT OF THE WORLD.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

§ 57.—THE spiritual tyrants who thus domineered over the sovereigns and governments of the earth, could not brook the idea that any should be found so daring as to refuse obedience to their mandates, or to question the right by which they claimed thus not only to "lord it over God's heritage, but also to reduce the whole world to their sovereign sway. Hence it is not difficult to account for the bitter and unrelenting hostility with which the popes of this period pursued and persecuted the harmless and interesting people, who, under the name of Cathari (i. e. puritans), Gazari, Paulicians or Publicans, Petrobrussians, poor men of Lyons, Lombards, Albigenses, Waldenses, Vaudois, &c., offered a noble resistance to the usurped tyranny of the self-styled successors of St. Peter, and pretended vicars of Christ upon earth. The testimony given by Evervinus, a zealous papist, in a letter he wrote to the celebrated Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, at the beginning of the twelfth century, relative to the doctrine and manners of these *heretics* is exceedingly valuable. The following is the substance of this letter: "There have lately been," says he, "some heretics discovered among us, near Cologne, of whom some have, with satisfaction, returned again to the church. One that was a bishop among them, and his companions, openly opposed us, in the assembly of the clergy and laity, the lord archbishop himself being present, with many of the nobility, maintaining their heresy from the words of Christ and his apostles. But, finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be fixed, upon which they might bring along with them men skilful in their faith, promising to return to the church, provided their teachers were unable to answer their opponents; but that otherwise, they would rather die than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent, and three days allowed them for that purpose, they were *seized by the people*, in

The morality and holiness of the Waldenses testified by their persecutors.

their excess of zeal, *and committed to the flames!* And, what is most astonishing, they came to the stake and endured the torment not only with patience, but even with joy. In this case, O holy father, were I present with you, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such constancy and courage as is rarely to be found among the most religious in the faith of Christ?" He then proceeds, "Their heresy is this: they say that the church (of Christ) is only among themselves, because they alone follow the ways of Christ, and imitate the apostles,—not seeking secular gains, possessing no property, following the example of Christ, who was himself poor, nor permitted his disciples to possess anything. Whereas, say they to us, 'ye join house to house, and field to field, seeking the things of this world,—yea, even your monks and regular canons possess all these things.' They represent themselves as the poor of Christ's flock, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, enduring persecution with the apostles and martyrs: *though strict in their manner of life—abstemious, laborious, devout, and holy,* and seeking only what is needful for bodily subsistence, living as men who are not of the world. But you, they say, lovers of the world, have peace with the world, because ye are in it. False apostles, who adulterate the word of God, seeking their own things, have misled you and your ancestors. Whereas, we and our fathers, having been born and brought up in the apostolic doctrine, have continued in the grace of Christ, and shall continue so to the end. 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' saith Christ; 'and our fruits are, walking in the footsteps of Christ.' They affirm THAT THE APOSTOLIC DIGNITY IS CORRUPTED BY ENGAGING ITSELF IN SECULAR AFFAIRS, WHILE IT SITS IN ST. PETER'S CHAIR. They do not hold with the baptism of infants, alleging that passage of the gospel—'He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.' They place no confidence in the intercession of saints; and all things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself, or his apostles, they pronounce to be superstitious. They do not admit of any purgatory fire after death, contending, that the souls of men, as soon as they depart out of the bodies, do enter into rest or punishment; proving it from the words of Solomon, 'Which way soever the tree falls, whether to the South or to the North, there it lies;' by which means they make void all the prayers and oblations of the faithful for the deceased.

"We, therefore, beseech you, holy father, to employ your care and watchfulness against these manifold mischiefs; and that you would be pleased to direct your pen against those wild beasts of the roads; not thinking it sufficient to answer us, that the tower of David, to which we may betake ourselves for refuge, is sufficiently fortified with bulwarks—that a thousand bucklers hang on the walls of it, all shields of mighty men. For we desire, father, for the sake of us simple ones, and who are slow of understanding, that you would be pleased, by your study, to gather all these arms into one

place, that they might be the more readily found, and more powerful to resist these monsters. I must inform you also, that those of them who have returned to our church, tell us that they had great numbers of their persuasion, scattered almost everywhere; and that amongst them were many of our clergy and monks. And, as for those who were burnt, they, in the defence they made of themselves told us that this heresy had been concealed from the time of the martyrs; and that it had existed in Greece and other countries." (*Quoted by Jones*, lect. xl.)

§ 58.—Bernard, though he immediately commenced a strenuous opposition to these *rebels against the Pope*, is yet compelled by truth to give the following testimony to their irreproachable life and manners. "If," says he, "you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christian-like; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless, and what they speak they make good by their actions. You may see a man for the testimony of his faith frequent the church, honor the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament. What more like a Christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man, over-reaches no man, does violence to no man. He fasts much and eats not the bread of idleness; but works with his hands for his support."* Other Roman Catholic writers give the same testimony to the irreproachable lives and morals of the Waldenses. Thus Claudius, archbishop of Turin, writes, "their heresy excepted, they generally live a purer life than other Christians." And again, "in their lives they are perfect, irreproachable, and without reproach among men, addicting themselves, with all their might, to the service of God." This testimony is the more valuable from the fact that the prelate who wrote it, notwithstanding the acknowledged excellent characters of these heretics, joined in hunting and persecuting them to death, because they would neither submit to the absurdities and impieties of Rome, nor acknowledge the usurped authority of the popes. The sum and substance of their offence is mentioned by Cassini, a Franciscan friar, where he says "that ALL THE ERRORS of these Waldenses consisted in this, that they denied the church of Rome to be the HOLY MOTHER CHURCH, AND WOULD NOT OBEY HER TRADITIONS."

§ 59.—Thuanus, a celebrated Roman Catholic historian, enumerates their heresy more at length; he says they were charged with these tenets, viz.: "that the church of Rome, because it renounced the true faith of Christ, WAS THE WHORE OF BABYLON, and the barren tree which Christ himself cursed, and commanded to be plucked up; that consequently NO OBEDIENCE WAS TO BE PAID TO THE POPE, or to the bishops who maintain her errors; that a monastic life was the sink and dungeon of the church, the vows of which [relating to celibacy] were vain, and served only to promote the vile love of boys [or uncleanness]; that the orders of the priesthood were marks of the great beast mentioned in the Apocalypse;

* Bernard on the Canticles, Sermo lxv. "Si fidem interroges," &c. Perrin, vi.

that the fire of purgatory, the solemn mass, the consecration days of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, were the devices of Satan. Beside these principal and authentic heads of their doctrine, others were pretended, relating to marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and meats."* The chief offence of these heretics, in the eyes of the spiritual tyrants of Rome, doubtless was, that they regarded the Pope as anti-Christ, and the apostate church of Rome, as "the Babylonish harlot," and this in the eyes of the popes was an unpardonable sin. Hence they spared no efforts to blacken their characters, and to exterminate from the earth, those who were infinitely purer in doctrine, and holier in life, than their tyrannical and powerful persecutors. While, therefore, Evervinus and Thuanus, and even Bernard, are compelled to confess the purity of their life and manners, the popes, in their persecuting edicts, not only strove to excite all to unite in exterminating them from the earth, but also to blacken their memory with charges of the most enormous crimes.

§ 60.—Hence in the decree issued by pope Alexander III., in the third council of Lateran, in 1179, he labors not only to excite all in exterminating these *heretics*, but also loads them with the most false and infamous charges. The following is an extract from this edict, as quoted by bishop Hughes, in his controversy with Mr. Breckenridge (page 189). The emphasising is my own. "As the blessed Leo says, although ecclesiastical discipline, content with the sacerdotal judgment, does not exact bloody vengeance; yet, it is assisted by the constitution of Catholic princes, in order that men, *while they fear that corporal punishment may be inflicted on them, may often seek a salutary remedy.* On this account because in Gascony, Albi, in the parts of Thoulouse, and in other regions, *the accursed perverseness of the heretics* variously denominated Cathari, or Patarenas, or Publicans, or distinguished by sundry names, has so prevailed, that they now no longer exercise their wickedness in private, but publicly *manifest their errors, and seduce into their communion* the simple and infirm. We therefore SUBJECT TO A CURSE, both themselves and their defenders and harborers, and, *under a curse, we prohibit all persons from admitting them into their houses, or receiving them upon their lands, or cherishing them, or exercising any trade with them.* But if they die in their sin, *let them not receive Christian burial*, under pretence of any privilege granted by us, or any other pretext whatever; and let no offering be made for them."

§ 61.—It is observable that the persons alluded to in the above portion of this ferocious edict, are not accused of any other crime than that of *heresy*. In the next paragraph, various other subjects of papal fury are enumerated, who are charged with various crimes. "As to the Brabantians, Navarii, Basculi, Coterelli, and Triaverdinii, who exercise such cruelty toward the Christians, that they pay no respect to churches or monasteries, spare neither widows nor vir-

* Thuani Historia, lib. vi., sect. 16, and lib. xxvii.

Papal promises of indulgence, to all who shall engage in butchering the Waldenses.

gins, neither old nor young, neither sex nor age, but after the manner of the pagans, destroy and desolate everything, we in like manner, decree that such persons as shall protect, or retain, or encourage them in districts in which they commit these excesses, be publicly denounced in the churches on Sundays and festival days, and that they be considered as bound *by the same censure and penalty as the aforesaid heretics*, and be excluded from the communion of the church, until they shall have abjured that pestiferous consociation and *heresy*. But let all persons who are implicated with them in any crime (alluding to their vassals), know that they are released from the obligation of fealty, homage, and subjection to them, so long as they continue in so great iniquity." Probably the result of accurate inquiry would show that these accusations against the classes of people named in this extract, were false; but whether they were or not, is little to our present purpose, as they are made against other people than those first mentioned. It is plain that in this decree the Cathari, or Puritans (another name for the Waldenses), mentioned in the extract first quoted, are accused of no other offence than *heresy*, and yet the same promises of *indulgence* are given to those who take up arms against the one class as the other.* The promises are in the following words: "We likewise, from the *mercy* of God, and relying upon the authority of the blessed apostle, Peter and Paul, *relax two years of enjoined penance* to those faithful Christians, who, by the council of the bishops or other prelates, *shall take up arms to subdue them by fighting against them:* or, if such Christians shall spend a longer time in the business, we leave it to the discretion of the bishops to grant them a longer indulgence. As for those who shall *fail* to obey the admonition of the bishop to this effect, *we inhibit them from a participation of the body and blood of the Lord.* Meanwhile, those, who in the ardor of faith shall undertake the just labor of subduing them, we receive into the protection of the church; granting to them the same privileges of security in property and in person, *as are granted to those who visit the holy sepulchre.*" (*Labb. Concil. Sacrosan.*, vol. x., pages 1522, 1523.)

* See Hughes and Breckenridge Controversy, pages 175, 179. Mr. Hughes quotes both of the above extracts for the purpose of convicting Mr. Breckenridge of duplicity, because he did not quote the second, when the object of Mr. Breckenridge was to show the persecutions carried on, not against the persons named in the second extract, but against those named in the first. Mr. Hughes then, without drawing any distinction between the two classes, coolly inquires, "I wonder whether men of such a stamp would not be REDUCED TO THE PENITENTIARY, if they committed such crimes in our day and in our own country." Thus endeavoring to brand with infamy those simple and holy people, whose characters even Romish historians are forced to confess were pure and irreproachable. The coolness with which this popish bishop, in the FREE UNITED STATES, and in the *nineteenth century*, speaks about consigning such to the *penitentiary*, betrays the malignance of a *Saint Dominic*, or Montfort, against all who, like the poor, persecuted Waldenses, or Cathari, are guilty of the *crime of heresy*, and shows that he wants nothing but the *power* to consign to the "penitentiary," or to the cells of the Inquisition, the heretics of the United States.

There can be little doubt that the crying offence of all these classes of *heretics*, notwithstanding the popes endeavored to blacken their memory, by "speaking all manner of evil against them falsely," was that which is named by Thuanus, the Romish historian, already cited, "because they inveighed too vehemently *against the wealth, pride, and vices of the popes, and alienated the people from their obedience to them.*"* Pope Alexander III., the author of the above persecuting edict, was succeeded in 1181, by pope Lucius III. Two years before this, Peter Waldo, who, with his followers, had been anathematized by pope Alexander, died in Bohemia. Some suppose these dissenters from the corruptions of Rome, though they had existed centuries before, derived from Waldo, the name of Waldenses, which in after ages almost superseded the various other names by which they had long been known. Through the preaching of Waldo, many had renounced the corruptions of Popery, and were in consequence exposed to the vengeance of Rome. Thirty-five were burned together in one fire at the city of Bingen, and eighteen in the city of Mentz. The bishops of both Mentz and Strasburg breathed nothing but vengeance and slaughter against them; and in the latter city, where Waldo himself is said to have narrowly escaped apprehension, eighty persons were committed to the flames.

§ 63.—To show that the apostate church of Rome is responsible for these horrid butcheries, we will quote a few passages from a decree of the supreme head of that church, pope Lucius III., issued in 1184. This bloody edict commences as follows: "To abolish the malignity of diverse heresies, which are lately sprung up in most parts of the world, it is but fitting that the power committed to the church should be awakened, that by concurring assistance of the imperial strength, both the insolence and mal-pertness of the heretics, in their false designs, may be crushed, and the truth of the Catholic simplicity shining forth in the holy church, may demonstrate her pure and free from the execrableness of their false doctrines. Wherefore we, being supported by the presence and power of OUR MOST DEAR SON, FREDERICK, the most illustrious emperor of the Romans, always increaser of the empire, with the common advice and counsel of our brethren, and other patriarchs, archbishops, and many princes, who, from several parts of the world, are met together, do set themselves against these heretics, who have got different names from the several false doctrines which they profess, by the sanction of this present decree, and by our apostolical authority, according to the tenor of these presents, *we condemn all manner of heresy*, by what name soever it may be denominated. More particularly, we declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves the Poor of Lyons; the Passagines, Josephites, Arnoldists, to be under *a perpetual anathema.* And because some, under a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the apostle saith, assume to themselves the authority of preaching;

* Thuani Historia sui Temp., lib. vi.

whereas the same apostle saith, 'How shall they preach, except they be sent?'—we therefore conclude, under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who either being forbid, or not sent, do notwithstanding *presume to preach publicly or privately, without any authority received from the apostolic See*, or from the bishops of their respective dioceses. As for any layman, who shall be found guilty, either publicly or privately, of any of the aforesaid crimes (that is, preaching or speaking improperly of the sacraments), unless by abjuring his heresy, and making satisfaction, he immediately return to the orthodox faith, we decree him to be left *to the sentence of the secular judge, to receive condign punishment*, according to the quality of the offence."

The meaning of leaving these poor victims of popish cruelty "to the sentence of the secular judge," was well understood to be equivalent to a sentence of death, often in the most horrid form of torture and lingering agony; as it was well understood by secular princes, that they would themselves suffer from the vengeance of the church, if they should fail to execute, to the very letter, the oath imposed upon them by the Pope, "to extirpate heresies out of the lands of their jurisdiction." We shall soon see a notable instance of papal vengeance against one of these secular judges, Count Raimond of Thoulouse, for neglecting to comply with the mandates of the Pope, to slaughter and exterminate thousands of his peaceful subjects, who were accused of the crime of heresy.

§ 64.—Before relating this account, however, it may be well to record a specimen of the manner in which these secular judges and princes understood their duty to their holy mother, the church. It consists of extracts from the decrees of the emperor Frederick II. against heretics, issued on the occasion of his coronation at Rome, to oblige the Pope, who officiated in that ceremony. "The care of the imperial government," says his majesty, "committed to us from heaven, and over which we preside, demands the material sword, which is given to us separately from the priesthood, against the enemies of the faith, and for *the extirpation of heretical pravity*, that we should pursue with judgment and justice those vipers and perfidious children, who insult the Lord and his church, as if they would tear out the very bowels of their mother. WE SHALL NOT SUFFER THESE WRETCHES TO LIVE, who infect the world by their seducing doctrines, and who, being themselves corrupted, more grievously taint the flock of the faithful."

In a second edict, after comparing them to "ravenous wolves, adders, serpents," &c., the Emperor proceeds to accuse the heretics of the most savage cruelty to themselves; "since," in the words of the edict, "besides the loss of their immortal souls, they expose their bodies to a cruel death, being prodigal of their lives, and fearless of destruction, which, by acknowledging the true faith they might escape, and, which is horrible to express, *their survivors are not terrified by their example.* Against such enemies to God and man, we cannot contain our indignation, nor refuse to punish them

Burning alive. The priest the judge, and the king the hangman.

with the sword of just vengeance, but shall pursue them with so much the greater vigor, as they appear to spread wider the crimes of their superstition, to the most evident injury of the Christian faith and the church of Rome, which is adjudged to be the head of all churches."

By the same edict, it is enjoined that strict inquiry be made after these heretics, and that after examination by the prelates, if any be found to err in a single point from the Catholic faith, they are, in case of persevering in their error, condemned *to suffer death by the flames*, and to be *burned alive in public view*, while all are forbidden, under pain of the imperial indignation, to intercede in their behalf. The Emperor also by these decrees, so pleasing to the popes, declares infamous, and puts under the ban of the empire all who shall in any way receive, defend, or favor these heretics.* From this specimen of the spirit of the *secular* powers in that age of popish triumph, it will be easily understood what was likely to be the fate of those who were delivered up by the priests for punishment to "the sentence of the secular judges." The arrangement by which the priests delivered up their victims to the vengeance of the secular powers, under the hypocritical pretence that the church abhorred the shedding of blood, 'ecclesia abhorret a sanguine,' was an arrangement by which, in the words of Dr. Jortin, "the priest was the judge, and the king was the hangman."† But we shall proceed in the following chapter to a narrative which well illustrates the manner in which those princes were treated who hesitated to perform the office of hangman for the Pope and his minions.

* See Limborch's History of the Inquisition, vol. i., chap. xii., where the decrees from which I have quoted above are recorded at length.

† Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. History, vol. iii., p. 303.

CHAPTER VIII.

POPE INNOCENT'S BLOODY CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES, UNDER HIS LEGATE, THE FEROCIOUS ABBOT OF CITEAUX, AND SIMON, EARL OF MONTFORT.

§ 65.—About the close of the thirteenth century, in consequence of the increase of the *heretical* Waldenses or Albigenses, particularly in the south of France, the Pope's legates, Guy and Reinier, were dispatched from Rome for the purpose of extirpating these heresies, and armed with papal authority, committed to the flames a large number of them at Nevers, in 1198 and following years.* These efforts, however, were attended with so little success, that pope Innocent III., whom we have already had more than one occasion to name, found it necessary to resort to more vigorous measures. He proclaimed a Crusade against these unoffending and defenceless people, and dispatched an army of priests throughout all Europe, to exhort all to engage in this holy war against the enemies of his *Holiness*, the Pope, and of the Holy Catholic church. As these papal emissaries traversed the kingdoms of Europe, we are informed by the learned Archbishop Usher, that they had one favorite text. This was Psalm xciv., 16, "*Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?*" and the application of their sermons was generally as uniform as their texts. "You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and how much mischief they do in the world. You see, also, how tenderly, and by how many pious methods the church labors to reclaim them. But with them they all prove ineffectual, and they fly to the secular power for their defence. Therefore, our holy mother, the church, though with great reluctance and grief, calls together against them the Christian army. If then you have any zeal for the faith; if you are touched with any concern for the glory of God; if you would reap the benefit of this great indulgence, come and receive the sign of the cross, and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour."

§ 66.—The reigning count of Thoulouse, the province of France where these rebels against the papal authority chiefly abounded, was Raimond VI., a man who had either too much policy or too much humanity willingly to engage in this war of extermination against his unoffending subjects. In the year 1207, Raimond was required by Peter of Castlenau, a legate of the Pope, to sign a treaty with other neighboring princes to engage in the extermination of these heretics. But the Count was by no means inclined to purchase, by the renunciation of his rights, the entrance into his

* History of Languedoc, book xxi.

states of a hostile army, who were to pillage or put to death all those of his vassals whom the Romish clergy should fix upon as the victims of their cruelty. He therefore refused his consent; and Castlenau, in his wrath, excommunicated him, laid his country under an interdict, and wrote to the Pope to ratify what he had done.*

§ 67.—Few things could be more grateful to pope Innocent, than what had now taken place. He appears to have sought for an opportunity to commence hostilities, being well aware that his agents were insufficient to destroy such a formidable phalanx of heresy by ordinary means. To confirm the sentence of excommunication pronounced by his legate, he wrote to Count Raimond with his own hand, on the 29th of May, 1207, and thus his letter commenced:—"If we could open your heart we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the sword of salvation; we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbors, and to brave the divine laws *by protecting the enemies of the faith?* If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?"†

Terrified by the fulminations of the Vatican, Count Raimond saw no alternative but to sign the peace with his enemies, which he accordingly did, engaging to exterminate the heretics from his territories. Peter of Castlenau, however, very soon judged that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal; he therefore went to seek him, reproached him to his face with his negligence, which he termed baseness, treated him as a perjured person, as a favorer of heretics and a tyrant, and again excommunicated him. This violent scene appears to have taken place at St. Gilles, where the Count had given a meeting to the two legates. Raimond was excessively provoked, and threatened to make Castlenau pay for his insolence with his life. They parted without a reconciliation, and came to sleep, on the night of the 14th January, 1208, at a little inn on the bank of the Rhone, which river they intended to pass on the next day. One of Count Raimond's friends either followed them or accidentally met them there; and on the morning of the 15th, after mass, this gentleman entered into a dispute with Peter of Castlenau respecting heresy and its punishment. The Legate had never spared the most insulting epithets to the advocates of toleration, and the gentleman, irritated by his language not less than by the quarrel with his lord, drew his poniard, struck the Legate in his side, and killed him.‡

* Hist. of Languedoc, book xxi., chap. 28; Innocentii Epist., lib. x., ep. 69. Cited by Sismondi in his valuable history of France, to whom, and to Jones in his Lect. on Eccles. Hist., I am chiefly indebted for the facts in relation to the crusades against the Albigenses.

† Innocentii III., lib. x., ep. 69.

‡ Petri Vallis Cern., cap. viii., p. 563.

No faith with heretics. Joy with which the deluded papists engage in the crusades.

§ 68.—The intelligence of this murder roused the Pope to the highest pitch of fury. He instantly published a bull, addressed to all the counts, barons, and knights of the four provinces of the southern part of France, in which he declared that it was the devil who had instigated the Count of Thoulouse against the Holy See. He laid under an interdict all places which should afford a refuge to the murderers of Castlenau; he demanded that Raimond of Thoulouse should be publicly anathematized in all churches, adding, that "as following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, *we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God*, or who are separated from the communion of the faithful: we discharge, by apostolical authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this Count by any oath either of allegiance or fidelity; we permit every catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy."*

This first bull was speedily followed by other letters equally fulminating, addressed to all who were capable of assisting in the destruction of the Count of Thoulouse. In particular, the Pope wrote to the king of France, Philip Augustus, exhorting him to carry on in person this *sacred* war of extermination against heretics. "We exhort you," said his Holiness, "that you would endeavor to destroy that wicked heresy of the Albigenses, and to do this with *more vigor than you would towards the Saracens themselves:* persecute them with a strong hand; deprive them of their lands and possessions: banish them and put Roman Catholics in their room." The legates and the monks at the same time received powers from Rome to publish a crusade among the people, offering to those who should engage in this holy war of plunder and extermination against the Albigenses, *the utmost extent of indulgence* which his predecessors had ever granted to those who labored for the deliverance of the Holy Land. The people from all parts of Europe hastened to enrol themselves in this new army, actuated by superstition and their passion for wars and adventures. They were immediately placed under the protection of the Holy See, freed from the payment of the interest of their debts, and exempted from the jurisdiction of all tribunals; whilst the war which they were to carry on, almost at their own doors, and that without danger or expense, was to expiate all the vices and crimes of a whole life.

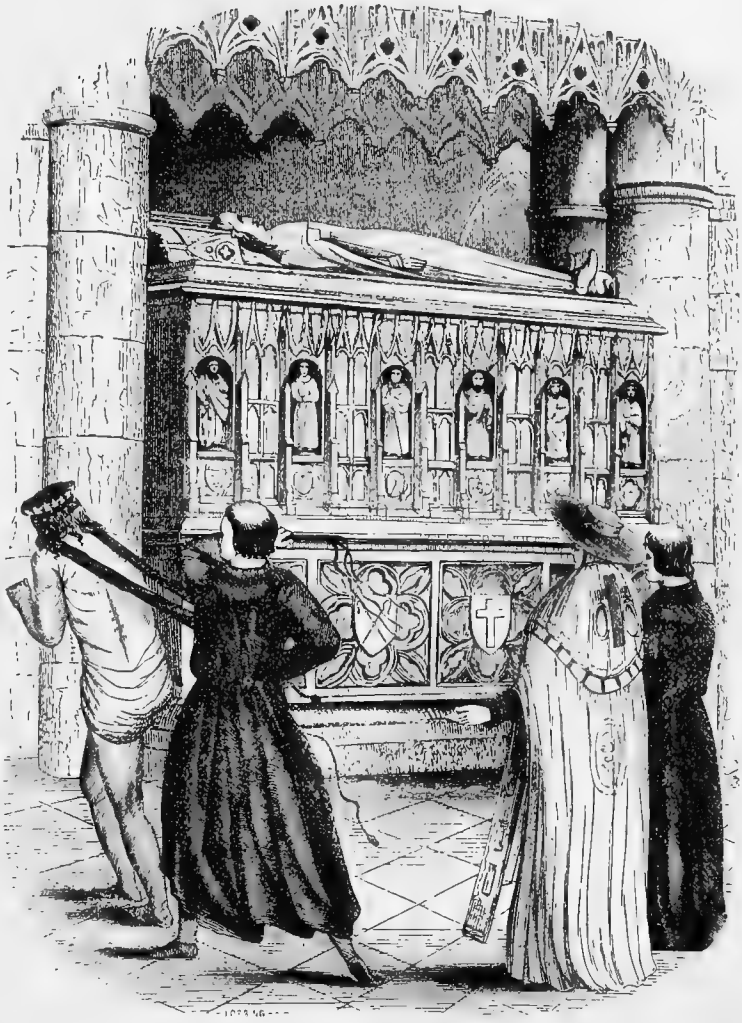
Transported with joy, these infatuated and deluded mortals received *the pardons* and *indulgences* offered them, and so much the more readily that, far from regarding the task in which they were to be engaged as painful or dangerous, they would willingly have undertaken it for the pleasure alone of doing it. War was their passion, and pity for the vanquished had never disturbed their repose. In this holy war they could, without remorse, as well as

* Petri Vallis, p. 564.

without restraint from their officers, pillage all the property, massacre all the men, and abuse the women and children. Never before had there been so popular a crusade! Arnold Amalric, the abbot of Citeaux, distinguished himself, with his whole congregation, by his zeal in preaching up this war of extermination; and the convents of his order, which was that of the Bernardins, of which there were seven or eight hundred in France, Italy, and Germany, appropriated the crusade against the Albigenses as their special province. In the name of the Pope and of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they promised, to all who should lose their lives in this holy expedition, *plenary absolution of all sins* committed from the day of their birth to that of their death.

§ 69.—Raimond was overwhelmed with terror and alarm at these vast preparations, and with his nephew Roger, count of Beziers, waited on the legate Arnold, the leader of the crusades, to avert, if possible, the storm that was impending over them. The haughty abbot received them with extreme insolence, declared that he could do nothing for them, and that if they wished to obtain any mitigation of the measures adopted against them, they must address themselves to the Pope. The count of Beziers instantly perceived that nothing was to be expected from negotiation, and that there remained no alternative but to fortify all their principal towns, and prepare valiantly for their defence. His uncle, count Raimond, overwhelmed with terror, declared himself ready to submit to anything; to be himself the executor of the violence of the papal party against his own subjects; and to make war against his family rather than draw the crusades into his states. Ambassadors from Raimond to the Pope were received with apparent indulgence. It was required of them that their master should make common cause with the crusaders; that he should assist them in exterminating the heretics; and that he should surrender to them seven of his principal castles, as a pledge of his sincerity. On these conditions the Pope not only gave count Raimond the hope of absolution, but promised him his entire favor. All this, however, was hollow and deceitful; pope Innocent was far from pardoning Raimond in his heart, for, at the moment of promising this, he wrote to the ecclesiastics who were conducting the crusade, thus: "We counsel you, with the apostle Paul, to employ guile with regard to this Count, for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack separately those who are separated from unity: leave for a time the count of Thoulouse, employing toward him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone."* Such were the means that this crafty and tyrannical Pope thought fit to employ in order to crush those who hesitated to imbrue their hands in the blood of such as he chose to brand with the name of heretics.

* Innocentii III., Epist., lib. xi., ep. 232.



Count Raimond's degrading Penance—whipped around the Tomb of the Mon's Ca-tlenau

Count Raimond's degrading penance. Whipped on his naked shoulders by the Pope's legate

§ 70.—In the spring of the year 1209, the crusading army began to be put in motion; the campaign was limited to forty days. Some authors have computed it at three, and others at five hundred thousand men; and this immense body precipitated themselves upon Languedoc. When count Raimond learned that these terrible bands of fanatics were about to move, and that they were all directed towards his states, he was struck with terror, for he had placed himself in their power, and consented to purchase his absolution from the hands of the Pope's legate, by the most humiliating concessions. He was ordered to repair to the church that he might receive absolution from the Pope's legate. But before this was granted, he was compelled to take a solemn oath upon the Corpus Domini, that is the consecrated host, and upon the relics of the saints, that he would *obey the Pope* and the holy Roman church so long as he lived, that he would pursue the Albigenses *with fire and sword*, till they were totally extirpated, and subjected to obedience to the Pope. Having taken this oath at the door of the church, he was ordered by the Legate to strip himself naked, and humbly submit to the penance imposed on him for the death of the monk Peter Castlenau. Count Raimond protested against this humiliating penance, solemnly asserting that he had not been privy to the murder of the monk. But his protestations were in vain; the vast army of the crusaders was at his gates, and he had no resource but unqualified submission to the popish tyrants who now held him in their grasp. On the 18th of June, therefore, the Count "having stripped himself naked from head to foot," says Bower, "with only a linen cloth around his waist for decency's sake, the Legate threw a priest's *stole* around his neck, and leading him by it into the church nine times around the pretended *martyr's* grave," he inflicted the discipline of the church upon the naked shoulders of the humbled prince with the bundle of rods that he held in his hand. The Legate, at length, granted him the dear-bought absolution, after obliging him to renew all the oaths he had taken relative to the extirpation of heretics, obedience to the Pope, &c., with the addition of another, in which he promised inviolably to maintain all the rights, privileges, immunities, and liberties of the church and clergy.*

After perusing the above account of the punishment of Count Raimond, for refusing to join with these popish bloodhounds, in the extermination of the heretics, the reader will be prepared to appreciate the assertion sometimes made by papists, even in our own day, viz.: that the Catholic church has *never persecuted* (! !) but that the heretics who have suffered death for their opinions, have suffered according to the laws of the countries where they resided.

After the submission of his uncle Roger, the viscount of Beziers, according to the old chronicle of Thoulouse, applied to the Pope's

* History of the Popes, in vita Innocentii III. Petri Vallis, History of Languedoc, book xxi., p. 162.

Inhuman treatment of the inhabitants of Beziers, by the papal Legate.

legate, and offered to make some humiliating concessions, but being angrily repelled, he prepared to defend himself to the best of his ability. He had chiefly calculated on the defence of his two great cities, Beziers and Carcassone, and he had divided between them his principal forces. After visiting Beziers, to assure himself that the place was well supplied with everything necessary for the defence of their lives, he retired to Carcassone, a city built upon a rock, and partly surrounded by the river Aude, and whose two suburbs were themselves surrounded by walls and ditches, and there shut himself up. About the middle of July, 1209, the crusading army arrived under the walls of Beziers, in three bodies. They had been preceded by the bishop of the place, who, after having visited the Legate, and delivered to him a list of those amongst his flock whom he suspected of heresy, and whom he wished to see consigned to the flames, returned into the city to represent to his flock the dangers to which they were exposed, exhorting them to surrender their heretical fellow-citizens to the avengers of their faith, rather than draw upon themselves and their children, the wrath of heaven and the church. "Tell the Legate," replied the citizens, whom he had assembled in the cathedral of St. Nicaise, "that our city is good and strong—that our Lord will not fail to succor us in our great necessities, and that rather than commit the baseness demanded of us, we would eat our own children." Nevertheless, there was no heart so bold as not to tremble, when the crusaders were encamped under their walls; "and so great was the assemblage of tents and pavilions," says one of their historians, "that it appeared as if all the world was collected there; at which those of the city began to be greatly astonished, for they thought they were only fables which their bishop had come to tell them and advise them."*

§ 71.—The citizens of Beziers, though astonished, were not discouraged. Whilst their enemies were still occupied in tracing their camp, they made a sally and attacked them unawares. But the crusaders were still more terrible for their fanaticism and boldness, than for their numbers; they repulsed the citizens with great loss. After this, they entered the city, and found themselves masters of it, before they had even formed their plan of attack. The knights learning that they had triumphed without fighting, applied to the pope's legate, Arnold Amalric, to know how they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics; to which he made this reply—"KILL THEM ALL; THE LORD WILL KNOW WELL THOSE THAT ARE HIS!" 'TUEZ LES TOUS, DIEU CONNOIT CEUX QUI SONT A LUI!'

Though the stated population of Beziers was not over fifteen thousand persons, yet the influx of the people from the surrounding districts, especially women and children, was so large, that no less than sixty thousand persons were in the city when it was taken, and in this vast number, *not one person was spared alive.* The ter-

* Petri Vallensis, Cern. Hist. Albig., cap. xv., p. 570.

Sixty thousand killed. Vile treachery of the Legate toward the count of Beziers.

rified and defenceless women with their babes, as well as many of the men, took refuge in the churches, but they afforded no protection from these blood-thirsty popish zealots. Thousands were slain in the churches, and the blood of the murdered victims, slain by the HOLY WARRIORS, drenched the very altars, and flowed in crimson torrents through the streets. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city, in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funeral pile. Not a house remained standing, not one human being was left alive. The Pope's legate, perhaps, feeling some shame for the butchery which he had ordered, in his letter to Innocent III., reduces it to fifteen thousand, though Velly, Mezeray, and other historians make it amount to sixty thousand.*

§ 72.—Roger, the young count of Beziers, shut himself up in the other chief city of his dominions, Carcassone, which was much better fortified than Beziers, and defended it to the utmost, against the attacks of the ferocious abbot of Citeaux, the papal legate. The crusaders had many times endeavored to storm the city, but without success, and not seeing, as they had been taught to expect, a miracle wrought in their favor, the perfidious abbot, seeing some tokens of discouragement, resorted to a mean and dishonorable trick to get his adversary in his power. The Legate insinuated himself into the graces of one of the officers of his army, telling him that it lay in his power to render the church a signal instance of kindness, and that if he would undertake it, beside the rewards he should receive in heaven, he should be amply recompensed on earth. The object was to get access to the earl of Beziers, professing himself to be his kinsman and friend, assuring him that he had something to communicate of the last importance to his interests; and having thus far succeeded, he was to prevail upon him to accompany him to the Legate, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, under a pledge that he should be safely conducted back again to the city. The officer played his part so dexterously, that the Earl imprudently consented to accompany him. At their interview, the latter submitted to the Legate the propriety of exercising a little more lenity and moderation toward his subjects, as a procedure that might have the happiest tendency in reclaiming the Albigenses into the pale of the church of Rome. The Legate replied that the inhabitants of Carcassone might exercise their own pleasure; but that it was now unnecessary for the Earl to trouble himself any further about them, as he was himself a prisoner until Carcassone was taken, and his subjects had better learned their duty! The Earl was not a little astonished at this information; he protested that he was betrayed, and that faith was violated: for that the gentleman, by whose entreaties he had been prevailed upon to meet the Legate, had pledged

* "Soixante mille habitans passèrent par le fil de l'epée. Velly, iii., 441 Il y fut tués plus de soixante milles personnes." Mezeray, ii., 609. Edgar, 226

himself by oaths and execrations to conduct him back in safety to Carcassone. But appeals, remonstrances, or entreaties, were of no avail; Roger was looked upon as a heretic, and it was already the doctrine of Rome that no faith should be kept with heretics; in spite of his appeals, therefore, he was committed to the custody of the duke of Burgundy, "and, having been thrown into prison, died soon after, not without exciting strong suspicions of being poisoned." Pope Innocent III., indeed, admits in one of his epistles, that this young and brave earl or count of Beziers died a violent death.*

§ 73.—No sooner had the inhabitants of Carcassone received the intelligence of the Earl's confinement, than they burst into tears, and were seized with such terror, that they thought of nothing but how to escape the danger they were placed in; but, blockaded as they were on all sides, and the trenches filled with men, all human probability of escape vanished from their eyes. A report, however, was circulated, that there was a vault or subterraneous passage somewhere in the city, which led to the castle of Cabaret, a distance of about three leagues from Carcassone, and that if the mouth or entry thereof could be found, Providence had provided for them a way of escape. All the inhabitants of the city, except those who kept watch upon the ramparts, immediately commenced the search, and success rewarded their labor. The entrance of the cavern was found, and at the beginning of the night they all began their journey through it, carrying with them only as much food as was deemed necessary to serve them for a few days. "It was a dismal and sorrowful sight," says our historian, "to witness their removal and departure, accompanied with sighs, tears, and lamentations, at the thoughts of quitting their habitations and all their worldly possessions, and betaking themselves to the uncertain event of saving themselves by flight: parents leading their children, and the more robust supporting decrepit old persons; and especially to hear the affecting lamentations of the women." They, however, arrived the following day at the castle, from whence they dispersed themselves through different parts of the country, some proceeding to Arragon, some to Catalonia, others to Thoulouse, and the cities belonging to their party, wherever God in his providence opened a door for their admission.

The awful silence which reigned in the solitary city, excited no little surprise on the following day, among the pilgrims. At first they suspected a stratagem to draw them into an ambuscade; but on mounting the walls and entering the town, they cried out, "the Albigenses have fled!" The Legate issued a proclamation, that no person should seize or carry off any of the plunder—that it should all be carried to the great church of Carcassone, whence it was disposed of for the benefit of the pilgrims, and the proceeds distributed among them in rewards according to their deserts.

The limits of this work will not allow of the detail of the sangui-

* Innocentii III. Epist., lib. x., 5 epist., 212.

nary slaughter of the helpless Albigenses, and the perfidious stratagems* by which they were entrapped to their ruin, by the bloody Simon de Montfort and the monks, who conducted two or three equally destructive expeditions against the Albigenses, in the few succeeding years, till they were almost entirely exterminated. Two or three more instances of their ferocious cruelty and zeal on behalf of Popery, can only be mentioned. In the year 1210, Montfort caused Count Raymond VI., to be again excommunicated, when the unfortunate prince, overcome by this unrelenting persecution, and from his superstition, attaching a greater importance to the papal thunders than they deserved, burst into tears. The monks of Citeaux were meanwhile busily engaged in raising a fresh army of crusaders in the North of France, and no sooner was Montfort joined by them than he gave full scope to his cruelty. Attacking the castles in the Lauraguais and Menerbois, he caused all such of their inhabitants as fell into his hands, to be hanged on gibbets. Having invested that of Brom, and taken it by assault on the third day, he selected more than a hundred wretched inhabitants, and, having *torn out their eyes and cut off their noses*, sent them, under the guidance of a one-eyed man, to the castle of Cabaret, to intimate to the garrison of that fortress the fate which awaited them. Some of these fortresses he found deserted, and then sent out his soldiers to destroy the vines and the olive-trees in the surrounding country.

§ 74.—The castle of Menerbe, seated on a steep rock, surrounded by precipices, not far from Narbonne, was reputed to be the strongest place in the South of France. Guiard, its possessor, was vassal to the viscounts of Carcassone, and one of the bravest knights of the province. In the month of June, 1210, the crusaders appeared before this fortress. The inhabitants, many of whom had adopted the doctrines of the Albigenses, defended themselves with great valor for seven weeks: but when, owing to the heat of the season, water began to fail, they desired to capitulate; and Guiard himself went to the camp of the crusaders, and settled with Montfort the conditions for the surrender of the place. They were proceeding

* The cotemporary historian of the Albigenses, to whom Sismondi so frequently refers in that portion of his history relating to the Albigenses, *Petrus Vallensis Cernensis*, or as he was called by the French, *Pierre de Vaux Cernay*, was a popish monk, who accompanied the crusaders, and was an eye-witness of the cruelties he describes, and which he relates with so much delight. Referring to the papal legate and the inhuman butcheries of Montfort, after relating some of their cruel statagems, this monkish historian expresses his rapture in the following language. "How great was the mercy of God, for every one must see that the pilgrims could have done nothing without the Legate, nor the Legate without the pilgrims. In reality the pilgrims would have had but small success against such numerous enemies, if the Legate had not treated with them beforehand. It was, then, by a dispensation of the Divine mercy, that whilst the Legate, by a *pious fraud*, cajoled and enclosed in his nets, the enemies of the faith, who were assembled at Narbonne, Count Montfort and the pilgrims who had arrived from France, could pass into Agenois, there to crush their enemies, or rather those of Christ. O PIOUS FRAUD OF THE LEGATE! O PIETY FULL OF DECEIT!" (*Petri Vall. Cern. Albigen.*, cap. lxxviii., p. 648.)

to execute them when the Pope's legate, who had been absent, returned to the camp, and Montfort declared that the terms agreed upon could not be considered as binding, till they had received his assent. "At these words," says Peter de Vaux-Cernay, "the abbot was sorely grieved. He desired in fact that all the enemies of Christ should be put to death, but he would not take it upon himself to condemn them, on account of his quality of monk and priest." He thought, however, that he might stir up some quarrel during the negotiation, avail himself of it to break the capitulation, and cause all the inhabitants to be put to the sword. To this end he required of Montfort, on one part, and Guiard on the other, the terms on which they had agreed. Finding, as he expected, some difference in the statements, Montfort declared, in the name of the Legate, that the negotiation was broken off. The lord of Menerbe offered to accept the capitulation as drawn up by Montfort, one of the articles of which provided that heretics themselves, if they became converts, should have their lives spared, and be allowed to quit the castle. When the capitulation was read in the council of war, "Robert de Mauvoisin," says the monk of Vaux-Cernay, "a nobleman, and entirely devoted to the Catholic faith, cried that the pilgrims would never consent to that; that it was not to show mercy to the heretics, but to put them to death, that they had taken the cross; but abbot Arnold replied: 'Be easy, for I believe there will be but very few converted.'" In this sanguinary hope the Legate was not disappointed.

The crusaders took possession of the castle on the 22d of July: they entered, singing Te Deum, and preceded by the crucifix and the standards of Montfort. The heretics were meanwhile assembled, the men in one house, the women in another, and there, on their knees resigned to their fate, they prepared themselves by prayer for the worst that could befal them. The abbot of Vaux-Cernay, in fulfilment of the capitulation, began to preach to them the Catholic faith; but they interrupted him with the unanimous cry: "We will have none of your faith; we have renounced the church of Rome; your labor is in vain; for neither death nor life shall make us renounce the opinions we have embraced." The abbot then went to the assembly of women, but he found them equally resolute, and still more enthusiastic in their declarations. Montfort also went to them both. He had previously caused a prodigious pile of dry wood to be made. "Be converted to the Catholic faith," said he to the assembled Albigenses, "or mount this pile." None of them wavered. Fire was set to the wood, and the pile was soon wrapt in one tremendous blaze. The heretics were then taken to the spot where, after commending their souls to that God in whose cause they suffered martyrdom, they voluntarily threw themselves into the flames, to the number of more than one hundred and forty.*

* Petri Vallensis Cern. Hist. Albigens., chap xxxvii., page 583. Hist. of Languedoc, book xxi., page 193.

The taking of Lavaur. The heretics burnt, in the words of the popish historian, 'with the utmost joy.

§ 75.—In May, 1211, Montfort succeeded, after a hard siege, in taking Lavaur. When the breach in the wall was effected, and the crusaders were about to enter and begin the massacre, according to their usual custom, the bishops, the abbot of Cordieu, and all the priests, clothed in their pontifical habits, giving themselves up to the joy of seeing the carnage begin, sang *Veni Creator*. The knights mounted the breach; resistance was impossible; and the only care of Simon de Montfort was to prevent the crusaders from instantly falling upon the inhabitants, and to beseech them rather to make prisoners, that the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys. "Very soon," says their own monkish historian, "they dragged out of the castle Aimery, lord of Montreal, and other knights, to the number of eighty. The noble count [Montfort] immediately ordered them to be hanged upon the gallows; but as soon as Aimery, the stoutest among them, was hanged, the gallows fell, for, in their great haste, they had not fixed it well in the earth. The count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them all on the spot. The lady of the castle, who was sister of Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the count's order, thrown into a pit, which was then filled up with stones. Afterward our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics which the castle contained, *and burned them with the utmost joy*."

§ 76.—Immediately on the taking of Lavaur, open hostilities commenced between Simon de Montfort and the Count of Thoulouse. The first place belonging to this count, before which the crusaders presented themselves, was the castle of Montjoyre, which being abandoned, was set fire to, and then rased from top to bottom by the soldiers of the church. The castle of Cassoro afforded them more satisfaction, as it furnished human victims for their sacrifices. It was surrendered on capitulation, and "the pilgrims, seizing near sixty heretics, burned them with infinite joy." This is the language invariably employed by Petrus Vallensis, the monkish historian, who was the witness and panegyrist of the crusade.*

It was natural that Count Raimond should feel reluctant to countenance or aid these cruel persecutors of his subjects and friends. He continued, therefore, as long as he lived, to be an object of popish persecution. He was, nevertheless, most scrupulous in the observance of all the practices of the Catholic religion; so that, when under excommunication, he would continue for a long time on his knees in prayer at the doors of the churches, which he durst not enter. Hence it is evident that his offence was not heresy on his own part, but simply his refusal to engage in the cruel massacres and extermination of his subjects, at the command of the spiritual tyrants of the Romish church.

* "Cum ingenti gaudio," are the historian's words. Petri Vall. Cern. Albigens., cap. lii., p. 598. Bernardi Guidonis, vita Innocentii III., p. 482. This last informs us that four hundred heretics were burned at Lavaur.

The crusades against the Albigenses, a proof that Romanism claims the right to extirpate heresy.

§ 77.—"The crusades against the Albigenses present one of those occasions by which the rights claimed by the Romish church toward heretics may be most fully and accurately ascertained. They were her exclusive and deliberate act. The church of Rome had been then, according to its own principles, established nearly twelve hundred years. It professed to have been endowed with miraculous powers, and to be guided by the teachings of the infallible spirit of God. All the temporal authorities had submitted to its domination, and were ready to execute its orders. If, therefore, there is any period in which we should seek for its genuine and authentic principles, it must be under the unclouded dominion of Innocent III. Nor can the opponents of all reformation possibly desire anything more than to restore that golden age of the church. Should they say that civilisation and philosophy having then made but little progress, we are to charge the cruelties which were committed against the heretics to the ignorance and barbarism of the times, we would reply that *all these cruelties were prompted, encouraged, and sanctioned by Rome itself*, and that an infallible church cannot require the lights of philosophy to instruct her in her duties toward heretics. To an impartial inquirer, it would seem rather strange that, under the spiritual illumination afforded by the church to the nations, heresies should have arisen, and that with all the powers of heaven and earth on its side, the church could not trust itself in the field of reason and argument against them. But certain it is that heresies did arise, and that the church of Rome felt itself called upon to show to that age, and to all succeeding ones, the full extent of the power with which it was invested by heaven for their suppression and extirpation. The dogma on which all these transactions were founded is—that *the church possesses the right to extirpate heresy*, and to use all the means which she may judge necessary for that purpose. It was on this dogma that Innocent III. and his legates preached the crusade against the heretics, and promised to those engaged in it, the full remission of all sins; it was on this dogma that they excommunicated the civil powers by whom they were, or were supposed to be protected, and disposed of their dominions to those who assisted in this spiritual warfare.

"This dogma was repeatedly avowed by provincial councils, and finally ratified by a general council, the fourth of Lateran. It was received by the tacit, nay, by the cordial and triumphant assent of the universal church, and had also the sanction of the civil authorities, who received from the church the spoils of the deposed and persecuted princes. We can, therefore, conceive of nothing which should be still necessary to constitute this dogma an article of faith, and hold ourselves justified in considering the church of Rome to claim, as of divine authority, the right to extirpate heresy, and for this purpose, if she judge it necessary, to extirpate the heretics. Nor has this principle, which was evidently avowed and acted upon at the period of these crusades, *been ever renounced by any authentic or official act of that church;* on the con

Right of dissolving oaths also claimed. Disavowed by individual Romanists, but without authority.

trary, the church has, during the six hundred years which followed these events, invariably, as far as occasions have served, avowed the same principles, and perpetrated or stimulated the same deeds. As soon as the wars against the Albigenses were terminated the Inquisition was brought into full and constant action, and has always been encouraged and supported by the Romish church to the utmost of its power, in every place where it could obtain an establishment. The civil authorities, finding by experience that some of the claims of the church were more prejudicial than useful to themselves, have denied to it the right of deposing sovereigns, and of freeing subjects from their allegiance; but the church itself has never generally and explicitly renounced this claim, and long after the Reformation in Germany, continued to exercise it. And, notwithstanding the professions made by modern Catholics, *history does not furnish an instance of any body of the profession interposing its protest against the persecution of heretics by the church of Rome.*

§ 78.—"Another right most certainly claimed and exercised by the Roman See throughout its whole history, is that of *dissolving oaths.* History (*Sismondi's Hist. of the Italian Republics*) furnishes instances of this as a recognized, undisputed, and every-day practice in almost every pontificate. One instance may serve for an illustration among a multitude of others. There were certain reforms in the pontifical government, which were required by the leading persons in the church, but which they never could obtain from the popes themselves. The cardinals, therefore, when they were going to elect a new pope, were accustomed to bind themselves by the most solemn oaths, that whoever of them should be elected, would grant those reforms. And, invariably, as soon as the Pope was chosen, he released himself from this oath, on the ground of its being contrary to the interests of the church. The power of releasing from the obligation of oaths was also extended during these crusades, especially to freeing the subjects of heretical princes from their oaths of allegiance, and it was especially sanctioned by the council of Lateran. This practice has, however, become so obnoxious in modern times, that the right has been indignantly disowned by most of the advocates of the Roman Catholic church. Whatever may be the opinions of many private individuals or bodies in the church of Rome, we doubt their authority to make such declarations, as members of a church which prohibits the right of private judgment where the church has determined."* The following remarks and citations from the elegant and accurate historian of the middle ages, are sufficient to set this matter for ever at rest. "But the most important and mischievous species of dispensations," says Mr. Hallam (page 293), "was from the observance of *promissory oaths.* Two principles are laid down in the decretals; that an oath disadvantageous to the church is not binding; and that one extorted by force was of slight obligation, and might be annull-

* See the able introductory essay to that portion of Sismondi's History of France, relating to the persecution of the Waldenses, published in 1826.

Unjust slanders of the Albigenses. If true, the Pope had no right to invade their country and butcher them.

ed by ecclesiastical authority.* As the first of these maxims gave the most unlimited privilege to the popes of breaking all faith of treaties which thwarted their interest or passion, a privilege which they continually exercised, so the second was equally convenient to princes, weary of observing engagements toward their subjects or neighbors. They declaimed with a bad grace against the absolution of their people from allegiance, by an authority to which they did not scruple to repair in order to bolster up their own perjuries.

§ 79.—Some of the Romish writers have not scrupled to utter the most unfounded calumnies against the character of the Albigenses; but as has been well remarked, "No tale of falsehood can be so artfully framed as not to contain within itself its own confutation. This is manifestly the case with the stories fabricated respecting the Albigenses. Supposing, however, that the Albigenses had been all that the Catholic writers represent, upon what ground could the Roman church make a war of extermination against them? The sovereigns of those countries did not seek her aid to suppress the seditions of their subjects, nor even to regulate their faith. The interference was not only without the authority, but absolutely against their consent, and was resisted by them in a war of twenty years' continuance. If they refer to the authority of the king of France, as liege lord, he had not in that capacity the right of interference with the internal affairs of his feudatories; and he had, in fact, no share in these transactions, any further than to come in at the close of the contest, and reap the fruits of the victory. We are, therefore, from every point brought to the same conclusion: THAT THE CHURCH CLAIMS A DIVINE RIGHT TO EXTIRPATE HERESY AND EXTERMINATE HERETICS, WITH OR WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE SOVEREIGNS IN WHOSE DOMINIONS THEY MAY BE FOUND."†

* Juramentum contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam præstitum non tenet. Decretal., l. ii., 24, c. 27, et Sext., l. i., tit. 11, c. 1. A juramento per metum extorto ecclesia solet absolvere, et ejus transgressores ut peccantes mortaliter non punientur. Eodem lib. et tit., c. 15.

Take one instance out of many. Piccinino, the famous condottiere of the fifteenth century, had promised not to attack Francis Sforza, at that time engaged against the Pope. Eugenius IV. (the same *excellent* person who had annulled the compactata with the Hussites, releasing those who had sworn to them, and who afterward made the king of Hungary break his treaty with Amurath II.), absolves him from this promise, on the express ground that a treaty disadvantageous to the church ought not to be kept. (*Sismondi*, t. ix., p. 196.) The church, in that age, was synonymous with the papal territories in Italy.

It was in conformity to this sweeping principle of ecclesiastical utility, that Urban VI. made the following solemn and general declaration against keeping faith with heretics. 'Attendentes quod hujusmodi confœderationes, colligationes, et ligæ seu conventiones factæ cum hujusmodi hæreticis seu schismaticis postquam tales effecti erant, sunt temerariæ; illicitæ, et ipso jure nullæ (etsi forte ante ipsorum lapsum in schisma, seu hæresin initiæ, seu factæ fuissent), etiam si forent juramento vel fide datâ firmatæ, aut confirmatione apostolicâ vel quâcunque firmitate aliâ roboratæ, postquam tales, ut præmittitur, sunt effecti.' (*Rymer*, t. vii., p. 352.)

† See Introduction to Sismondi, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER IX.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS. SAINT DOMINIC AND SAINT FRANCIS.

§ 80.—We have already endeavored to trace the origin and progress of monkery up to the epoch of the establishment of papal supremacy.* We have also seen how, in subsequent ages, the various monastic orders had degenerated from their primitive severity of discipline, and simplicity of character, till the convents exhibited to the world the most shocking spectacles of licentiousness, avarice, imposture, and almost every description of vice. It is admitted, by Roman Catholic writers, that even in the best monasteries, scarce a vestige of religion was apparent, and the inordinate desire of wealth, the root of evils, the wicked step-mother of monks, 'malam monachorum novercam,' reigned with undisputed sway.† Were we disposed to soil our page with the disgusting details of monkish profligacy and licentiousness, it would be easy to gather testimonies from Romish authors themselves, to prove that in spite of their vows of poverty and chastity, the main object of the vast body of the monks of the middle ages, was not only the accumulation of unbounded wealth, but the gratification of their lawless passions either with equally vicious nuns, or with other victims of their seductive arts.

§ 81.—In contrast with the vicious lives of these monks, shone with the more lustre, the primitive characters, the chaste, and patient, and modest deportment of the teachers of the Waldensian *heretics*, who were so cruelly persecuted and abused. Some of these dissenters from Popery in this age maintained that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of Christ, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendant over the minds of the multitude. Probably the extreme views in relation to voluntary poverty held by some of the Waldenses originated in their disgust and abhorrence at the contrast between the professions and the practices of the monks. However this may be, some of the shrewdest of the popes, fearful of the effect of the contrast between the vicious lives of the sleek, and lazy, and well-fed monks, and the holy lives of the poor, and humble, and persecuted heretics, soon perceived

* See above, book ii., chap iv., page 87-92.

† "Vix institutæ religionis apparuisse vestigia, in præstantioribus monasteriis, radicem malorum, malam monachorum novercam, proprietatum concupiscentiam." (*Baronius, Annal.*, ad Ann. 942.)

the necessity of establishing an order of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs.

§ 82.—Innocent III., about the commencement of the thirteenth century, was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a profession of poverty, the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favor. They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European provinces, that they became a burden, not only to the people but to the church itself. This inconvenience, however, was remedied by pope Gregory X. in a general council which he assembled at Lyons, in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders that had sprung up after the council held at Rome, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III., were suppressed, and the "extravagant multitude of mendicants," as Gregory called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz., the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the hermits of St. Augustin.*

§ 83.—Of these mendicant orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, commenced about the year 1207, were by far the most considerable and numerous, so called from their founders, Dominic and Francis, of whose lives, as related by their disciples and admirers, we shall proceed to give a brief sketch. The former of these *saints* has become famous (or infamous) in history, from the fact that he was the inventor, or at least, the first inquisitor-general of the horrible tribunal called the *holy Inquisition*. Being employed, says Dr. Southey, against the Albigenses, SAINT DOMINIC (as he stands in the Romish Calendar) invented the Inquisition to accelerate the effect of his sermons. His invention was readily approved at Rome, and he himself nominated inquisitor-general. The painful detail of his crimes may well be spared; suffice it to say, that

* "Importuna potentium inhiatio Religionum multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium .... effrænatam multitudinem adinvenit .... Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium adinventos .... perpetuæ prohibitioni subjicimus." (*Concil. Lugd.* II., *Ann.* 1274. Can. xxiii., in Jo. Harduini *Conciliis*, tom. vii., p. 715. Mosheim, iii., 188.)

Wonderful miracles of *Saint* Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition.

in one day four-score persons were beheaded, and four hundred burnt alive, by this man's order and in his sight. St. Dominic is the only saint in whom no solitary speck of goodness can be discovered. To impose privations and pain was the pleasure of his unnatural heart, and cruelty was in him an appetite and a passion. No other human being has ever been the occasion of so much misery. The few traits of character which can be gleaned from the lying volumes of his biographers are all of the darkest colors. If his disciples have preserved few personal facts concerning their master, they have made ample amends in the catalogue of his miracles. Let the reader have patience to peruse a few of these tales, not copied from protestant, and therefore suspected authors, but *from the Dominican historians themselves*, and *every one of them authorized by the Inquisition.**

§ 84.—Among the vast multitude of their ridiculous and fabulous stories, these disciples of Dominic relate that the mother of their master dreamed that she brought forth a dog, holding a burning torch in his mouth, wherewith he fired the world. Earthquakes and meteors announced his nativity to the earth and the air, and two or three suns and moons extraordinary were hung out for an illumination in heaven. The Virgin Mary received him in her arms as he sprung to birth. *When a sucking babe he regularly observed fast days*, and *would get out of bed and lie upon the ground as a penance.* (!) His manhood was as portentous as his infancy. He fed multitudes miraculously, and performed the miracle of Cana with great success. Once, when he fell in with a troop of pilgrims, of different countries, the curse which had been inflicted at Babel was suspended for him, and all were enabled to speak one language. (!) Travelling with a single companion, he entered a monastery in a lonely place, to pass the night; he awoke at matins, and hearing yells and lamentations instead of prayers, went out and discovered that he was among a brotherhood of devils. Dominic punished them upon the spot with a cruel sermon, and then returned to rest. At morning the convent had disappeared, and he and his comrade found themselves in a wilderness. (!!) He had one day an obstinate battle with the flesh: the quarrel took place in a wood; and, finding it necessary to call in help, he stripped himself, and commanded the ants and the wasps to come to his assistance: even against these auxiliaries the contest was continued for three hours before the soul could win the victory. He used to be red-hot with divine love; sometimes blazing like a sun; sometimes glowing like a furnace; at times it blanched his garments, and imbued them with a glory resembling that of Christ in the Transfiguration. Once it sprouted out six wings, like a seraph; and once the fervor of his piety made him sweat blood. (!!!)

* See an able article on the Inquisition, from the pen of the late poet-laureate of England, Robert Southey, LL.D., in the Quarterly Review for December, 1811.

Marvellous Dominican miracles of the Virgin and the Rosary.

§ 85.—The Dominicans were the great champions of the Virgin, and according to their writers, Saint Dominic was her peculiar favorite. In reference to the *Rosary*, which among them was especially a favorite instrument of devotion to their great patroness, they relate many wonderful miracles, among which the following are specimens. (*For Rosary, arms of Inquisition, &c., see Engraving.*)

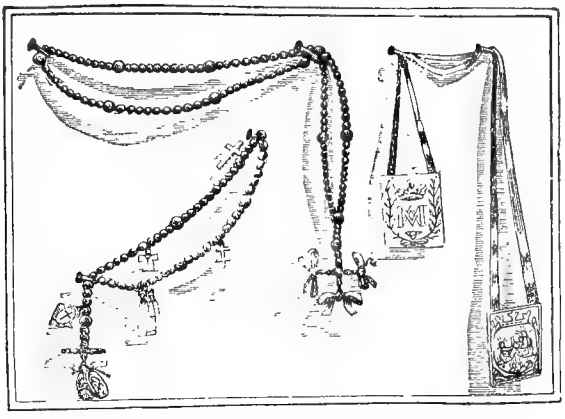
(1.) *The bead palace in Paradise.*—A knight to whom Dominic presented a rosary, arrived at such a perfection of piety, that his eyes were opened, and he saw an angel take every bead as he dropped it, and carry it to the Queen of Heaven, who immediately magnified it, and built with the whole string a palace upon a mountain in Paradise!

(2.) *The preaching head.*—A damsel, by name Alexandra, induced by Dominic's preaching, used the rosary; but her heart followed too much after the things of this world. Two young men, who were rivals for her, fought, and both fell in the combat; and their relations, in revenge, cut off her head, and threw it into a well. The devil immediately seized her soul, to which it seems he had a clear title—but, for the sake of the rosary, the Virgin interfered, rescued the soul out of his hands, and gave it permission to remain in the head at the bottom of the well, till it should have an opportunity of confessing and being absolved. After some days this was revealed to Dominic, who went to the well, and told Alexandra, in God's name, to come up: the bloody head obeyed, perched on the well-side, confessed its sins, received absolution, took the wafer, and continued to edify the people for two days, when the soul departed to pass a fortnight in purgatory on its way to heaven.

(3.) *The Virgin's raised arm.*—When Dominic entered Thoulouse, after one of his interviews with the Virgin, all the bells of the city rang to welcome him, untouched by human hands! But the heretics [Albigenses] neither heeded this, nor regarded his earnest exhortations to them, to abjure their errors, and make use of the rosary. To punish their obstinacy a dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning set the whole firmament in a blaze; the earth shook, and the howling of affrighted animals was mingled with the shrieks and groans of the terrified multitude. They crowded to the church, where Dominic was preaching, as to an asylum. "Citizens of Thoulouse," said he, "I see before me a hundred and fifty angels, sent by Christ and his mother to punish you! This tempest is the voice of the right hand of God." There was an image of the Virgin in the church, who raised her arm in a threatening attitude as he spoke. "Hear me!" he continued, "that arm shall not be withdrawn till you appease her by reciting the rosary." New outcries now arose: the devils yelled because of the torment this inflicted on them. The terrified Thoulousians prayed and scourged themselves, and told their beads with such good effect, that the storm at length ceased. Dominic, satisfied with their repentance, gave the word, and down fell the arm of the image!

(4.) *Dominican friars and nuns nestling under the Virgin's wing.*—In one of his visits to heaven, Dominic was carried before the throne of Christ, where he beheld many religionists of both sexes, but none of his own order. This so afflicted him, that he began to lament aloud, and inquired why they did not appear in bliss. Christ, upon this, laying his hand upon the Virgin's shoulder, said, "I have committed your order [the Dominicans] to my mother's care;" and she, lifting up her robe, discovered an innumerable multitude of Dominicans, friars and nuns, nestled under it!

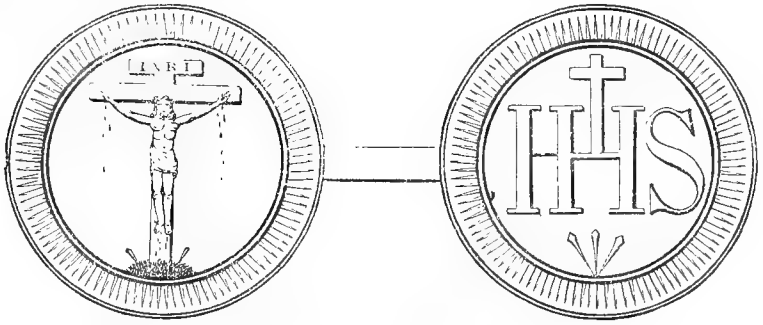
(5.) *The love of the Virgin for Saint Dominic.*—The next of these foolish legends is almost too impious to be repeated. The Dominicans—the inquisitors—tell us that "the Virgin appeared to Dominic in a cave near Thoulouse; that she called him her son and her husband; that she took him in her arms, and bared her breasts to him, that he might drink their nectar! She told him that, were she a mortal, she could not live without him, so excessive was her love; even now, immortal as she was, she should die for him, did not the Almighty support her, as he



THE SCAPULAR, ROSARY, AND CHAPLE..

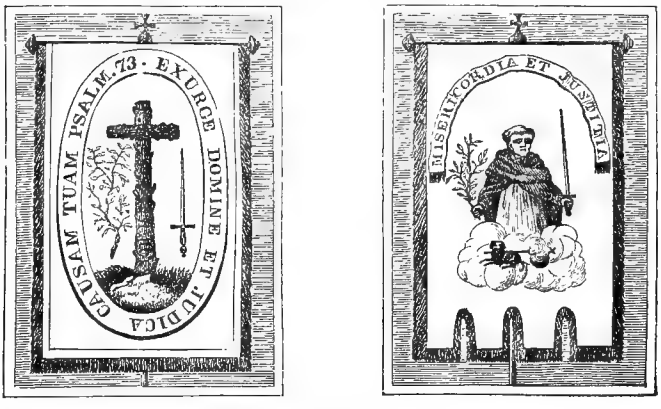
The *Scapular* is a habit worn over the shoulders, which the Virgin Mary is said to have given to Simo Stock, a hermit, to whom she appeared, assuring him that it was a "sign of salvation, a safeguard in danger, and a covenant of peace;" and that she would "never permit those who should wear her habit to be damned." It forms a part of the habit of several Religious Orders, and is worn over the gown. In a Roman Catholic work, published no longer ago than 1838, a saying of Father Alphonso is mentioned, that the Devil "had lost more souls by that holy vest than by any other means." This work is entitled "A brief account of the confraternity of our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, commonly called the Scapular."

The *Rosary* and *Chaplet* are used to count prayers *Ten* to the Virgin, represented by small beads, for every *one* to God, represented by a large bead



FAC-SIMILE OF THE CONSECRATED WAFER.

This is a representation of the *Wafer*, stamped as above, which the Romish priests profess to turn into a God and elevate above their heads, for the worship of the deluded multitude.



STANDARDS OF THE INQUISITION

Standard of the Inquisition of Spain.—This was a wooden cross, full of knots, with a sword and an olive branch, as represented in the engraving.

Standard of the Inquisition of Goa.—This represents St. Dominic, with a dog carrying a torch near a globe, because a little previous to his birth his mother dreamt she saw a dog lighting the world with a torch. In his right hand is a branch of olive, as a token of the peace he will make with such as shall declare themselves good Catholics; and in his left a sword, to denote the war he makes with heretics—with this motto, *Misericordia et Justitia*, (Mercy and Justice.)

Saint Francis the founder of the Franciscans, the Seraphic Order.

had done at the Crucifixion! At another visit, she espoused him; and the saints, and the Redeemer himself, came down to witness the marriage ceremony!

It is impossible to transcribe these atrocious blasphemies without shuddering at the guilt of those who invented them; and when it is remembered that these are the men who have persecuted and martyred so many thousands for conscience' sake, it seems as if human wickedness could not be carried farther. "Blessed," exclaims Dr. Southey, "be the day of Martin Luther's birth!—it should be a festival only second to that of the Nativity."*

§ 86.—The founder of the other of these celebrated mendicant orders was the son of a rich merchant of Assissi, in Italy. According to a valuable and more recent work of the able and learned author just referred to, he derived his name of Francesco from his familiar knowledge of the French tongue, which was at that time a rare accomplishment for an Italian; and Hercules is not better known in classical fable, than he became in Romish mythology, by the name of SAINT FRANCIS. In his youth, it is certain, that he was actuated by delirious piety; but the web of his history is interwoven with such inextricable falsehoods, that it is not possible to decide whether, in riper years, he became madman or impostor; nor whether at last he was the accomplice of his associates, or the victim. Having infected a few kindred spirits with his first enthusiasm, he obtained the Pope's consent to institute an order of Friars Minorite; so, in his humility, he called them; they are better known by the name of Franciscans, after their founder, in honor of whom they have likewise given themselves the *modest* appellation of the Seraphic Order—having in their blasphemous fables installed him above the Seraphim, upon the throne from which Lucifer fell!

§ 87.—Previous attempts had been made to enlist, in the service of the papal church, some of those fervent spirits, whose united hostility all its strength would have been insufficient to withstand; but these had been attended with little effect, and projects of this kind were discouraged, as rather injurious than hopeful, till Francis presented himself. His entire devotion to the Pope, his ardent adoration of the Virgin Mary, as the great Goddess of the Romish faith, the strangeness, and perhaps the very extravagance of the institute which he proposed, obtained a favorable acceptance for his proposals. Seclusion for the purpose of religious meditation, was the object of the earlier religious orders; his followers were to go into the streets and highways to exhort the people. The monks were justly reproached for luxury, and had become invidious for their wealth; the friars were bound to the severest rule of life; they went barefoot, and renounced, not only for themselves individually, but collectively also, all possessions whatever, trusting to daily charity for their daily bread. It was objected to him that

* Let not the reader suppose (as Romanists assert in relation to everything they would rather keep secret) that these are protestant forgeries. These *miracles* stand as above related (with the exception of the titles) in the prayer-book of the Dominican order of Roman Catholics.

no community, established upon such a principle, could subsist without a miracle: he referred to the lilies in the text, for scriptural authority; to the birds, for an example; and the marvellous increase of the order was soon admitted as full proof of the inspiration of its founder. In less than ten years, the delegates alone to its General Chapter exceeded five thousand in number; and by an enumeration in the early part of the eighteenth century, when the Reformation must have diminished their amount at least one-third, it was found that even then there were 28,000 Franciscan nuns in 900 nunneries, and 115,000 Franciscan friars in 7000 convents; besides very many nunneries, which, being under the immediate jurisdiction of the ordinary, and not of the order, were not included in the returns.

§ 88.—The miracles ascribed to Saint Francis were no less extravagant than those related of the head of the rival order. "The wildest romance," says Dr. Southey, "contains nothing more extravagant than the legends of St. Dominic: yet even these were outdone by the more atrocious effrontery of the Franciscans. They held up their founder, even during his life, as the perfect pattern of our Lord and Saviour; and, to authenticate the parallel, *they exhibited him with a wound in his side, and four nails in his hands and feet, fixed there, they affirmed, by Christ himself*, who had visibly appeared for the purpose of thus rendering the conformity between them complete! Whether he consented to the villainy, or was in such a state of moral and physical imbecility, as to have been the dupe or the victim of those about him; and whether it was committed with the connivance of the papal court, or only in certain knowledge that that court would sanction it when done, though it might not deem it prudent to be consenting before the fact,———are questions which it is now impossible to resolve. *Sanctioned, however, the horrible imposture was by that church which calls itself infallible;* a day for its perpetual commemoration was appointed in the Romish Calendar;* and a large volume was composed, entitled the Book of the Conformities between the lives of the blessed and seraphic Father Francis and our Lord!

Jealous of these conformities, the Dominicans followed their rivals in the path of blasphemy.... They declared that the five wounds had been impressed also upon St. Dominic; but that, in his consummate humility, he had prayed and obtained that this signal mark of Divine grace might never be made public while he lived.†

§ 89.—The two orders of Dominic and Francis, though engaged in the same work of hunting and persecuting the enemies of the

* The day set apart by the Romish church to commemorate this abominable imposture, is September 17th. See Calendar in "Garden of the Soul," published with approbation of Bishop Hughes, New York, 1844. It is the same in any Romish Calendar. See True Piety, St. Joseph's Manual, &c. The words opposite September 17th are, "*The holy stigmas* (Latin for wounds) *of St. Francis.*"

† See Southey's Book of the Church, chap. xi., fifth edition, London, 1841.

papal church, and both professing an equal zeal in the service of the Pope, soon began most cordially to hate each other, and to assume an attitude of fierce hostility and rivalry. Yet they obtained, for a time, a prodigious influence among the people, produced partly by their enthusiasm, partly by their appearance of sanctity and devotion, but chiefly by the implicit faith with which their enormous fables were received. Multitudes of the people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the mendicants end here; for we find, in the history of succeeding ages, that they were employed not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence; in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with the monastic character and profession. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost universal and absolute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent posts, ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardor and equal success. (*Mosheim*, cent. xiii., part 2. *Waddington*, chap. xix.)

CHAPTER X.

THE FOURTH COUNCIL OF LATERAN DECREES THE EXTERMINATION OF HERETICS, TRANSUBSTANTIATION, AND AURICULAR CONFESSION.

§ 90.—In the year 1215 was held at Rome, under the pontificate of Innocent III., the *twelfth general council*, and *fourth of Lateran*. On many accounts—the character of the Pope who presided, the number of ecclesiastics who were present, the doctrines that were then first made articles of faith, the tyrannical and sanguinary character of its decrees in relation to the extermination of heretics, &c.,—this council may be regarded as one of the most memorable in the history of Romanism. The number of church dignitaries

Innocent and the council give the dominions of Raimond to the popish butcher of heretics, Montfort.

present on this occasion, in addition to the Pope, was seventy metropolitans, four hundred bishops, and eight hundred and twelve abbots, priors, &c., besides several princes, imperial ambassadors, &c.

One of the most remarkable acts of this council, or rather of Pope Innocent, who was the sovereign dictator of all that was done in it, and which we mention first, because of its connection with matters already related, was the bestowment of the dominions of Raimond VI., the unfortunate count of Thoulouse, upon that obedient son of the Pope, the earl of Montfort, the bloodthirsty butcher of the Albigenses, as a reward for the service that he had rendered the church of Rome, in slaughtering such countless multitudes of the heretics and rebels against the Holy See. The persecuted Raimond travelled to Rome for the purpose of averting, if possible, this additional misfortune, and promised to give whatever satisfaction the Pope and the council might require. But his exertions were all in vain. "His dominions," says Bower, "were adjudged to count Montfort as a reward for his zeal in the destruction of the innocent Albigenses, and Montfort henceforth assumed the title of count of Thoulouse, and continued to persecute the poor Albigenses with fire and sword, though he could never entirely suppress them. Thus did the Pope and council, not only with the consent, but with the concurrence of princes, usurp an absolute power in temporals as well as in spirituals."*

The excommunication of the barons of England in this council, and the haughty letter of pope Innocent in relation to them, have already been related in a preceding chapter.

§ 91.—But the fourth council of Lateran is most noted for its famous (or infamous) decree relative to *the extirpation of heretics*, and the thunders that were to be hurled at princes, and the punishment to be inflicted on them in case they should refuse to join in this *pious*, but bloody work. The following is a literal translation of the most important portion of this decree, translated from the Latin original as found in the *summa conciliorum* of *Caranza*, a celebrated Romanist author. The third chapter begins thus: "WE EXCOMMUNICATE AND ANATHEMATIZE EVERY HERESY EXTOLLING ITSELF AGAINST THIS HOLY, ORTHODOX, CATHOLIC FAITH WHICH WE BEFORE EXPOUNDED, condemning all heretics by what names soever called. And being condemned, let them be left to the SECULAR POWER, or to their bailiffs, to be punished by due animadversion. And let the *secular powers* be *warned and induced*, and if need be *condemned* by ecclesiastical censure, what offices soever they are in, that as they desire to be reputed and taken for believers, so they publicly TAKE AN OATH FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE FAITH, THAT THEY WILL STUDY IN GOOD EARNEST TO EXTERMINATE, TO THEIR UTMOST POWER, FROM THE LANDS SUBJECT TO THEIR JURISDICTION, ALL HERETICS DENOTED BY THE CHURCH; 'Pro defensione fidei præstat jura-

* Lives of the Popes, in vita Innoc. III.

Decrees of the Pope and council commanding princes, under heavy penalties, to exterminate heretics.

mentum, quod de terris suæ jurisdictionis subjectos universos hæreticos ab Ecclesia denotatos, bonâ fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt;' so that every one, that is henceforth taken into *any power, either spiritual or temporal*, shall be bound to confirm this chapter by his oath." . . . "But if the *temporal lord*, required and warned by the church, shall neglect to *purge his territory of this heretical filth*, let him by the Metropolitan and Comprovincial Bishops be tied by the bond of excommunication; and if he scorn to satisfy within a year, let *that be signified to the Pope, that he may denounce his vassals thenceforth* ABSOLVED FROM HIS FIDELITY (or allegiance), *and may expose his country to be seized on by Catholics, who, the heretics being excommunicated, may possess it without any contradiction*, and may keep it in the purity of faith, saving the right of the principal lord, so be it he himself put no obstacle hereto, nor oppose any impediment; the same law notwithstanding being kept about them that have no principal lord."* . . . "And the Catholics that *taking the badge of the cross shall gird themselves for the exterminating of heretics*, shall enjoy that indulgence, and be fortified with that holy privilege which is granted to them that go to the help of the holy land." . . . "And we decree to subject to excommunication the *believers and receivers, defenders and favorers of heretics*, firmly ordaining, that when any such person is noted by excommunication, if he disdain to satisfy within a year, let him be, *ipso jure*, made infamous."

I make no comment on the above outrageous decree of pope Innocent and the twelfth general council united (*the highest legislative authority in the Romish church*), nor is it needed. The history of the persecuted Raimond, hunted, excommunicated, anathematized, and finally deposed, for no other reason except that he did not use sufficient diligence in executing the Pope's commands "to exterminate, to the utmost of his power, all heretics from the lands subject to his jurisdiction," together with that of the slaughtered Albigenses, is an eloquent sermon on the above text.

§ 92.—In this general council also, by the twenty-first canon, the practice of AURICULAR CONFESSION was for the first time authoritatively enjoined upon the faithful of both sexes *at least once a year*. They were also commanded, under severe penalties in case of neglect, to receive the eucharist at Easter, unless a particular dispensation excusing from this duty should be granted to them. The sacrament was generally taken immediately after confession. Fleury, the

* As this is the most important part of the decree, and it is a common device of Romanists to deny the accuracy of translations, we subjoin the original of the above remarkable paragraph. "Si dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hæretica fœditate, per Metropolitanos et cæteros Episcopos vinculo excommunicationis innodetur; et si satisfacere contempserit infra annum, significetur hoc Summo Pontifici, et extunc ipse vassalos ab ejus fidelitate denunciet absolutos, et terram exponet Catholicis occupandam qui eam, hæreticis exterminatis, sine ulla contradictione possideant, salvo jure Domini principalis, dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum, eadem nihilominus lege servata, circa eos qui non habent Dominos principales."

Romish historian, says, "this is the *first canon*, so far as I know, which imposes the general obligation of sacramental confession;" and from this admission, it is easy for any one to calculate the date of this modern popish innovation.*

The horrible disorders, seductions, adulteries, and abominations of every kind that have sprung from this practice of auricular confession, especially in Spain and other popish countries, are familiar to all acquainted with the history of Popery for the six centuries that have transpired since the fourth council of Lateran. The details of individual facts on this subject are hardly fit to meet the public eye, though multitudes of them might easily be cited, derived not merely from the testimony of protestants, but from the admissions of papists themselves, and from the numerous, though ineffectual laws that have been passed to restrain the practice of priestly *solicitation* of females at confession. Nor can this be matter of surprise. The evil is inherent in the system. Let any person of common sense examine the list of subjects, and the questions for examination of conscience in any popish book of devotion, but more especially (if he understands Latin) the directions to young priests in Dens and other standard works for the study of popish theology;† then let him remember that the subjects of these

* From the following extract from Butler's Roman Catholic catechism, it will be seen that this law, passed so late as 1215, is made one of the "six commandments of the church," and is placed upon a level with the "ten commandments of God."

LESSON XX.—*On the Precepts of the Church.*—*Q.* Are there *any other commandments* besides the ten commandments of God? *Ans.* There are the commandments or precepts of the Church, which are chiefly six.

Q. Say the six commandments of the church? *Ans.* 1. To hear Mass on Sundays, and all holy days of obligation. 2. To fast and abstain on the days commanded. 3. To confess our sins at least once a year. 4. To RECEIVE WORTHILY THE BLESSED EUCHARIST AT EASTER, OR WITHIN THE TIME APPOINTED. 5. To contribute to the support of our pastors. 6. Not to solemnize marriage at the forbidden times, nor to marry persons within the forbidden degrees of kindred, or otherwise prohibited by the church, nor clandestinely.

† The following extracts from the "Moral Theology of Peter Dens, as prepared for the use of Romish Seminaries and Students of Theology," are transcribed from the Mechlin edition, printed no longer ago than 1838. I dare not stir the scum of this pool of filth by translating a single paragraph from the Latin. Let the learned reader remember that in confession it is the duty of the priest to question and to cross-question, in every variety of form, the *female* penitents in relation to the sins described in the following extracts:—

DE MODO CONTRA NATURAM.—"Quinta species luxuriæ contra naturam committitur *quando quidam copula masculi fit in vase feminæ naturali, sed indebito modo*, v. g. stando, aut dum vir succumbit, vel a retro feminam cognoscit, sicut equi congrediuntur, quamvis in vase femineo.

"Possunt autem hi modi inducere peccatum mortale juxta periculum perdendi semen, eò quòd scilicet semen viri communiter non possit apte effundi usque in matricem feminæ.

"Et quamvis fortè conjuges dicant quòd periculum diligenter præcaveant, illi interim lascivi modi á gravi veniali excusari non debent, nisi fortè propter impotentiam, v. g. ob curvitatem uxoris, nequeat servari naturalis situs et modus, qui est ut mulier succumbat viro." (Vol. iv., No. 295.)

Modus sive situs invertitur, ut servetur debitum vas ad copulam a natura ordi-

beastly inquiries are often young, beautiful, and interesting females; and that the questioners are *men*, often young and vigorous, burning with the fires of passion, in some instances almost wrought up to phrenzy by a vow of celibacy which they would be glad to shake off, and then he will cease to wonder that the confessional has so often been turned into a school of licentiousness, seduction and adultery.

§ 93.—A single fact will be sufficient to show the awful extent in popish countries of this crime of illicit intercourse with females at

natum, v. g. si fiat accedendo a præpostere, a latere, stando, sedendo, vel si vir sit succumbus. Modus is mortalis est, si inde suboriatur periculum pollutionis respectu alterius, sive quando periculum est, ne semen perdatur, prout sæpe accidit, dum actus exercetur stando, sedendo, aut viro succumbente: si absit et sufficienter præcaveatur istud periculum, ex communi sententia id non est mortale: est autem veniale ex gravioribus, cum sit inversio ordinis naturæ; estque generatim modus ille sine causa taliter coeundi *graviter a Confessariis reprehendendus:* si tamen ob justam rationem situm naturalem conjuges immutent, secludaturque dictum periculum, nullum est peccatum.

Quoad tactus libidinosos, quos conjugati exercent erga corpus alterutrius, ii sunt mortaliter mali, si fiant cum pollutione alterius, vel ejus periculo.

Si absit periculum pollutionis, et ordinentur ad copulam, tunc vel ad eam necessarii sunt, et sic non sunt peccaminosi, vel non sunt ad eam necessarii et erunt venialiter mali, quia solius causa voluptatis haberi supponuntur.

Si tactus illi, secluso pollutionis periculo, non referantur ad copulam, non ita conveniunt Auctores; docent plerique, quod si sint adeo infames, ut nequidem ex copulæ intuitu excusentur a gravi peccato, eos esse mortaliter malos, si vero sint tactus ordinarii, nec diu in eis sistatur, docent plurimi contra eosdem esse tantum venialiter malos; quia voluptas illa non quæritur extra limites Matrimonii.

Quest. An uxor possit se tactibus excitare ad seminationem, si a copula conjugali retraxerit, maritus, postquam ipse seminaverit, sed antequam seminaverit uxor?

Resp. Plurimi negant; eo quod, cum vir se retraxerit, actus sit completus, adeoque illa seminatio mulieris foret peccatum pollutionis: alii vero affirmant: quia ista excitatio spectat ad actus conjugalis complementum et perfectionem: excipiunt tamen casum, ubi periculum est ne semen ad extra profundatur.

De Bestialitate.—Ad hoc crimen reducitur congressus carnalis cum dæmone in corpore assumpto: quod scelus aggravatur per circumstantiam contra religionem, quatenus includit societatem cum dæmone; ideòque gravis est et gravissimum peccatum contra naturam: consideranda est etiam forma corporis vel hominis, vel bestiæ, in qua apparet dæmon; item repræsentatio personæ virginis, monialis, &c. Verùm plerumque præsumendum est, talia solum fieri per fortem imaginationem, quâ decipiuntur homines.

The following instruction is given (vol. iv., No. 287) to the priest when examining a young girl (puella):—"Confessarius prudens omnem evadet invidiam hâc methodo: dum puella confitetur se esse fornicatam, confessarius petat, an prima vice, quâ simile peccatum commisit, exposuerit circumstantiam amissæ virginitatis. Si respondeat categoricè, ita, vel non, cessat difficultas; et quidem si jam sint primæ vices statim reponet, jam fuisse primas vices, adeòque solùm ei dici debet, ut conteratur de illa circumstantia, et eam confiteatur: si taceat, instruatur, illam circumstantiam tutiùs semel exprimendam, adeòque si id nunquam fecerit, jam desuper doleat et se accuset." See the first and last of these citations in a Synopsis of this popish Theology, edited by Rev. Dr. Berg, of Philadelphia. The remainder, with enough similar ones to fill a volume, may be found in the fourth and sixth volumes of Dens' Latin work. I regard the work of Dr. Berg, which is a translation of enough of Dens' Theology to show the true character of Popery, as a work of immense value. The filthy extracts of this popish divine, on the subject of this note, the Doctor has wisely left in the original Latin.

Priestly *solicitation* in Spain. Inquiry hushed up on account of the immense number of criminals.

confession. About 1560, a bull was issued by pope Pius IV., directing the Inquisition to inquire into the prevalence of this crime, which begins as follows:—"Whereas certain ecclesiastics, in the kingdoms of Spain, and in the cities and diocesses thereof, having the cure of souls, or exercising such cure for others, or otherwise deputed to hear the confessions of penitents, have broken out into such heinous acts of iniquity, as to abuse the sacrament of penance in the very act of hearing the confessions, nor fearing to injure the same sacrament, and him who instituted it, our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, by *enticing and provoking, or trying to entice and provoke, females to lewd actions, at the very time when they were making their confessions*," *&c., &c.*

Upon the publication of this bull in Spain, the Inquisition issued an edict requiring all females who had been thus abused by the priests at the confessional, and all who were privy to such acts, to give information, within thirty days, to the holy tribunal; and very heavy censures were attached to those who should neglect or despise this injunction. When this edict was first published, such a considerable number of females went to the palace of the inquisitor, in the single city of Seville, to reveal the conduct of their infamous confessors, that twenty notaries, and as many inquisitors, were appointed to minute down their several informations against them; but these being found insufficient to receive the depositions of so many witnesses, and the inquisitors being thus overwhelmed, as it were, with the pressure of such affairs, thirty days more were allowed for taking the accusations, and this lapse of time also proving inadequate to the intended purpose, a similar period was granted not only for a third but a fourth time. Maids and matrons of every rank and station crowded to the Inquisition. Modesty, shame, and a desire of concealing the facts from their husbands, induced many to go veiled. But the multitude of depositions, and the odium which the discovery threw on auricular confession, and the popish priesthood, caused the Inquisition to quash the prosecutions, and to consign the depositions to oblivion.* And thus for fear of the disgrace that would be brought upon an apostate church and its vicious and corrupt priesthood, these abominable crimes were hushed up, and their vile perpetrators permitted, with their hands all defiled as they were with the filth of unhallowed lust, to minister at the altar, and to enjoy still, in the words of pope Urban, "the eminence granted to none of the angels, of creating God, the Creator of all things." Well was it for these priests that they did nothing *worse* than to pollute the confessional with their filthy lusts; had they been guilty of the crime, so much more horrible, in the estimation of papists, of denying that the bit of bread consecrated by hands like theirs was the eternal God, the Lord Christ, with "his body, soul, and divinity," they would not have slipped through the hands of these holy inquisitors so easily. For this latter crime, hundreds of heretics had, within a few years, been burned alive by

* Gonsalv, 185; Llorente, 355; Limborch, 111; Edgar, 529; Da Costa, i., 117

Council of Lateran decrees Transubstantiation. Feast of Corpus Christi.

popish butchers at Smithfield, and the fires kindled by the bloody Mary, were scarcely extinguished in England, when the events I have just related occurred in Spain. Such is popish morality, and such is popish justice.

§ 94.—It was in this council also, that the absurd dogma of *transubstantiation** was first enjoined as an article of faith by pope Innocent, who himself stamped upon that doctrine the name by which it has ever since been designated. Since the days of Innocent, what multitudes of holy men and women have expired amidst the flames of martyrdom, because they refused assent to this outrage upon common sense, first established as an article of faith in the year 1215. The reader, familiar with the days of bloody queen Mary of England, need not be told that a belief in this dogma was then generally made the test question by popish persecutors, upon the denial of which the martyrs of that age were consigned to the flames.

In the words of the learned Archbishop Tillotson, this doctrine of Transubstantiation "has been, in the church of Rome, the great *burning article;* and as absurd and unreasonable as it is, more Christians have been murdered for the denial of it, than perhaps for all the other articles of their religion." What protestant will not join in the pious exclamation of this excellent prelate and powerful opponent of Popery. "O blessed Saviour! thou best friend and greatest lover of mankind, who can imagine that thou didst ever intend that men should kill one another, for not being able to believe contrary to their senses? for being unwilling to think that thou shouldst make one of the most horrid and barbarous things that can be imagined, a main duty and principal mystery of thy religion? for *not flattering the pride and presumption of the priest who says he can make God*, and for not complying with the folly and stupidity of the people who are *made to believe that they can eat him?*"†

§ 95.—The worship of the *Host* or wafer was a natural result of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation as established at this council of Lateran. Accordingly, we find that this idolatry was soon grafted upon that popish innovation. From the Roman canon law we learn that pope Honorius, who succeeded Innocent III., shortly after the council, ordered that the priests, at a certain part of the mass service, should elevate the consecrated wafer, and at the same instant the people should prostrate themselves before it in worship.

About fifty years after the council—that is, in the year 1264—that celebrated festival, still observed with so much pomp and parade in popish countries, called the *Feast of Corpus Christi*, or *Body of Christ*, was established by pope Urban IV. In this feast, the wafer idol is carried through the streets in procession, amidst

* For the historical account of the origin of this doctrine, see above, Book iv., Chap. 2, pp. 192—206.

† Tillotson on Transubstantiation, p. 277.

scenes of merriment, rejoicing and illumination, and upon its approach all fall down on their knees and worship it till it has passed by. The cause of the establishment of this festival of the *holy sacrament*, as it was also called, was as follows. A certain fanatical woman named Juliana declared that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was *inwardly* informed by the spirit, that the *moon* signified the *church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honor of the *holy sacrament*. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd, and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by Robert, bishop of Liege, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole province, notwithstanding the opposition he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of Juliana, one of her friends and companions, whose name was Eve, took up her name with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with Urban IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian churches, without exception. Diestemus, a prior of the Benedictine monks, relates a *miracle*, as one cause of the establishment of this senseless, idolatrous festival. He tells us that a certain priest having some doubts of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, blood flowed from the consecrated wafer into the cup or *chalice*, and also upon the *corporale* or linen cloth upon which the host and the chalice are placed. The corporale, having been brought, all bloody as it was, to Urban, the prior tells us that the Pope was convinced of the miracle, and thereupon appointed the solemnity of Corpus Christi to be annually celebrated.*

§ 96.—In all Roman Catholic countries, special honors are paid to the wafer idol, as it is borne through the streets either on the festival of Corpus Christi, or on any other occasion. In Spain, when a priest carries the consecrated wafer to a dying man, a person with a small bell accompanies him. At the sound of the bell, all who hear it are obliged to fall on their knees, and to remain in that posture till they hear it no longer.

"Its sound operates like magic on the Spaniards. In the midst of a gay, noisy party, the word, '*Sa Majestad*' (*his Majesty*, the term they apply to the host) will bring every one upon his knees until the tinkling dies in the distance. Are you at dinner? you must leave the table; in bed? you must, at least, sit up. But the most preposterous effect of this custom is to be seen at the theatres. On the approach of the host to any military guard, the drum beats, the men are drawn out, and, as soon as the priest can be seen, they bend the right knee and invert the firelocks, placing the point of the

* Diestemus, Commen. ad annum 1496—quoted by Bower vi., 296.

Procession of Corpus Christi, at Rome—Colosseum in the foreground.

Violence to a stranger in Rome for not bowing the knee to the idol.

bayonet on the ground. As an officer's guard is always stationed at the door of a Spanish theatre, I have often laughed in my sleeve at the effect of the *chamade* both upon the actors and the company. *Dios, Dios,* (*A God, A God,*) resounds from all parts of the house, and every one falls that moment upon his knees. The actors' ranting, or the rattling of the castanets in the *fandango*, is hushed for a few minutes, till the sound of the bell growing fainter and fainter, the amusement is resumed, and the devout performers are once more upon their legs, anxious to make amends for the interruption."*

At such a time as this, wo be to the man, in any Popish country, who refuses to bend the knee, or at least to take off his hat in honor of the idol. Says Professor S. F. B. Morse, in a work published some few years ago, and who witnessed the celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi at Rome, "I was a stranger in Rome, and recovering from the debility of a slight fever; I was walking for air and gentle exercise in the Corso, on the day of the celebration of the Corpus Domini. From the houses on each side of the street were hung rich tapestries and gold embroidered damasks, and toward me slowly advanced a long procession, decked out with all the heathenish paraphernalia of this self-styled church. In a part of the procession a lofty baldichino, or canopy, borne by men, was held above the idol, the host, before which, as it passed, all heads were uncovered, and every knee bent but mine. Ignorant of the customs of heathenism, I turned my back to the procession, and close to the side of the houses in the crowd (as I supposed unobserved), I was noting in my tablets the order of the assemblage. I was suddenly aroused from my occupation, and staggered by a blow upon the head from the gun and bayonet of a soldier, which struck off my hat far into the crowd. Upon recovering from the shock, the soldier, with the expression of a demon, and his mouth pouring forth a torrent of Italian oaths, in which *il diavolo* had a prominent place, stood with his bayonet against my breast. I could make no resistance; I could only ask him why he struck me, and receive in answer his fresh volley of unintelligible imprecations, which having delivered, he resumed his place in the *guard of honor*, by the side of the officiating Cardinal."† Such is the manner in which those who refuse to bow the knee to idols are treated in popish countries, and such is the way, should Popery become generally prevalent and powerful in the United States, that such would be treated here.‡

* Doblada's Letters from Spain, p. 13.

† Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States—by Saml. F. B. Morse, Prof. in the University of New York; p. 172.

‡ In Cincinnati, papists have already become sufficiently daring to insult American citizens, and knock off their hats unless they render proper homage to the popish processions, which are already beginning to make the "Queen City of the West" resemble some of the popish cities of Europe. I have before me a letter of the Honorable Alexander Duncan, at that time a Senator of the State of Ohio, dated January 10th, 1835, giving an account of such an insult offered to him in

CHAPTER XI.

CONTESTS BETWEEN THE POPES AND THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II.—GUELPHS AND GHIBELINES.

§ 97.—Pope Innocent III. lived but a few months after the council of Lateran. He died on the 16th of July, 1216, and was succeeded by Honorius III. During his pontificate, the Isle of Man, a small island lying between England and Ireland, now a possession of Great Britain, but then an independent kingdom, was ceded by its king, Reginald, to pope Honorius, as a fief of the Roman church, and the instrument of donation was delivered into the hand of Pandulph, the same Legate of the Pope as received the submission of king John. The Legate immediately restored the island to Reginald, as a gift of the apostolic See, upon his binding himself and heirs to pay a yearly tribute to the Pope, as an acknowledgment of his vassalage. Probably this was done in accordance with the claim of the popes, that *all islands* belonged to St. Peter, though one motive of this petty sovereign, in thus making himself a vassal of the Pope, might be the powerful protector which he should thereby secure against the innovations of the king of England, or other neighboring sovereigns.

§ 98.—In the year 1220, the emperor Frederick II., after making several concessions to the demands of the pope Honorius, was solemnly crowned by him in Rome, upon which occasion, to gratify his *Holiness*, he published the sanguinary laws against heretics that have been quoted in a previous chapter. While at Rome, the Emperor also, at the request of the Pope, made a solemn vow to go in person on another crusade to the Holy land, and received the cross at the hands of Cardinal Hugotin, though for his tardiness for fulfilling this vow, he excited the anger of Honorius, and still more of pope Gregory IX., who succeeded Honorius in the year 1227. Indeed almost immediately after his consecration, Gregory wrote a menacing letter to the Emperor, threatening him with the thunders of the church, if he did not immediately set out on his expedition to the Holy land.

the public streets of that city, because he did not take off his hat in reverence of a popish foreign bishop, in a procession to consecrate a Romish chapel. On the arrival of the procession opposite to where he stood, he was requested to uncover his head immediately. The Senator replied that he was in a public street, and however much he might respect the forms of the Roman Catholic religion, it ill comported with his dignity as an American citizen to offer such homage to any man. On saying this, he was instantly surrounded by several papists, his hat forcibly torn from his head, his clothes torn, and his person abused and beaten. Several other Americans on the same occasion, who had the hardihood to stand with their hats in the presence of this popish bishop and his idolatrous procession, were treated with the same insult and barbarity as Dr. Duncan.—(*See the Letter of Senator Duncan in the Cincinnati Journal, January 23d*, 1835.)

Frederick's success in Palestine. Pope Gregory IX. makes war on the empire in his absence.

Notwithstanding these threats, however, the Emperor put off his voyage from time to time, under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff, Gregory IX., he followed with a small train of attendants, the troops who expected with most anxious impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than instead of carrying on the war with vigor, he turned all his thoughts toward peace, and without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with Melic Camel, sultan of Egypt. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that Frederick should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem; this condition was immediately executed; and the Emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands, and having thus settled matters in Palestine, he returned without delay into Italy, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the Emperor by the Pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had been yet undertaken against the infidels in the Holy land.

§ 99.—The pretended vicar of Christ, forgetting, or rather unwilling to persuade himself, that his master's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the Emperor in Apulia during his absence, and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederick, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and in Italy, and in the year following made his peace with the pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was of but short duration, nor was it possible for the Emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of Gregory. He, therefore, broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy that were in alliance with the See of Rome, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory looked upon as part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the Emperor's head, in the year 1239. Frederick was excommunicated publicly, with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of Europe. The Emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these diffi-

Death of pope Gregory IX. Innocent IV. excommunicates and deposes the Emperor at the council of Lyons.

culties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederick, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the Emperor disconcerted that audacious project, by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. Thus were the designs of Gregory frustrated, and shortly afterward this restless and imperious pontiff died, and was succeeded by Celestine IV., who, however, only occupied the papal throne eighteen days, before he was removed by death, and made way for Innocent IV., who was chosen to the vacant See in 1243.

§ 100.—Upon the accession of Innocent, who had always professed great friendship for Frederick, the friends of the Emperor congratulated him upon the election of one who would be likely to prove so favorable to his interests; but having more penetration than those about him, he sagely replied, "I see little reason to rejoice. The Cardinal was my friend, but the Pope will be my enemy." Innocent soon proved the justice of this conjecture. He ambitiously attempted to negotiate a peace for Italy, but not being able to obtain from Frederick his exorbitant demands, and in fear for the safety of his own person, he fled into France, assembled a general council, and deposed the Emperor. "I declare," said he, "Frederick II. attainted and convicted of sacrilege and heresy, excommunicated and dethroned; and I order the electors to choose another emperor, reserving to myself the disposal of the kingdom of Sicily." Frederick was at Turin when he received the news of his deposition, and behaved in a manner that seemed to border upon weakness. He called for the casket in which the imperial ornaments were kept; and opening it, and taking the crown in his hand, "Innocent," cried he, "has not yet deprived me of thee: thou art still mine! and before I part with thee, much blood shall be spilt."*

§ 101.—The council at which the Emperor was deposed, was held at Lyons in France, in 1245, and is reckoned the *thirteenth general council.* The sentence of pope Innocent, says Bower, "deprived him of the empire, of all his other kingdoms, dignities, and dominions, and *absolved his subjects from their allegiance, forbidding them, on pain of excommunication, to lend him any assistance whatever.*"† It is related also, that in this council the cardinals were distinguished by pope Innocent with the *red hat*, a distinction which has ever since been regarded as the peculiar badge of that ecclesiastical dignity, second in rank only to that of the sovereign pontiff.

Frederick not only refused to submit to the Pope's decree of deposition, but also punished as rebels those who should regard the interdict laid upon his kingdom, and should, in consequence thereof, refuse to perform funeral or other services of religion. In this con-

* M. Paris, Hist. Major.—Russell i., page 195.
† See Lives of the Popes, in vitâ Innocent IV.

test, the party of the Emperor was called the *Ghibelines*, and those who sided with the Pope, the *Guelphs*. Frederick did not live to carry on this contest long; he died in the year 1250, as is generally thought, of a fever, though some supposed him to have suffered from the effects of a dose of poison secretly administered.

Innocent IV. was in France, when he heard of his death, and returning thence in the beginning of the spring of 1251, he wrote to all the towns to celebrate the deliverance of the church; gave boundless expression to his joy, and made his entry into Milan, and the principal cities of Lombardy, with all the pomp of a triumph. He supposed that the republicans of Italy had fought only for him, and that he alone would henceforth be obeyed by them; of this he soon made them too sensible. He treated the Milanese with arrogance, and threatened to excommunicate them for not having respected some ecclesiastical immunity. It was the moment in which the republic, like a warrior reposing himself after battle, began to feel its wounds. It had made immense sacrifices for the Guelph party; it had emptied the treasury, obtained patriotic gifts from every citizen who had anything to spare; pledged its revenues, and loaded itself with debt to the extent of its credit. The ingratitude of the Pope, at a moment of universal suffering, deeply offended the Milanese; and the influence of the Ghibelines in a city, where, till then, they had been treated as enemies, might be dated from that period.* Innocent soon found that though his most formidable antagonist was dead, there were many surviving of the party which had acknowledged him as its chief, and after some further contests with the Ghibelines, who continued to offer a steady resistance to the overbearing tyranny of the Pope, he died about four years after Frederick, in the year 1254.

§ 102.—The immediate successors of Innocent IV. were Alexander, Urban and Clement, each fourth of the name. Alexander succeeded in 1254, Urban in 1261, and Clement in 1265. The pontificates of the two latter were distinguished chiefly by the fierce contests between the Guelphs, the party of the Pope, and the Ghibelines, the adherents of the family of the deceased emperor Frederick, especially in the kingdom of the two Sicilies. At the accession of Urban IV. in 1261, Manfred the son of the emperor Frederick, and (since his father's death), the chief of the Ghibeline party, was firmly established upon the throne of the Two Sicilies. The Pope saw with great uneasiness his growing power, and the consequent increasing influence of his faction. Feared even in Rome and the neighboring provinces, master in Tuscany, and making daily progress in Lombardy, Manfred seemed on the point of making the whole peninsula a single monarchy; and it was no longer with the arms of his German or Italian friends that the Pope could hope to subdue him.

The thunders of excommunication, and even the severe sentence

* Sismondi's Italian Republics, chapter iv.

of deposition, had already been tried against the refractory Manfred, but since the successful resistance of his father Frederic, the terror produced by these spiritual weapons had evidently begun to diminish. It was deemed necessary, therefore, by the Pope to call in the aid of more substantial weapons than those forged by spiritual despotism, and before which the superstitious multitude had so often trembled. Accordingly, Urban addressed himself to the brave and powerful Charles, Count of Anjou, brother to the king of France and sovereign in right of his wife of the county of Provence: and offered to his ambition the splendid prize of the crown of the two Sicilies, upon condition of his subduing the rebellious Ghibeline, Manfred.

§ 103.—Charles had already signalized himself in war; he was, like his brother, a bigoted papist, and still more fanatical and bitter toward the enemies of the church, against whom he abandoned himself without restraint to his harsh and pitiless character. His religious zeal, however, did not interfere with his policy; his interest set limits to his subjection to the church; he knew how to manage those whom he wished to gain; and he could flatter, at his need, the public passions, restrain his anger, and preserve in his language a moderation which was not in his heart. Avarice appeared his ruling passion; but it was only the means of serving his ambition, which was unbounded. He accepted the offer of the Pope. His wife Beatrice, ambitious of the title of Queen, borne by her three sisters, pawned all her jewels to aid in levying an army of 30,000 men, which she led herself through Lombardy. The Count had preceded her. Having gone by sea to Rome, with 1000 knights, he made his entry into that city on the 24th of May, 1265.

A new pope, like his predecessor a Frenchman, named Clement IV., had succeeded Urban, and was not less favorable to Charles of Anjou. He caused him to be elected senator of Rome, and at the hands of four of his most distinguished cardinals, conferred on him the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily.

The crafty and ambitious Pope, however, took care to clog this gift with conditions, which in effect rendered the count of Anjou, in the event of his success, a tributary and a vassal of the Holy See. Among other articles, there was one in which Charles engaged to take an oath of fealty to the Pope, and to do homage to Clement and his successors on the papal throne; by another article, the clergy of the kingdom were to be exempted from all accountability to the secular tribunals, in criminal as well as in civil cases; by another, the King was to pay the Pope an annual sum of eight thousand ounces of gold, and to present his Holiness with *a fair and good white horse*, 'unum palafrænum pulchrum et bonum;' and by another article the King engaged to keep one thousand horsemen constantly ready for war, with arms and equipments, to be employed by the Pope in the *Holy War*, or in the *defence of the church*. Upon Charles assenting to these articles of agreement—in which it will be seen that the Pope took good care of his own interests—he was proclaimed at Rome king of Sicily on the 29th of May, 1265,

Manfred killed in battle, refused burial, and cast into a ditch. Murder of the youthful Conradin

and solemnly crowned, with his wife Beatrice, on the 16th of January following.

§ 104.—The victory which Charles soon obtained over Manfred, and the death of the latter on the field of battle, restored the ascendency of the Guelph party, the adherents of the Pope, in Italy. The body of Manfred, by order of the Pope's legates, was forbidden, on account of his dying while under a sentence of excommunication, to be buried in consecrated ground, and was therefore thrown into a ditch. Charles exercised his dominion in Sicily with cruelty and rigor, and oppressed the Sicilians, as their conqueror, with intolerable burdens. One act of the tyranny of this obedient vassal of the Pope deserves to be recorded as a specimen of his vindictiveness and cruelty. It was about the end of the year 1267 that the young Conradin, grandson of Frederic and nephew of Manfred, aged only sixteen years, in compliance with the invitation which had been privately sent him by many of the Sicilian barons, to come and take possession of his paternal and hereditary kingdom, arrived at Verona, with 10,000 cavalry, to claim the inheritance of which the popes had despoiled his family. All the Ghibelines and brave captains, who had distinguished themselves in the service of his grandfather and uncle, hastened to join him, and to aid him with their swords and counsel. Conradin entered the kingdom of his fathers, and met Charles of Anjou in the plain of Tagliacozzo, on the 23d of August, 1368. A desperate battle ensued; victory long remained doubtful. Conradin, forced at length to fly, was arrested, forty-five miles from Tagliacozzo, as he was about to embark for Sicily. He was brought to Charles, who, without pity for his youth, esteem for his courage, or respect for his just right, exacted, from the iniquitous judges, before whom he subjected him to the mockery of a trial, a sentence of death: and this interesting and unfortunate young prince was beheaded in the market-place at Naples, on the 26th of October, 1268. Thus by this series of usurpations, oppressions and cruelties, undertaken by order of the popes, was the preponderance of the papal party once more established throughout Italy and Sicily.*

§ 105.—The inhabitants of Sicily, though always distinguished for their zealous adherence to the Romish faith, submitted with impatience to the foreign yoke imposed on them through the influence of the Pope. Oppressed by the victorious French soldiery which Charles of Anjou had brought with him into that island, they sighed for a return of the mild rule of their ancient race of sovereigns, and had formed the design of expelling their oppressors, and establishing upon the throne Don Pedro, king of Arragon, the son-in-law of Manfred, and husband of Constance, who was a daughter of Manfred, and consequently a granddaughter of Frederick II. But, says Sismondi, "Sicily was destined to be delivered by a sudden and popular explosion, which took place at Palermo

* See Sismondi's Italian Republics, chap. iv

on the 30th of March, 1282. It was excited by a French soldier, who treated rudely the person of a young bride, as she was proceeding to the church of Montreal, with her betrothed husband, to receive the nuptial benediction. The indignation of her relations and friends was communicated with the rapidity of lightning to the whole population of Palermo. At that moment the bells of the churches were ringing for vespers: the people answered by the cry, 'To arms—death to the French!' The French were attacked furiously on all sides, and in a few hours more than 4000 of that hated nation were destroyed. Thus the *Sicilian vespers* overthrew the tyranny of Charles of Anjou and the Guelphs; separated the kingdom of Sicily from that of Naples; and transferred the crown of the former to Don Pedro of Arragon, who was considered the heir to the house of Hohenstaufen."

§ 106.—The pontificate of Gregory X., who succeeded Clement IV. in 1271, is distinguished chiefly by the *fourteenth general council*, which was held at Lyons in 1274, in which the two principal subjects of deliberation were (1), the relief of the Christians in Palestine, and the preservation of the conquests of former crusaders, and (2) the reunion of the Greek and Latin churches, which had for a long time been alienated from each other. Ambassadors were sent to it from the Greek emperor at Constantinople, and articles of concord and union between the Greek and the Latin churches were agreed upon and adopted, and a eulogy was pronounced upon the emperor Michael Palæologus, and his son Andronicus, by the Pope, in the fourth session of the council, as the chief authors and promoters of this union. During the sessions of the council, the Pope and cardinals prevailed upon the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to grant the tenth part of their income for the relief of the Christians in Palestine for the space of six years. But the most memorable act of this council was the law relative to the mode of electing a new pope, by which the cardinals were required to be shut up together in *conclave* during the election. The doors were to be carefully watched and guarded, so as to prevent all improper ingress or egress, and everything examined that was carried in, lest it should be calculated to influence the election. If the election were not over in three days, they were to be allowed but one dish for dinner; and if protracted a fortnight longer, they were, after that, to be confined altogether to bread, wine, and water, and a majority of two thirds of the cardinals was required to make a lawful election. This famous law, though with some modifications, has been continued in force to the present time.

§ 107.—Some time before this, the Pope had sent a letter of remonstrance and warning to Henry, bishop of Liege, in relation to his vicious life. Of this letter the following is an extract. "We hear," says the Pope, "with great concern, that you are abandoned to incontinence and simony, and are the father of many children, some born before and some after your promotion to the episcopal dignity. You have taken an abbess of the order of St. Benedict

for your concubine, and have boasted, at a public entertainment, of your having had fourteen children in the space of two-and-twenty months. (!) To some of your children you have given benefices, and even trusted them, though under age, with the cure of souls. Others you have married advantageously at the expense of your bishopric. In one of your houses, called the park, you keep a nun, and when you visit her you leave all your attendants at the gate. The abbess of a monastery in your diocese dying, you annulled the canonical election of another, and named in her room the daughter of a count whose son has married one of your daughters; and it is said that the new abbess has been delivered of a child by you." One would have thought that these charges were sufficient to render the mitred criminal worthy of immediate deposition, but the Pope only exhorted him to lead a different life, and warned him that *unless he should reform his manners, he should be obliged* to proceed against him. As he continued, however, to persevere in his course of open and shameless vice, he was compelled by the Pope, during the sessions of the council, to resign his bishopric. This notorious specimen of ecclesiastical profligacy was at last killed by some nobleman, whose female relative he had dishonored, and (as we are informed by the historian) left behind, at his death, no less than sixty-five illegitimate children!* While it is not denied that in this instance, the horribly vicious man who disgraced the episcopal office was, *ultimately*, deposed for his crimes; yet it affords a lamentable and striking illustration of the state of morals among the Romish clergy of that age, that a bishop could retain his office while engaged in such a course of open and notorious profligacy, long enough to warrant him in making the shameless boast at a public entertainment, mentioned in the above letter of the Pope.

§ 108.—Gregory X., though of a much milder character than Hildebrand or Innocent III., yet did not hesitate, when occasion offered, of acting upon the odious maxim of these two popes—that the pope of Rome is lord of the world, and possesses an authority over all earthly princes and potentates. Thus, for instance, in the year 1271, when the empire was claimed by Alphonsus of Castile, to whose pretensions the Pope was opposed,† he wrote an imperious letter to the German princes, commanding them to elect an em-

* Concil., tom. xi., p. 922; Magnum Chron. Belgic.; Bower, vi., 295.

† See the letters of the Pope to Alphonsus, in the Annals of Raynaldus, the continuator of Baronius, ad Ann. 1274. As the great work of Baronius and Raynaldus has already been, and will yet be, frequently referred to, and is a work of great weight and authority among Romanists, I would remark in this place, that cardinal Baronius was born in 1538, made a Cardinal by pope Clement VIII. in 1596, who also appointed him librarian of the Apostolic See. Upon the death of Clement in 1605, he came near being chosen pope, as he had thirty votes of the cardinals in his favor. He undertook his Annals when 30 years of age, and after collecting and digesting materials, published the first volume in 1588, and the twelfth, which concludes with the year 1198, was published in the year of his death 1607. Baronius left materials for three more volumes, which were used by Raynaldus in his continuation of the work, from 1198 to 1534

Under pope Nicholas III., the papal states become entirely independent of the empire.

peror without delay, and assuring them that unless they immediately complied with his wishes he would save them the trouble by choosing one for them.* This threat was effectual, and Rudolph of Hapsburg was elected.

§ 109.—Pope Gregory died in 1276, and after Innocent V., Adrian V. and John XXI., whose united reigns amounted to but a little over a year, was succeeded by the famous cardinal John Cajetan, who was elected Pope in November, 1277, and took the name of Nicholas III. It was under this Pope, as has already been mentioned, in the chapter on the temporal power of the popes (see page 178), that the last tie of the dependence of the popes upon the empire for their temporal sovereignty was broken. The circumstances were these:—The chancellor of the empire had caused homage to be done to his imperial master, Rudolph, in the cities of Bologna, Ravenna, Urbino, &c., belonging to the states of the church. The Pope thinking the time had come to break off this nominal dependency on the empire, remonstrated, and Rudolph at once yielded to his wishes. The Pope then forwarded copies of all the grants (both pretended and real) of former emperors, and accompanied them with a new form of donation which he wished Rudolph to grant. The Emperor, knowing that he was chiefly indebted to pope Gregory, one of the predecessors of Nicholas, for his own elevation, and that he needed the powerful support of the Pope against his own enemies, complied immediately with his request, and granted the document confirming all former grants, assigning the limits of the papal territory, and releasing for ever the Pope and his successors from all dependence for their dominion upon the empire.†

§ 110.—Nicholas III., who had thus augmented the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and placed their temporal sovereignty on a securer basis than ever before, died in the year 1281, and was succeeded by Martin IV., a pope who was inferior in arrogance and ambition to but few of his predecessors. As evidence of this may be mentioned his excommunication of the emperor of Constantinople, Michael Palæologus, in 1281, for pretended heresy and schism, and for having broken the peace concluded between the Latin and Greek churches at the council of Lyons, a few years before, and also his excommunication the following year, of Don Pedro, king of Arragon, whose kingdom he also placed under an interdict, on account of his opposition to Charles of Anjou, whom, as we have seen,

* Præcepit principibus Alemanniæ electoribus, ut de Romanorum rege, sicut sua ab antiqua et approbata consuetudine intererat, providerent, infra tempus eis ad hoc de Papa Gregorio statutum: alias ipse de consensu Cardinalium Romani imperii providere vellet desolationi. (*Urstisii German Histor.*, ii., 93. *Gieseler*, ii., 234.)

† Raynaldi Annal. ad Ann. 1279. Also, Annales veteres Mutinensium (in Muratorii Script. Rer. Ital.): De anno 1277: "Rodolphus Rex Romanorum donavit Civitatem Bononiæ et Comitatum Romandiolæ Papæ Nicholas III., *et sic Ecclesia Romana facta fuit domina illarum civitatum et terrarum.*"

popes Urban and Clement had aided in usurping the sovereignty of Sicily. But the terrors of these spiritual thunders had, for some years past, been gradually diminishing, and but little regard was paid by Don Pedro to the sentence of the Pope. Martin, therefore, proceeded to issue on the 22d of March, 1283, his papal bull, deposing him from his kingdom of Arragon, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding them on pain of excommunication to obey him, or to give him the title of King, and granting his kingdom to any prince who would seize it; but of so little account was all this regarded by the king of Arragon, that we are informed he was accustomed to call himself, by way of derision of the Pope's sentence, "Don Pedro, a gentleman of Arragon, the father of two kings, and lord of the sea."*

The fact is, that the long period of successful papal usurpation and tyranny was now rapidly drawing to a close. The gloom and darkness which had so long brooded over the world, was in many places beginning to disappear, before the glimmering light of increasing intelligence, and returning common sense. The monstrous and tyrannical doctrines of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. had almost had their day, and emperors and kings had well nigh ceased to tremble at the nod of the spiritual tyrant of Rome, or like Henry of Germany, or John of England, humbly to sue for the privilege of kissing his foot, or prostrate to kneel at the feet of his Legate, and accept their crowns from his hands, to be worn as his vassals and tributaries. The period of papal usurpation introduced by Hildebrand, was about soon to terminate, and in nine years after the death of pope Martin, which took place in 1285, the last of the popes properly belonging to this period, ascended the papal throne.

§ 111. Honorius IV., Nicholas IV. and Celestine V., successively occupied the chair of St. Peter during these nine years. Of the two former it is sufficient to say that, in their efforts to maintain the papal authority, they trod in the steps of their predecessors. The last named was a venerable old man of irreproachable morals, who had lived for years the life of a hermit. The circumstances of his election were as singular as the fact of a holy man being elected was rare. After the death of pope Nicholas, the cardinals, who were divided into two opposing parties, had spent more than two years in the vain attempt to agree upon a successor; when one of them, after mentioning this hermit, inquired "why should we not put an end to our divisions and elect him?" and in a sudden burst of enthusiasm the proposal was unanimously adopted; and the old hermit, much against his will, was persuaded to leave his retreat, and assumed the name of Celestine V. But it was an uncommon thing to see a man in the chair of St. Peter, who had even the reputation of sanctity, and the austerity of his manners was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more espe-

* Villani, lib. vii., cap. 86, quoted by Bower, vi., p. 323.

cially upon the luxury of the cardinals, and rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration, which showed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its opulence and the propagation of its authority, that he was almost universally considered as unworthy of the pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardinals, and particularly Benedict Cajetan, who succeeded him, advised him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted with such reluctance, and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost facility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the solicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honors.

§ 112.—Cardinal Benedict Cajetan, after thus persuading the inoffensive old man to resign, was himself, as he had anticipated, elevated to the popedom in the month of December, 1294, and assumed the name of Boniface VIII. The efforts of Boniface to exercise the despotism of Hildebrand were carried to a length that amounted almost to a phrenzy. But these insane attempts were behind the age; it was half a century too late, and his mad sallies of ambition and passion resembled only the convulsive struggles of an expiring man. They were, in fact, the death-throes of papal tyranny and despotism. His most famous struggle, which is all we shall relate, was with Philip the Fair, king of France, on account of the levies made by that prince on the enormous revenues of the clergy, to aid in supporting the expenses of the state. With the hope of stopping these exactions, the Pope issued a bull, known by the initial words *Clericus laicos*, absolutely forbidding the clergy of every kingdom to pay, under whatever pretext of voluntary grant, gift, or loan, any sort of tribute to their government without his especial permission. Though France was not particularly named, the king understood himself to be intended, and took his revenge by a prohibition to export money from the kingdom. This produced angry remonstrances on the part of Boniface; but the Gallican church adhered so faithfully to the crown, and showed indeed so much willingness to be spoiled of their money, that he could not insist upon the most reasonable propositions of his bull, and ultimately allowed that the French clergy might assist their sovereign by voluntary contributions, though not by way of tax. For a very few years after these circumstances, the Pope and king of France appeared reconciled to each other.

§ 113.—In the first year of the fourteenth century, however, a terrible storm broke out on the following occasion. A certain bishop of Pamiers was sent by the Pope as his nuncio, and had the insolence to threaten the King with deposition, unless he complied with the demands of his Holiness, in whom, he asserted, was *vested*

*all power, both spiritual and temporal ;** in consequence of which behavior, Philip considering him as his own subject, was provoked to put him under arrest with a view to institute a criminal process. Boniface, incensed beyond measure at this violation of ecclesiastical and legatine privileges, published several bulls addressed to the king and clergy of France, charging the former with a variety of offences, some of them not at all concerning the church, and commanding the latter to attend a council which he had summoned to meet at Rome. In one of these instruments he declares in concise and clear terms that the king was subject to him in temporal as well as spiritual matters. Philip replied by a short letter in the rudest language, and ordered the Pope's bulls to be publicly burnt at Paris. Determined, however, to show the real strength of his opposition, he summoned representatives from the three orders of his kingdom. This is commonly reckoned the first assembly of the States-General A. D. 1303. The nobility and commons disclaimed with firmness the temporal authority of the Pope, and conveyed their sentiments to Rome through letters addressed to the college of cardinals. The clergy endeavored to steer a middle course, and were reluctant to enter into an engagement not to obey the Pope's summons, though they did not hesitate unequivocally to deny his temporal jurisdiction.

§ 114.—Boniface opened his council at Rome, and notwithstanding the king's absolute prohibition, many French prelates held themselves bound to be present. In this assembly Boniface promulgated his famous constitution, denominated *Unam Sanctam.* This is one of the most remarkable documents ever issued by the popes. It maintains that the church is one body, and has one head (the Pope). Under its command are two swords, the one spiritual and the other temporal. But I will let the decree speak for itself.

"Uterque est in potestate ecclesiæ, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem *pro* ecclesiâ, ille vero *ab* ecclesiâ exercendus: ille sacerdotis, is manu regum ac militum, SED AD NUTUM ET PATENTIAM SACERDOTIS. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. PORRO SUBESSE ROMANO PONTIFICI OMNI HUMANÆ CREATURÆ DECLARAMUS, DICIMUS, DEFINIMUS, ET PRONUNCIAMUS OMNINO ESSE DE NECESSITATE FIDEI." (*Extrav.*, lib. i., tit. 8, c. 1.)

Either sword is in the power of the church, that is to say, the spiritual and the material. The former is to be used *by* the church, but the latter *for* the church. The one in the hand of the priest, the other in the hand of kings and soldiers, but AT THE WILL AND PLEASURE OF THE PRIEST. It is right that the temporal sword and authority be subject to the spiritual power. MOREOVER WE DECLARE, SAY, DEFINE, AND PRONOUNCE THAT EVERY HUMAN BEING SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF, TO BE AN ARTICLE OF NECESSARY FAITH.

Another bull issued by the Pope at this time, commands all persons of whatever rank, to appear when personally cited before the audience or apostolical tribunal of Rome: "since such is our pleasure, who, by divine permission, RULE THE WORLD."

* Raynald Annal., ad Ann. 1300.

Death of Boniface VIII. Decline of the power of papacy from this time

§ 115.—As Philip treated the bulls of the Pope with neglect and contempt, Boniface issued a bull of excommunication against him, and made an offer of the crown of France to the emperor Albert I. This prince, however, felt no eagerness to realize the liberal promises of Boniface, who was on the point of issuing a bull, absolving the subjects of Philip from their allegiance, and declaring his forfeiture, when a very unexpected circumstance interrupted all his projects. In the assembly of the states at Paris, king Philip preferred virulent charges against the Pope, denying him to have been legitimately elected,* imputing to him various heresies, and ultimately appealing to a general council and lawful head of the church. Without waiting, however, to mature this scheme of a general council, Philip succeeded in a bold and singular attempt. Nogaret, a minister who had taken an active share in all the proceedings against Boniface, was secretly dispatched into Italy, and, joining with some of the Colonna family, proscribed as Ghibelins, and rancorously persecuted by the Pope, arrested him at Anagnia, a town in the neighborhood of Rome, to which he had gone without guards. This violent action was not, one would imagine, calculated to place the King in an advantageous light; yet it led accidentally to a favorable termination of his dispute. Boniface was soon rescued by the inhabitants of Anagnia; but rage brought on a fever, which ended in his death.

§ 116.—"The sensible decline of the papacy," says Hallam, "is to be dated from the pontificate of Boniface VIII., who had strained its authority to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors. There is a spell wrought by uninterrupted good fortune, which captivates men's understanding, and persuades them, against reasoning and analogy, that violent power is immortal and irresistible. The spell is broken by the first change of success. Imprisoned, insulted, deprived eventually of life by the violence of Philip, a prince excommunicated, and who had gone all lengths in defying and despising the papal jurisdiction, Boniface had every claim to be avenged by the inheritors of the same spiritual dominion. When Benedict XI., the successor of Boniface, perhaps learning wisdom from the fate of his predecessor, rescinded his bulls, and admitted Philip the Fair to communion, without insisting on any concessions, he acted perhaps prudently, but gave a fatal blow to the temporal authority of Rome."†

With the death of Boniface we close the present division in our History of Romanism. In taking leave of the centuries during which Popery reigned Despot of the World, we are not to suppose that the popes subsequent to Boniface VIII., ever discarded, or indeed that the Romish church either at that time, or at any subsequent period, has formally renounced the doctrine, which the popes

* The reason for this charge, which was also preferred by the powerful family of the Colonna at Rome, against Boniface, was that the resignation of pope Celestine was not valid or legal, and was effected by means of Boniface.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. vii.

of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries used to justify their usurpations. By no means. The memory of SAINT Gregory VII., to papists, is as fragrant as ever. Popery is UNCHANGED and UNCHANGEABLE. It is not, therefore, to be supposed that the successors of Boniface had renounced the *right* of deposing kings and ruling the nations with a rod of iron, because the period of Popery the World's Despot is said to close with that pontiff, but only that by the successful opposition of Philip of France, to this haughty and imperious Pope, this assumption of universal dominion over the whole earth received such a check, that future pontiffs were deterred from carrying the doctrines of Gregory VII. into practice with the same boldness or to the same extent as Hildebrand himself or his successors and imitators of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In future periods we shall discover evidences that this doctrine was by no means abandoned, as in the instance of pope Pius V., and Elizabeth of England, and others; but we shall see that in future periods the power of the pontiffs became so sensibly diminished, that in order to carry into effect their maledictions against the sovereigns of the earth, the knife of the assassin or the torch of the incendiary were needed in addition to the spiritual fulminations of the Vatican.

In closing our account of this most memorable period in the history of Romanism, extending from Gregory VII., to Boniface VIII., the more than two centuries during which Popery sat on the throne of the earth, and reigned Despot of the World, we cannot do better than borrow the words of the eloquent Hallam. "Five centuries have now elapsed, during every one of which the authority of the Roman See has successively declined. Slowly and silently receding from their claims to temporal power, the pontiffs hardly protect their dilapidated citadel from the revolutionary concussions of modern times, the rapacity of governments, and the growing averseness to ecclesiastical influence. But, if thus bearded by unmannerly and threatening innovation, they should occasionally forget that cautious policy which necessity has prescribed; if they should attempt (an unavailing expedient!) to revive institutions which can be no longer operative, or principles that have died away, their defensive efforts will not be unnatural, nor ought to excite either indignation or alarm. A calm, comprehensive study of ecclesiastical history, not in such scraps and fragments as the ordinary partisans of our ephemeral literature obtrude upon us, is perhaps the best antidote to extravagant apprehensions. THOSE WHO KNOW WHAT ROME HAS ONCE BEEN, ARE BEST ABLE TO APPRECIATE WHAT SHE IS; THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN THE THUNDERBOLT IN THE HANDS OF THE GREGORIES AND THE INNOCENTS, WILL HARDLY BE INTIMIDATED AT THE SALLIES OF DECREPITUDE, THE IMPOTENT DART OF PRIAM AMID THE CRACKLING RUINS OF TROY!"*

* History of Middle Ages, page 304.

CHAPTER XII.

PURGATORY, INDULGENCES, AND ROMISH JUBILEES.

§ 117.—The establishment by Boniface VIII. of the Romish Jubilee, a periodical festival at which *indulgences* were granted to all who should visit, during the Jubilee year, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, presents us with a suitable opportunity of tracing the ORIGIN OF INDULGENCES; or of the power claimed by the popes, for certain pecuniary or other considerations, of remitting the temporal penalties annexed to sin in this life, and of shortening or remitting altogether the period of suffering in the flames of the imaginary *purgatory*, to which the souls of the departed were to be consigned after death. It is a part of the faith of Romanists, that a satisfaction in the place of these punishments has been instituted in what they call the *sacrament* of penance, and that the Pope has the power of remitting that satisfaction. This act of remission is called an indulgence; it is partial or complete, as the indulgence is for a stated time or plenary, and the conditions of repentance and restitution are in strictness annexed to it. Through this doctrine the popes were, in fact, invested with a vast control over the human conscience, even in the moderate exercise of their power, because it was a power which overstepped the limits of the visible world. But when they proceeded, as, according to Dean Waddington, "they did proceed flagitiously to abuse it, and when, through the progress of that abuse, people were taught to believe, that *perfect absolution from* ALL *the penalties of sin* could be procured from a human being; and procured too, not through fervent prayer and deep and earnest contrition, but by *military service*, or by *pilgrimage*, or even by *gold*—it was then that the evil was carried so far, as to leave the historian doubtful whether anything be anywhere recorded more astonishing than the wickedness of the clergy, except the credulity of the vulgar."*

§ 118.—That this pretended power of granting indulgences was unknown to the ancients, is evident from the writings of Romish authors themselves. Thus in the work of Alphonsus against heresies, under the title of indulgences he makes the following candid admission, "Among all the matters of which we treat in this work, there is no one which the Scriptures less plainly teach, and of which the ancient writers say less." While we assent fully to the truth of this remark, for the plain reason that there can be no quantity less than nothing at all, we cannot agree with the remark which follows—"nevertheless indulgences are not on this account to be despised, because the use of them seems to have been late received in the church." Alphonsus then proceeds to a remark, the truth of

* Waddington's Church History, p. 529.

which cannot be doubted in relation to the doctrines of his own church—"There are many things of which the ancient writers were altogether ignorant, that are known to those who lived in a later age 'posterioribus.'" After thus plainly speaking out the truth, he proceeds to inquire—"what is there so wonderful then, that, in relation to indulgences, it should happen that among the ancients there should be *no mention of them?* ALTHOUGH," he adds, "THE TESTIMONY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES MAY BE WANTING IN FAVOR OF INDULGENCES, YET HE WHO DESPISES THEM IS DESERVEDLY ACCOUNTED A HERETIC," &c. Let the reader mark this extract well, as it declares, without disguise, what is the doctrine of Popery, in distinction from the grand protestant principle.—'THE BIBLE AND THE BIBLE ONLY.'—On account of its importance the original of this extract is given in the note.*

A similar testimony to the novelty of popish indulgences is given by Polydore Virgil, another famous Romish author, who, after stating that Boniface VIII. was the first who introduced the Jubilee and granted indulgences, 'pœnarum remissionem,' to those who visited the thresholds of the apostles, then adds in words which are worthy of special attention, "and *then the use of pardons, which they call indulgences, began to be famous*, which pardons, for what cause, or by what authority they were brought in, or what they are good for, much troubles our modern divines to show."†

"If we could have any certainty concerning the origin of *indulgences*," says Cardinal Cajetan, "it would help us much in the disquisition of the truth of *Purgatory:* but we have not by writing any authority either of the holy Scriptures, or ancient doctors, Greek or Latin, which afford us the least knowledge thereof."‡

§ 119.—The truth is, that Romish indulgences, such as were granted in the days of Boniface VIII., and in the time of the crusades, were dependent for all their supposed importance upon the fiction of Purgatory. The comparatively trifling penances enjoined in this life, remitted by indulgences, were looked upon as of small account. It was the pretended power of the popes to remit hundreds or thousands of years of the tortures of purgatory, or, as in the case of a person who should die immediately after receiving *plenary* indul-

* Inter omnes res de quibus in hoc opere disputamus, nulla est quam minus aperte sacræ literæ prodiderint, et de qua minus vetusti Scriptores dixerint . . . neque tamen hac occasione sunt condemnandæ indulgentiæ quod earum usus in ecclesia videatur sero receptus: quoniam multa sunt posterioribus nota, quæ vetusti illi Scriptores prorsus ignoraverunt. . . . Quid ergo mirum si ad hunc modum contigerit de indulgentiis, ut apud priscos nulla sit de eis mentio? . . . Etsi pro indulgentiarum approbatione sacræ Scripturæ testimonium apertum desit, tamen qui contemnit, hæreticus merito censeatur, &c. (*Alphons. de Castro. Adver. Hœres., lib.* 8, *Indulgentia*, as cited in the Cripplegate lectures.)

† *Ac ita veniarum quas indulgentias* vocant *jam tum usus celebris esse cœpit*, quæ qua de causa, quave ex auctoritate inductæ fuerint, aut quantum valere videantur, nostri recentiores theologi ea de re egregie laborant. (*Polydor Virgil, de Invent. Rerum*, lib. 8, cap. 1.)

‡ De Ortu Indulgentiarum si certitudo habere posset, veritati indagandæ opem ferret, &c. (*Cajet. de Indulg. Opusc.*, tom. 1, tract 15, cap. 1.)

gence, to send the soul at once to heaven, without stopping at all at these purifying, but tormenting fires—it was this that gave to indulgences all their importance, and that enabled those who thus blasphemously pretended to this power over the invisible world, to wield such a tremendous influence over the ignorant and superstitious, and not only to enhance their authority, but to enrich their coffers at the expense of the deluded and terror-stricken multitude.

Now, as it is impossible for the source to rise higher than the fountain, the invention of indulgences must be subsequent to that of purgatory, and as the latter can boast no higher origin than the age of Gregory, about the close of the sixth century,* or at the very earliest, the time of Augustine, who died in 430, of course the doctrine of indulgences must be of still more recent date.

§ 120.—Augustine, according to the learned Edgar,† seems to have been the first Christian author, who entertained the idea of purifying the soul while the body lay in the tomb. The African Saint, though, in some instances, he evinced judgment and piety, displayed, on many occasions, unqualified and glaring inconsistency. His opinions on purgatorian punishment exhibit many instances of fickleness and incongruity. He declares, in many places, against any intermediate state after death between heaven and hell. He rejects, in emphatical language, "the idea of a third place, as unknown to Christians and foreign to revelation." He acknowledges only two habitations, the one of eternal glory and the other of endless misery. Man, he avers, "will appear in the last day of the world as he was in the last day of his life, and will be judged in the same state in which he had died."‡

But, notwithstanding this unequivocal language, Augustine is, at other times, full of doubt and difficulty. The subject, he grants, and with truth, is one that he could never clearly understand. He admits the salvation of some by the fire mentioned by the Apostle. This, however, he sometimes interprets to signify temporal tribulation before death, and sometimes the general conflagration after the resurrection. He generally extends this ordeal to all men without any exception: and he conjectures, in a few instances, that this fire may, as a temporary purification, be applied to some in the interval between death and the general judgment. This interpretation, however, he offers as a mere hypothetical speculation. He cannot tell whether the temporary punishment is "here or will be hereafter; or whether it is here that it may not be hereafter." The idea, he

* Gabriel Biel, on the Canon of the Mass, lect. 57, saith, "We must confess, that before the time of Gregory (Anno 596), the use of *indulgences* was very little if at all known, but now the practice of them is grown frequent." Dicendum quod ante tempora B. Gregorii, modicus vel nullus fuit usus Indulgentiarum, nunc autem crebrescit usus earum. (*G. Biel*, lect. 57.)

† See Edgar's Variations, ch. xvi. *passim*.

‡ In quo enim quemque invenerit suus novissimus dies, in hoc eum comprehendet mundi novissimus dies; quoniam qualis in die isto quisque moritur, talis in die illo judicabitur. (*Augustin, ad Hesych.*, 2, 743.)

Augustine's and Gregory's obscure hints relative to Purgatory. Inconsistent with themselves

grants, is a supposition without any proof, and "unsupported by any canonical authority." He would not, however, "contradict the presumption, because it might perhaps be the truth."*

Augustine's doubts show, to a demonstration, the novelty of the purgatorian chimera. His conjectural statements and his difficulty of decision afford decided proof, that this dogma, in his day, was no article of faith. The saint would never have made an acknowledged doctrine of the church a subject of hesitation and inquiry. He would not have represented a received opinion as destitute of canonical authority: much less would he have acknowledged a heaven and a hell, and, at the same time, in direct unambiguous language, disavowed a third or middle place. Purgatory, therefore, in the beginning of the fifth century, was no tenet of theology. Augustine seems to have been the connecting link between the exclusion and reception of this theory. The fiction, after his day, was, owing to circumstances, slowly and after several ages admitted into Romanism.

The innovation, however, notwithstanding the authority of Augustine and the Vandalism of the age, made slow progress. A loose and indetermined idea of temporary punishment and atonement after death, floated at random through the minds of men. The superstition, congenial with the human soul, especially when destitute of religious and literary attainments, continued, in gradual and tardy advances, to receive new accessions. The notion, in this crude and indigested state, and augmenting by continual accumulations, proceeded to the popedom of Gregory in the end of the sixth century.

§ 121.—Gregory, like Augustine, spoke on this theme with striking indecision. The Roman pontiff and the African saint, discoursing on venial frailty and posthumous atonement, wrote with hesitation and inconsistency. In his annotations on Job, Gregory disclaims an intermediate state of propitiation. "Mercy, if once a fault consign to punishment, will not, says the pontiff, afterward return to pardon. A holy or a malignant spirit seizes the soul, departing at death from the body, and detains it for ever without any change."† This, at the present day, would hardly pass for popish orthodoxy. This, in modern times, would, at the Vatican, be accounted little better than Protestantism. His Holiness, however, dares nobly to vary from himself. The annotator and the dialogist are not the same person, or at least do not teach the same faith. The vicar-general of God, in his dialogues, "teaches the belief of a purgatorian fire, prior to the general judgment, for trivial offences."‡

* Sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est. (*Aug.* C. D. XXI. 26, P. 649.) In eis nulla velut canonica constituitur authoritas. (*Aug. Dul.* 6, 131, 132.)

† Si semel culpa ad pœnam pertrahit, misericordia ulterius ad veniam non reducet. (*Greg. in Job* viii., 10.) Humani casus tempore, sive sanctus sive malignus spiritus, egredientem animam claustra carnis acceperit, in æternum secum sine ulla permutatione retinebit. (*Greg. in Job* viii., 8.)

‡ De quibusdam levibus culpis, esse, ante judicium, purgatorius ignis credendus est. (*Greg. Dial.*, iv., 39.)

Gregory the discoverer of Purgatory. Progress of the fiction slow.

Gregory has, by several authors, been represented as the discoverer or rather the creator of purgatory. Otho, a learned historian of the twelfth century, and a man of extensive information, accounted this pontiff's fabulous dialogues the foundation of the purgatorian fiction. Bruys, in modern times, agreeing with Otho, represents Gregory as the person who discovered this middle state for venial sinners.* The pontiff himself seems to confess the novelty of the system. Many things, says he, have in these last times become clear, which were formerly concealed.† This declaration is in the dialogue that announces the existence of purgatory; which, he reckons, was one of the bright discoveries that distinguished his age. This consideration perhaps will account for the pontiff's inconsistency. The hierarch, as already shown, both opposed and advocated the purgatorian theology. The innovation mentioned in this manner with doubt by Augustine, and recommended with inconsistency by Gregory, men of high authority in their day continued to spread and claim the attention and belief of men.

The progress of the fabrication, however, was slow. Its movements to perfection were as tardy, as its introduction into Christendom had been late. Its belief obtained no general establishment in the Christian commonwealth for ages after Gregory's death The council of Aix la Chapelle, in 836, decided in direct opposition to posthumous satisfaction or pardon. This synod mentions "three ways of punishment for men's sins." Of these, two are in this life and one after death. "Sins," said this assembly, "are, in this world, punished by the repentance or compunction of the transgressor, and by the correction or chastisement of God. The third, after death, is tremendous and awful, when the judge shall say, depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."‡ The fathers of this council knew nothing of purgatory, and left no room for its expiation. The innovation, in 998, obtained an establishment at Clugny. Odilo, whom Fulbert calls "an archangel," and Baronius the "brightest star of the age," opened an extensive mart of prayers and masses for the use of souls detained in purgatory. Fulbert's archangel seems, in this department, to have excelled all his predecessors. A few, in several places, had begun to retail intercessions for the purgatorians. But Odilo commenced business on a much larger scale, upon the establishment of the feast of All-souls in 993, prompted by the howlings of the devils of Etna, in consequence of the efficacy of the prayers of Odilo's holy monks, in snatching from their hands the souls of those who were tormented in purgatorian fires.

* Gregoire en fit la (purgatoire) decouverte dans ses beaux dialogues. (*Bruys*, 1, 378. *Otho*, Ann. 1146.)

† In his extremis temporibus, tam multa animabus clarescunt, quæ ante latuerunt. (*Gregory*, Dial. IV., 40.)

‡ Tribus modis peccata mortalium vindicantur; duobus in hac vita: tertio vero in futura vita. Tertia autem extat valde pertimescenda et terribilis, quæ non in hoc sed in futuro justissimo, Dei judicio fiet sæculo, quando justus judex dicturus est, discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem æternum. (*Labb.*, 6, 844. *Brab.*, 2, 711.)

Drithelm's visit to the purgatorian regions. Horrible description of torments

§ 122.—The most dreadful descriptions of the torments endured in these imaginary regions, founded upon dreams, visions or supernatural revelations, were given by fanatical or designing priests and monks, calculated to awaken the terror of the superstitious, and to induce them to leave no means untried which might shorten their own period of suffering, or by a better fortune, enable them to avoid altogether the necessity of making a visit to purgatory, on their way to heaven. A single instance of these descriptions will be sufficient to give an idea of the general character of the whole. It is related by Bellarmine and others that one Drithelm, during a visit to the spiritual world, was led on his journey by an angel in shining raiment, and proceeded, in the company of his guide, toward the rising of the sun. The travellers, at length, arrived in a valley of vast dimensions. This region, to the left, was covered with roasting furnaces, and, to the right, with icy cold, hail, and snow. The whole valley was filled with human souls, which a tempest seemed to toss in all directions. The unhappy spirits, unable in the one part to bear the violent heat, leaped into the shivering cold, which again drove them into the scorching flames which cannot be extinguished. A numberless multitude of deformed souls were, in this manner, whirled about and tormented without intermission in the extremes of alternate heat and cold. This, according to the angelic conductor who piloted Drithelm, is the place of chastisement for such as defer *confession* and amendment till the hour of death. All these, however, will, at the last day, be admitted to heaven: while many, through alms, vigils, prayers, and *especially the mass*, will be liberated even before the general judgment.*

§ 123.—With such horrible materials to work upon the fears of the superstitious multitude—ever ready, in the dark ages, to swallow the grossest absurdities of monkish imposture, and cherishing implicit faith in the almost unbounded power of their spiritual guides—it was no difficult thing to base upon the fiction of purgatory the doctrine of indulgences; first to excite the fears of the multitude by portraying in vivid colors the torments of the one, and then by working upon those fears, and inculcating the unlimited power of the Pope and the priesthood over these terrible regions, to lay a foundation for the establishment of the other.† "So long," says a Roman Catholic author, "as there was no fear of purgatory, no man sought indulgences, for *all the account of indulgence depends on purgatory.* If you deny purgatory, what need of indul-

* Bell., 1, 7. Faber, 2, 449. Edgar, 456.

† There is much force in the following sarcastic but truthful rebuke, by archbishop Tillotson, of the popish fictions of Purgatory and Indulgences:—"We make no money," says that learned prelate, "of the mistakes of the people; nor do we fill their heads with fears of new places of torment, to make them empty their purses in a vainer hope to be delivered out of them: we do not, like them, pretend a mighty bank and treasure of merits in the church, which they sell for ready money, giving them bills of exchange from the *Pope on Purgatory;* when they who grant them have no reason to believe they will avail them, or be accepted in the other world." (*Til.*, vol. iii., serm. 30, p. 320.)

gences? INDULGENCES BEGAN AFTER MEN WERE FRIGHTED WITH THE PAINS OF PURGATORY."*

A similar opinion is expressed by Navarrius, the Pope's penitentiary, who asks, "What is the cause that among the ancients so little mention is made of *indulgences*, and among the moderns they are in such use? John of Rochester, most holy and reverend for his dignity of bishop and cardinal, hath taught us the reason, saying that the explicit faith of purgatory or indulgences was not so necessary in the primitive church as now; and again, while there was no heed taken to purgatory, and no man inquired after *indulgences*, because thereupon dependeth the property and worth of them." 'Quare autem apud antiquos tam rara, et apud recentiores tam frequens Indulgentiarum mentio?' &c. (*Navar. Com. de Joel. et Indulg.*, p. 445.)

The practice of granting indulgences remitting for certain pecuniary or other considerations, a portion or the whole of the pains of purgatory, was gradually grafted upon the belief of that fiction, but was little used for several centuries after the invention of purgatory. Pope Urban II., the originator of the crusades, in the eleventh century, appears to have been the first who made any extensive use of these indulgences, as a recompense for those who engaged in the glorious enterprise of conquering the Holy land; though it is admitted by Cardinal Baronius, that Gregory VII. had some few years earlier granted *the full remission of all their sins*, to those who should fight against his celebrated enemy, the unfortunate Henry IV.

The same use was made of this imaginary power of the Pope and the priesthood, in exciting the fierce and fanatical multitude a century or two later, against the persecuted Albigenses of the South of France. Plenary remission of sins, and immediate admission to heaven, if they should die in the enterprise, were liberally promised to all who should engage in the *pious* work of exterminating with fire and sword, the Waldensian heretics;† and some who from their sex or age could take no part in this *holy* war, would cast a stone into the air, with an exclamation that it was aimed "against the wicked Raimond and the heretics," in order that they might claim a share in these papal indulgences.

§ 124.—In the twelfth century, according to Mosheim, the Roman pontiffs thought proper to limit the power of the bishops, who had lately been driving a lucrative trade in the sale of indulgences, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to them-

* Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit indulgentias, nam *ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio.* Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? CÆPERUNT IGITUR INDULGENTIÆ, POSTQUAM AD PURGATORII CRUCIATUS ALIQUANDIU TREPIDATUM EST. (*Johan. Roffen. Assert. Lutheran Confut., cited in Crip lec.*)

* Plenam peccaminum veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum. (*Labb.*, 14, 64. *Bury*, 3, 13. *Du Pin*, 2, 335. *Edgar*, 218.)

selves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only a universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence, but this was impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous measures of the pontiffs, the monstrous and absurd doctrine of *Works of Supererogation* was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas in the thirteenth century, and which contained among others the following enormities: "That there actually existed an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the saints had performed *beyond what was necessary* for their own salvation, and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others; that the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontiff; and that of consequence he was empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper, a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their respective amount of guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes." "It is a most deplorable mark," adds Mosheim, "of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should still be retained and defended in the church of Rome."*

§ 125.—It was reserved for the ingenuity of pope Boniface VIII. to devise an expedient whereby this gainful traffic in indulgences might realize, in a single year, an amount of money equal, perhaps,

* As a proof that this doctrine of *Works of Supererogation* has not been abandoned, during the century that has almost elapsed from the death of Mosheim, and that the Pope still claims the possession of the key of that superabundant store of merit, consisting not only of the merits of Christ, but also of THE VIRGIN AND ALL THE SAINTS, we quote the following extract from the Jubilee Bull of pope Leo, issued from the Vatican at Rome, in 1824. "We have resolved," says he, "by virtue of the authority given to us from heaven, fully to *unlock that sacred treasure* composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of his VIRGIN MOTHER, and OF ALL THE SAINTS which the author of human salvation has INTRUSTED TO OUR DISPENSATION. To you, therefore, venerable brethren, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, it belongs to explain with perspicuity the power of indulgences: what is their efficacy in the remission, not only of the canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the divine justice for past sin; and *what succor is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and* HIS SAINTS, to such as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance for sins of commission and omission, AND ARE NOW PURIFYING IN THE FIRE OF PURGATORY."

to the united previous gains of a century. This was by the establishment in the year 1300, of the famous JUBILEE, which is still celebrated at Rome at stated periods,* and continues to be a profitable source of enriching the coffers of the popes, though the income arising therefrom, amidst the light of the nineteenth century, must, of course, fall vastly short of the immense revenue extorted from the fears of the ignorant and the superstitious at the comparatively dark and gloomy period of its original establishment.

Boniface was, doubtless, the inventor of the Jubilee; notwith-

* These *Jubilees* for *plenary indulgence*, are sometimes granted on a smaller scale, by the special favor of his HOLINESS, THE POPE. Thus, for instance, a few years ago, a *plenary indulgence* in the form of a Jubilee, was sent by pope Pius VII., to Dr. Moylan, bishop of Cork, granted on the 14th of May, 1809, and published in Cork, Anno 1813, as appears by the following extracts from the doctor's pastoral address:

"Beloved Brethren,—Animated with the warmest desires of promoting your eternal welfare, we resolved immediately on completing our cathedral chapel, to establish a mission in it of pious exercises and instructions for the space of a month, in order to induce our brethren to attend thereat, and to profit by those effectual means of sanctification, we have applied to the holy See for a solemn *plenary indulgence*, in the form of a Jubilee, which the holy father was most *graciously* pleased to grant by a BULL, as follows:

"'Pius VII., by divine Providence, pope, grants unto each and to every one of the faithful of Christ, who, after assisting at least eight times at the holy exercise of the mission (in the new cathedral of Cork), shall confess his or her sins, with true contrition, and approach unto the holy communion—shall visit the said cathedral chapel, and there offer up to God for some time, pious and fervent prayers for the propagation of the holy Catholic faith, and to our intention, *a plenary indulgence, applicable to the souls* IN PURGATORY *by way of suffrage, and in this form of a* JUBILEE.'

"Such, beloved brethren, is the great, the *inestimable grace* offered to us by the vicar of Jesus Christ. Let sinners, *by its means*, become just, and let the just, *by it*, become more justified. Behold, *the treasures of God's grace* are now open to you! The ministers of Jesus Christ, invested with his authority, *and animated by his Spirit*, expect you with a holy impatience, *ready to ease you of that heavy burden of sin*, under which you have so long labored. Were your sins *as red as scarlet, by the grace of the absolution and application of this plenary indulgence*, your souls shall become white as snow, &c.

"Wherefore, dearly beloved, that you may all know that which, according to the *bull* of his Holiness, is necessary to gain the benefit of this *plenary indulgence*, granted in the form of *a Jubilee*, you will observe,

"First, That it will commence in the new cathedral chapel on the first Sunday in Advent, being the 28th day of November instant, and to continue to the festival of St. John the evangelist, the 27th day of December. Second, to gain this *plenary indulgence*, it is necessary to be truly penitent, to make a *good confession*, &c., according to the above bull and intention of our holy father the Pope, five paters, and five aves, and a creed, to the above intention, fulfil the above obligations. Thirdly, All priests approved of by us to hear confessions can, during the above time, *absolve* all such persons as present themselves with due dispositions at confession, in order to obtain this *plenary indulgence*, from *all sins and censures* reserved to the holy See or to us, they enjoining on such persons as are thus *absolved*, a *salutary penance*.

"We order this pastoral letter and instruction to be read in every chapel in the diocese, in town and country, at every mass, on Sunday the 14th, the 21st, the 28th of November instant, and on Sunday the 5th of December next. Given at Cork, Nov. 2, 1813." (*Letters of "Amicus Hibernicus." Rev. P. Roe, Dublin*, 1816.)

Pomp and splendor of the Jubilee of Boniface. Immense sums obtained by means of it.

standing the vague and fabulous story related by Cardinal Cajetan, about the aged Savoyard, 107 years old, who, upon his arrival at Rome, is said to have asserted, that at the close of the preceding century, he had visited that city on a similar occasion, in company with his father, and that now in his extreme old age, he had travelled to Rome in consequence of his father's words to him on his former visit, "that if he lived to the end of the next century, and then came to Rome, he would obtain a *plenary indulgence*, or full remission of all his sins."* It would be of very little importance if this story were true, as it would only throw the origin of this popish invention a century or two back, yet it is worthy of remark, that if the Jubilee had been before observed, there would doubtless have been some historical record of the fact, and its truth would not have been dependent upon the pretended recollection of an obscure old man.

§ 126.—The pomp and splendor of this Jubilee of Boniface, the countless multitudes that thronged the city, and the immense amount of treasure that was left behind by the pilgrims, are the themes upon which contemporary and succeeding writers delight to dwell with rapture and admiration. Some relate that on the first day of the Jubilee, the Pope presented himself before the people to give them his blessing, in his gorgeous pontifical robes, and on the second day in an *imperial mantle*, with two swords carried before him, denoting his supreme, temporal, and spiritual power. Villani, the contemporary Florentine historian, who was at Rome, on this occasion, gives an amusing account of the innumerable multitudes who visited that city to avail themselves of these indulgences, and thus escape the pains of purgatory, so that the whole city had the appearance of a vast crowd, and in passing from one part of the city to another, it was difficult to press through the multitude.†

Cardinal Cajetan relates that the offerings made at the tombs of St. Peter and Paul, in brass money alone, and, of course, principally by the poorer pilgrims, amounted to *fifty thousand florins of gold*, and hence leaves his readers to imagine the almost incalculable sums contributed by the more wealthy in gold and silver;‡ and another writer describes "a couple of priests, standing at the altar of St. Paul, night and day, holding in their hands small rakes, 'rastellas,' and raking up 'rastellantes,' an infinite amount of money."§

§ 127.—In the year 1343, pope Clement VI., being unwilling to let

* The work from which this story is derived, is entitled "*Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo anno*," by James Cajetan, cardinal of St. George. The false and fabulous character of the story has been well exposed by M. Chais, in his "*Lettres sur les Jubiles*," tom i., p. 53.

† Villani, lib. viii., c. 36. Bower, vi., 356.

‡ Apud. Raynald. Annal., ad Ann. 1300.

§ "Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab iisdem recepit quia, die et nocte, duo clerici stabant ad altare Sancti Pauli, tenentes in eorum manibus rastellos, rastellantes pecuniam infinitam." (*Muratori.*)

Jubilee of Clement VI. Vast number present. Altered eventually to 25 years

so favorable an opportunity slip of enriching his coffers, reduced the time of a Jubilee from *once* to *twice* in a century, and issued his bull for another celebration in 1350. "This bull being everywhere published, pilgrims flocked in such crowds to Rome, from all parts of the then known world, that one would have thought," says Petrarch, who was present, "that the plague, which had almost unpeopled the world, had not so much as thinned it:" and another spectator tells us that on Passion-Sunday, when the famous VERONICA was shown, the crowd was so great, that many were stifled on the spot. Matthew Villani, who has continued the valuable history of his brother John Villani, and was at this time in Rome, says it was impossible to ascertain the present number of pilgrims, constantly in that city, from the beginning of the Jubilee year to the end, but that, by the computation of the Romans, it daily amounted to between a million and twelve hundred thousand from Christmas, 1349, to Easter, which, in 1350, fell on the 28th of March, and to eight hundred thousand from Easter to Ascension-Day and Whitsunday; that notwithstanding the heats of that summer, and the busy harvest time, it was no day under two hundred thousand, and that the concourse at the end was equal to that at the beginning of the year.* Meyer writes, that "out of such an immense multitude of persons of both sexes, of all ages and conditions, scarce one in ten had the good luck to return home, but died either of the fatigues of so long a journey, or for want of necessaries."† The time of the popish Jubilee was subsequently altered to twenty-five years, at which it still continues. The last was held in 1825, and the next will, of course, take place in 1850.

* Villani, l. i., c. 56. † Bower vi., 471.

BOOK VI.

POPERY ON A TOTTERING THRONE.

FROM THE DEATH OF BONIFACE VIII. A. D. 1303, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, A. D. 1545.

CHAPTER I.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE POPES AT AVIGNON, AND THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM.

§ 1.—In tracing the history of Romanism hitherto, we have seen that its progress has been constantly onward. Springing up by degrees, in various early forms of error, we have traced the progress of Popery in embryo, till the establishment of papal supremacy cemented those errors into a system, and the newly-acquired authority of the pretended successor of St. Peter rendered them obligatory upon all. From Popery at its birth in 606, we have followed that anti-Christian power in its onward march, till, increasing in pride and strength, it united the temporal sovereignty to the spiritual supremacy in 756. From that epoch, we have seen it steadily advancing step by step, with giant strides, till, at length, trampling upon the pride of the mightiest monarchs, and marching onward through seas of blood—the blood of the martyrs of Jesus—we have beheld the professed successors of the humble apostle Peter, claiming and exercising universal sovereignty over the nations of the earth; and successfully daring, for more than two centuries—from Hildebrand to Boniface—to fulminate their excommunications at the heads of emperors and kings, to clothe whole nations in mourning and sackcloth by the mysterious and terrible power of their interdicts, and to claim for themselves the same unlimited obedience and submission from all the dwellers upon earth, as is due to Almighty God himself, of whom they declared themselves the vicegerents. In centuries of universal degeneracy and darkness, we have seen them doing all this, in spite of the greatest moral turpitude and profligacy of character, and their total want of resemblance to HIM who was meek and lowly of heart, and who said, "my kingdom is not of this world."

We have now followed the march of Popery to its culminating point, and henceforward we are to contemplate its retrograde mo-

tion; not in *pride*, but in *power;* not in *willingness*, but in *ability* to carry into exercise those tyrannical and bloody principles which it has never renounced, and of the retention of which we shall yet have abundant evidences in succeeding centuries.

From the age of pope Boniface and king Philip, we shall see this mighty power which had so long reigned as DESPOT OF THE WORLD, under the repeated blows, at one period, of some puissant monarch disgusted with its tyranny and pride; and at another, of some bold and fearless reformer—of a Wickliff, a Huss, a Jerome, a Luther—aiming with strong and sturdy arm, at its very foundations,—shaking upon a TOTTERING THRONE,—and trembling for its very existence; and yet striving, in efforts which may be compared to the convulsive death-throes of an expiring giant, to crush all its assailants, and to hold the nations of the earth yet longer in its slavish chains.

§ 2.—Up to the commencement of the fourteenth century, the progress of Popery was like that of a young Hercules—with strength enough, even in his cradle, to strangle his assailants—from birth to boyhood, from adolescence to manhood, from manhood to giant strength. The attempt of Boniface to wield the power of a Gregory, was like Hercules arraying himself in the poisoned tunic of the Centaur. From that hour the giant strength of Popery was paralysed; the might of the Romish Hercules had departed, and monarchs and nations no longer quaked at the sight of his club.

"The reign of Boniface," says a recent historian, "was fatal to the papal power; he exaggerated its pretensions at the moment when the world had begun to discover the weakness of its claims; in the attempt to extend its influence further than any of his predecessors, he exhausted the sources of his strength; and none of his successors, however ardent, ventured to revive pretensions which had excited so many wars, shed so much blood, and dethroned so many kings. The death of Boniface marks an important era in the history of Popery; from this time we shall see it concentrating its strength, and husbanding its resources; fighting only on the defensive, it no longer provokes the hostility of kings, or seeks cause of quarrel with the emperors. The bulls that terrified Christendom must repose as literary curiosities in the archives of St. Angelo, and though the claims to universal supremacy will not be renounced, there will be no effort made to enforce them. A few pontiffs will be found now and then reviving the claims of Gregory, of Innocent, and of Boniface; but their attempts will be found desultory and of brief duration, like the last flashes, fierce but few, that break out from the ashes of a conflagration."*

§ 3.—In addition to the moral influence of the triumph of Philip over Boniface, of royal over papal power, the power of the popedom was very much weakened throughout the fourteenth century by the

* See Manual of Ancient and Modern History, by W. C. Taylor, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, p. 447.

The residence of the popes in France, called the Seventy years' captivity. The Avignon Popes

removal of the papal court from Italy to France, from Rome to Avignon, and still more by the violent contest called the GREAT WESTERN SCHISM, at the close of the seventy years' captivity in Babylon (as the residence of the popes at Avignon has been called, by way of derision), between rival popes, elected by the French and Italian factions respectively, at Avignon and Rome. After the brief reign of pope Benedict, the successor of Boniface VIII., king Philip of France succeeded by his skill and address in securing the election of one of his own subjects to the vacant See, who took the name of Clement V., fixed his residence in France, and passed the whole nine years of his reign in his native land, without once visiting Rome, the ancient seat of papal grandeur and power. Pope Clement, throughout the whole of his pontificate, whether from gratitude to his royal patron, or from fear of sharing the fate of Boniface, was the obedient tool of king Philip. At the request or command of the King he revoked the bull *Unam Sanctam* and other decrees of Pope Boniface against France, created several French cardinals, and condemned and suppressed, upon the most absurd and improbable charges, the order of the Knights Templar, in a council held at Vienne in 1309.*

§ 4.—The Avignon popes who succeeded Clement were, John XXII., elected in 1316, whose reign is distinguished by his fierce, though unsuccessful contest with the emperor Louis of Bavaria, on account of that monarch taking upon him the administration of the empire, without asking permission of the Pope; Benedict XII., elected in 1334, who put an end to the quarrel with Louis, and made some commendable efforts to redress the grievances of the church, and to correct the horrible abuses of the monastic orders; Clement VI., elected in 1342, a man of excessive vanity and ambition, who renewed the quarrel with Louis of Bavaria, and, like Boniface VIII., attempted to wield the weapons of Hildebrand by issuing his maledictions against the Emperor, which, however, were treated by that prince with derision and contempt; Innocent VI. elected in 1352, who reigned ten years with comparative moderation; Urban V. elected in 1362, who returned to the ancient palace of the Vatican at Rome in 1367, but probably at the persuasions of the French cardinals, came back to Avignon in 1370, where he soon after died; and Gregory XI., who, partly in consequence of a solemn deputation from the Roman people, and partly in consequence of the pretended revelations of a wretched fanatic, who has since been canonised as SAINT Catharine of Sienna,† removed his court to Rome in 1374, where he died in 1378.

* For the nature of these charges and the proofs of the unjust condemnation of the Templars, see Sismondi's Italian Republics, chap. xix. Bower in vita Clem. V., &c.

† This popish *Saint* Catharine either supposed or pretended that on one occasion she had been blessed by a vision, in which the Saviour appeared to her, accompanied by the Holy Mother and a numerous host of saints, and in their presence he solemnly espoused her, placing on her finger a golden ring, adorned with

Popular tumult at Rome, demanding of the cardinals a Roman pope.

§ 5.—The place of the death of a pope was at that time of more lasting importance to the church than his living residence, because the election of a successor could scarcely fail to be affected by the local circumstances under which he might be chosen. There could be no security for the continuance of the papal residence at Rome, until the crown should be again placed upon the head of an Italian. At Avignon, the French cardinals, who were more numerous, were certain to elect a French pope; but the accident which should oblige the conclave to assemble in an Italian city, might probably lead, through the operation of external influences, to the choice of an Italian.

The number of cardinals at the death of Gregory XI., was twenty-three, of whom six were absent at Avignon, and one was legate in Tuscany. The remaining sixteen, after celebrating the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, and appointing certain officers to secure their deliberations from violence, prepared to enter into conclave. But the rights of sepulture were scarcely performed, when the leading magistrates of Rome presented to them a remonstrance to this effect: "On behalf of the Roman senate and people, they ventured to represent that the Roman church had suffered for seventy years a deplorable captivity by the translation of the holy See to Avignon. That the faithful were no longer attracted to Rome, either by devotion, which the profanation of the churches precluded, or by interest; since the Pope, the source of patronage, had scandalously deserted his church—so that there was danger, lest that unfortunate city should be reduced to a vast and frightful solitude, and become an outcast from the world, of which it was still the spiritual empress, as it once had been the temporal. Lastly, that, as the only remedy for these evils, it was absolutely necessary to elect a Roman, or at least an Italian pope—especially as there was every appearance that the people, if disappointed in their just expectation, would have recourse to compulsion.

§ 6.—The cardinals replied, that as soon as they should be in a conclave they would give to those subjects their solemn deliberation, and direct their choice according to the inspiration of the holy Spirit. They repelled the notion that they could be influenced by any popular menace; and pronounced (according to one account), an express warning, that if they should be compelled to elect under such circumstances, the elected would not be a pope, but an intruder. They then immediately entered into conclave. In the meantime the populace, who had already exhibited proofs of impatience, and whom the answer of the cardinals was not well calculated to

four pearls and a diamond. After the vision had vanished, the ring still remained, sensible and palpable to herself, though invisible to every other eye. Nor was this the only favor which she boasted to have received from the Lord Jesus: she had sucked the blood from the wound in His side; she had received His heart in exchange for her own; she bore on her body the marks of His wounds—though these two were imperceptible by any sight except her own. (*Fleury*, book xcvii., sec. 40. *Spondanus*, Ann. 1376.)

Urban VI. elected. He severely reprimands the luxury of the bishops

satisfy, assembled in great crowds about the place of meeting, and continued in tumultuous assemblage during the whole deliberation of the conclave, so that the debates of the sacred college were incessantly interrupted by the loud and unanimous shout—'Romano lo volemo lo Papa—Romano lo volemo—o almanco Italiano!'—"We will have a Roman for a Pope—a Roman, or at least, at the very least, an Italian!" These were not circumstances for delay or deliberation. If any inclination toward the choice of an Italian had previously existed in the college, it was now confirmed into necessity; and on the very day following their retirement, the cardinals were agreed in their election. Howbeit, they studiously passed over the four Italian members of their own body, and casting their eyes beyond the conclave, selected a Neapolitan, named Bartolomeo Prignano, the archbishop of Bari.

The announcement was not immediately published, probably through the fear of popular dissatisfaction, because a *Roman* had not been created; and presently, when the impatience of the people still further increased, the bishop of Marseilles went to the window and said, "Go to St. Peter's, and you shall learn the decision." Whereupon some who heard him, understanding that the cardinal of St. Peter's had been chosen, rushed into the palace of that prelate, and plundered it, for such was the custom then invariably observed on the election of a pope. In the meantime the other cardinals escaped from the conclave in great disorder and trepidation, without dignity or attendants, or even their ordinary habiliments of office, and sought safety, some in their respective palaces, and others in the castle of St. Angelo, or even beyond the walls of the city. On the following day, the people were undeceived; and as they showed no strong disinclination for the master who had been really chosen for them, the archbishop of Bari, who took the name of Urban VI., was solemnly enthroned, and the scattered cardinals reappeared, and rallied round him in confidence and security.

§ 7.—The ceremony of coronation was duly performed, and several bishops were assembled on the very following day, at vespers in the pontifical chapel, when the Pope unexpectedly addressed them in the bitterest language of reprobation. He accused them of having deserted and betrayed the flocks which God had confided to them, in order to revel in luxury at the court of Rome; and he applied to their offence the harsh reproach of perjury. One of them (the bishop of Pampeluna) repelled the charge, as far as himself was concerned, by reference to the duties which he performed at Rome; the others suppressed in silence their anger and confusion. A few days afterward, at a public consistory, Urban repeated his complaints and denunciations, and urged them still more generally in the presence of his whole court. The cardinals continued, notwithstanding, their attendance at the Vatican for a few weeks longer, and then, as was usual on the approach of the summer heats, they withdrew from the city, with the Pope's permission, and retired to Anagni. Of the sixteen cardinals who had elected pope Urban,

Offended with pope Urban, the cardinals elect another pope, Clement VII.

eleven were French, one a Spaniard, and four Italians. These four alone remained at Rome. The others were no sooner removed from the immediate inspection of Urban, than they commenced, or at least more boldly pursued their measures to overthrow him. On the one hand, they opened a direct correspondence with the court of France and university of Paris; on the other, they took into their service a body of mercenaries, commanded by one Bernard de la Sale, a Gascon, and then they no longer hesitated to treat the election of Urban as null, through the violence which had attended it. To give consequence to this decision, they assembled with great solemnity in the principal church, and promulgated, on the 9th of August, a public declaration, in the presence of many prelates and other ecclesiastics, by which the archbishop of Bari was denounced as an intruder into the pontificate, and his election formally cancelled.

They then retired, for greater security, to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples. Still they did not venture to proceed to a new election in the absence, and it might be against the consent, of their Italian brethren. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and these last immediately fell into the snare, which treachery had prepared for ambition. To each of them separately a secret promise was made in writing, by the whole of their colleagues, that himself should be the object of their choice. Each of them believing what he wished, they* pressed to Fondi with joy and confidence. The college immediately entered into conclave, and as the French had, in the meantime, reconciled their provincial jealousies, Robert, the cardinal of Geneva, was chosen by their unanimous vote. This event took place on the 20th of September, 1378, the new Pope assumed the name of Clement VII., and was installed with the customary ceremonies.†

§ 8.—Such was the origin of the great Western schism which divided the Roman church for about forty years, and accelerated, more than any other event, the decline of papal authority. Whether Urban or Clement is to be regarded as the lawful Pope, and true successor of St. Peter, is even to this day, as Mosheim justly observes, a matter of doubt, nor will the records and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty.‡

Urban remained at Rome; Clement went to Avignon in France. His cause was espoused by France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban to be

* They were now reduced to three, by the death of the cardinal of St. Peter's.

† See Waddington's Church History, chap. xxxiii. Sismondi's Italian Republics, chap. l.

‡ Platina, the Romish historian of the Popes, says, "In the time of Urban IV. arose the 22d (or 26th) schism, of all schisms the worst, and most puzzling. For it was so intricate that not even the most learned and conscientious were able to decide to which of the pretenders they were to adhere, and it continued to the time of Martin V." (more than forty years).

the true vicar of Christ, and the genuine link in the chain of apostolic succession.

§ 9.—The dissension between pope Urban and his successors at Rome, and pope Clement and his successors in France, was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that for the space of forty years the church had two or three different heads at the same time, each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency; and in consequence of all this, many plain, well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind. Nevertheless these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for by these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound, and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes, on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained, and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.*

§ 10.—At length, however, it was resolved to call a general council for the purpose of terminating this disgraceful schism, which was accordingly assembled at Pisa on the 25th of March, 1409. At this time the Roman pope was Gregory XII., and the French pope Benedict XII. The latter had, while a cardinal, taken a solemn oath, if elected pope, to resign the papacy, should it be necessary for the peace of the church. When required to fulfil this promise, he positively refused, and being besieged in Avignon by the king of France, he made his escape to Perpignan. In consequence of being thus deserted by their pope, eight or nine of his cardinals united with the cardinals of the Roman pope Gregory, in calling the council of Pisa, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire.

This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to

* Mosheim, iii., page 319.

The council choose another pope, Alexander V., making three popes at the same time.

excite new divisions. Its proceedings indeed were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honor and respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of *one* pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known on the papal list by the name of Alexander V., but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges, and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. "The deposed popes, Gregory and Benedict, protested against these proceedings, and each convoked another council, the one at Civitat de Frioul, the other at Perpignan. With much difficulty they succeeded in assembling each a few prelates devoted to their cause, yet they, nevertheless, bestowed upon these assemblies the name of *œcumenical councils*, which they had refused to give that of Pisa. It is certain, said they, that the church is the Pope, and it suffices that the Pope be present in any place, for the church to be there also, and where the Pope is not in the body or in mind, no church is."*

§ 11.—Thus was the *holy Catholic church*, which boasts so much of its unity, split up into three contending and hostile factions, under three pretended successors of St. Peter, who loaded each other with reciprocal calumnies and excommunications, and even to the present day, the problem remains undecided, which of the three is to be regarded as *the genuine link in the chain of apostolical succession.* Doubtless they had all an equal claim, and that was no claim at all. If succession should be tested by possession of the same spirit and character, it would be found that these three ambitious and factious ecclesiastics, and heads of an *infallible* church, were better entitled to the character of the successors of Judas the traitor, or Simon the sorcerer, rather than of Paul or Peter the apostle.

In the year 1410, Alexander V., who had been elected pope at the council of Pisa, died, and the sixteen cardinals who attended him at Bologna, immediately chose as his successor, the notorious and abandoned man who assumed the title of John XXIII. and who afterward made such a figure in the celebrated council of Constance.

The year after his election, pope John XXIII., preached a crusade against Ladislaus of Hungary, who was contending with Louis II. of Anjou, for the crown of Naples, on account of the former adhering to the cause of the rival pope Gregory XII. In the terrible bull of crusade which he fulminated against Ladislaus,

* See the recent valuable work of *Emile de Bonnechose*, Librarian to the king of France, entitled the "Reformation of John Huss, and the Council of Constance," translated from the French by Campbell Mackenzie, of Trinity College, Dublin.—Introd., chap. iv.

Fierce and bloody edict of pope John, against king Ladislaus, for favoring his rival.

on the 9th of September, 1411, he enjoined, under pain of excommunication, *ipso facto*, all patriarchs, archbishops, and prelates, to declare, on Sundays and fast-days, with bells ringing, and *tapers burning, and then suddenly extinguished and flung on the ground*, that Ladislaus was excommunicated, perjured, a schismatic, a blasphemer, a relapsed heretic, and a supporter of heretics, guilty of lese-majesty, and the enemy of the Pope and the church. John XXIII., in the same manner, excommunicated Ladislaus's children to the third generation, as well as his adherents and well-wishers: he commanded, that if they happened to die, even with absolution, they should be deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture: he declared that, *whoever should afford burial* to Ladislaus and his partisans *should be excommunicated*, and *should not be absolved until he had disinterred their bodies with his own hands*. The Pope prayed all emperors, kings, princes, cardinals, and believers of both sexes, *by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ* (horrible!) *to save the church by persecuting without mercy, and exterminating Ladislaus and his defenders*. They who should enter on this crusade, were to have the same indulgences as persons proceeding to the conquest of the Holy land, and in case they happened to die before the accomplishment of their aim, should enjoy all the same privileges as if they had died in accomplishing it.*

A second bull, published at the same time, and in which Angelo Corrario (Gregory XII.) is termed "*the son of malediction*, a heretic and a schismatic," was addressed to the pontifical commissioners: it promises *complete remission of sins* to all persons preaching up the crusade, and to those collecting funds for the cause; it suspends or annuls the effect of all other indulgences accorded even by the apostolic See. These two bulls, issued against a Christian prince, and for reasons purely temporal, show the extent of the rage which animated the See of Rome, and of the excesses into which it allowed itself to be drawn: they set Bohemia in flames.

§ 12.—This fierce and bloody manifesto kindled the zeal of the celebrated John Huss of Bohemia, who was shocked at the abominable impiety of the Pope and his bull, and published a calm and dignified reply to it. "I shall affirm nothing," said he, "but what is in conformity with the holy Scriptures; and I have no intention of resisting the power which God has given to the Roman pontiff: I shall resist nothing but the abuse of this authority. Now, war is permitted neither to the Popes, nor to the bishops, nor to the priests, particularly for temporal reasons. If, in fact, the disciples of Jesus Christ were not allowed to have recourse to the sword to defend him who was the chief of the church, against those who wanted to seize on him; and if St. Peter himself was severely reproved for doing so, much more will it not be permissible to a bishop to engage in a war for temporal domination and earthly riches.

"If," continues Huss, "the Pope and his cardinals had said to

* Hist. et Monum. Hus., Tom. i., p. 212.

Christ, 'Lord, if you wish, we will exhort the whole universe to compass the destruction of Ladislaus, Gregory, and their accomplices,' the Saviour would undoubtedly have answered to them as he did to his apostles, when they consulted him if they should take vengeance on the Samaritans: 'I am not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' (Luke ix.) Jesus did not smite his enemy, the high-priest's servant, when marching against him, but healed his wound.

"Let him, therefore, who pleases, declare that he is bound to obey the bull, even unto the extermination of Ladislaus and his family; for my part I would not, without a revelation—a positive order from God—raise my hand against Ladislaus and his partizans; but I would address an humble prayer to God, to bring into the way of truth those who are going astray: for he who is the chief of the whole church, prayed for his persecutors, saying: 'Father, pardon them; they know not what they do!' (Luke xxiii., 34); and I am of opinion that Christ, his mother, and his disciples, were greater than the Pope and his cardinals."* In a subsequent chapter, we shall see the consequences which resulted to the Bohemian reformer, for his temerity in thus venturing to attack the abominations of Rome.

In the meanwhile, in consequence of these disgraceful squabbles of the pretended successors of St. Peter, the different states of the continent were so many theatres of war and rapine, and the clergy, instead of employing all their efforts to put an end to the evil, frequently excited it by their example. The schism afforded the ecclesiastics perpetual opportunities for insurrection: the bishops were men of war rather than churchmen, and one of them, when newly elected to his bishopric, having requested to be shown the library of his predecessors, *was led into an arsenal*, in which all kinds of arms were piled up. "*Those*," was the observation made to him, "*are the books which they made use of to defend the church: imitate their example.*" "And how," asks Bonnechose, "could it possibly not have been so, when three popes showed much more anxiety to destroy one another, than ardor to gain over believers to God and Jesus Christ? Among them, the most warlike, as well as the most interested in exciting the martial tendency of his partizans, was John XXIII., whose temporal power over Rome and her dependencies was as insecure as his spiritual authority was feeble over men's minds."†

§ 13.—The general council was summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by pope John, who was engaged in this measure, by the entreaties of the emperor Sigismund, and also from an expectation that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favorable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at the council, which was also honored with the presence of the Emperor himself, and of a great

* Hist. et Monum. Hus., Tom. i., p. 215, &c.
† Bonnechose, book i., chap. 3.

number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy. The object of the council, viz.: the healing of the papal schism, was accomplished by the deposition of John XXIII., and also of Benedict XIII., the Avignon pope, and the voluntary resignation which the Italian pontiff, Gregory XII. (probably making a virtue of necessity), sent to the council, and by the unanimous election of Cardinal Otta de Calonna, who was soon after crowned with much pomp, and took the name of Martin V. There are other matters connected with the proceedings of the council of Constance, of far deeper interest to the Christian student of history, than the healing of this disgraceful schism; but these particulars must be reserved to the chapters devoted particularly to those courageous and noble-minded opposers of papal abominations, Wickliff,* of England, Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague.

CHAPTER II.

WICKLIFF, THE ENGLISH REFORMER. THE CONDEMNATION OF HIS WORKS, AND THE BURNING OF HIS BONES, BY ORDER OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

§ 14.—At the time of the commencement of the great papal Schism of the West, in 1378, the celebrated Wickliff, the morning star of the Reformation, as he has been justly called, was employing all the influence of his great reputation, and the splendor of his commanding talents, against many of the corruptions of Popery. Of the two rival occupants of the chair of St. Peter, England had embraced the side of Urban, and the mendicant Franciscans and Dominicans were employing themselves with diligence in advocating his cause, and in exciting the popular hatred and fury against his rival, Clement.

Wickliff, who was born in the year 1324, and was consequently about fifty-four years old at this time, had nearly twenty years before distinguished himself by his bold attacks upon these corrupt mendicant orders, and his feelings of abhorrence toward them were renewed by their activity on behalf of pope Urban at this time. Each of the popes endeavored to stimulate his adherents to take up

* The name of this early reformer has been spelled in no less than sixteen different ways. *Wiclif* is adopted by his biographer Lewis, and is used in the oldest document containing his name. Vaughan, the ablest of his biographers, uses *Wycliffe*. In the present work *Wickliff* is adopted as the most popular form.

arms against his rival, by the same promises of spiritual blessings, and the same denunciations of divine wrath, as had been used to obtain supporters to the crusades, or military expeditions for the recovery of the Holy land from the infidels. These military expeditions were represented as equally meritorious, and were designated by the same title, while all the nefarious practices employed in support of the crusades were employed on the present occasion. The popish bishop of Norwich raised a considerable army by the bulls of pope Urban, promising *full remission of sins*, and *a place in paradise* to all who assisted his cause by money or in person!

This military prelate headed his troops, and invaded France, by which kingdom pope Clement was supported. But his campaign was unsuccessful: he returned to England in a few months with the scanty remains of his army, and was the subject of general derision. Against such proceedings Wickliff spoke boldly. He says, "Christ is a good shepherd, for he puts his own life for the saving of the sheep. But anti-Christ is a ravening wolf, for he ever does the reverse, putting many thousand lives for his own wretched life. By forsaking things which Christ has bid his priests forsake, he might end all this strife. Why is he not a fiend stained foul with homicide, who, though a priest, fights in such a cause? If manslaying in others be odious to God, much more in priests who should be the vicars of Christ. And I am certain that neither the Pope, nor all the men of his council, can produce a spark of reason to prove that he should do this." Wickliff speaks of the two popes, as fighting, one against the other, with the most blasphemous leasings (or falsehoods) that ever sprang out of hell. But they were occupied," he adds, "many years before in blasphemy, and in sinning against God and his church. And this made them to sin more, as an ambling blind horse, when he beginneth to stumble, continues to stumble until he casts himself down."

§ 15.—Another circumstance had assisted not only to call Wickliff into public notice, but also to excite against him the hatred of the Pope and the priesthood. This was the decision of the English parliament in 1365, to resist the claim of pope Urban who attempted the revival of an annual payment of a thousand marks,* as a tribute, or feudal acknowledgment, that the kingdoms of England and Ireland were held at the pleasure of the pope. His claim was founded upon the surrender of the crown by king John to pope Innocent III. The payment had been discontinued for thirty-three years, and the recent victories of Cressy and Poictiers, with their results, had so far strengthened the power of England, that the demand by the pontiff, of the arrears, with the continuance of the tribute, upon pain of papal censure, was unanimously rejected by the King and parliament. The reader must recollect that this was not a question bearing only upon the immediate point in dispute; the grand subject of papal supremacy was involved therein, and

* A mark is 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling—about three dollars.

Insolence of a monk. Wickliff calls the Pope "the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers."

the refusal to listen to the mandate of the Pope necessarily tended to abridge the general influence of the clergy. A measure of this description was almost unknown in the history of Europe at that day. Such claims were not lightly relinquished by the papacy, and shortly after this decision of the parliament, a monk wrote in defence of the papal usurpations, asserting that *the sovereignty of England was forfeited* by withholding the tribute, and that the clergy, whether as individuals or as a general body, were exempted from all jurisdiction of the civil power, a claim which had already excited considerable discussions in the preceding reigns. Wickliff was personally called upon by this writer to prove, if he were able, the fallacy of these opinions, which he did in an able and masterly manner, concluding his treatise with a prediction long ago fulfilled. "If I mistake not," said the bold reformer, "the day will come in which all exactions shall cease, before the Pope will prove such a condition to be reasonable and honest."

§ 16.—Wickliff had long been the subject of papal and prelatical vengeance for his opposition to transubstantiation, and other popish errors, and had only been shielded from the rage of his enemies by the powerful protection of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. This danger, after denouncing the Pope as "anti-Christ, the proud, worldly priest of Rome, the most cursed of clippers and purse-kervers," was greater than ever; yet he shrunk not from duty through fear of the consequences, and in the words of the ablest of his biographers, "The language of his conduct was—'To live, and to be silent is with me impossible—the guilt of such treason against the Lord of heaven is more to be dreaded than many deaths. Let the blow therefore fall. Enough I know of the men whom I oppose, of the times on which I am thrown, and of the mysterious providence which relates to our sinful race, to expect that the stroke will ere long descend. But my purpose is unalterable; I wait its coming.'"*

Amidst these labors and persecutions Wickliff was assailed by sickness. While at Oxford he was confined to his chamber, and reports of his approaching dissolution were circulated. The mendicants considered this to be a favorable opportunity for obtaining a recantation of his declarations against them. Perhaps they concluded that the sick-bed of Wickliff would resemble many others they had witnessed, and their power would be there felt and acknowledged. A doctor from each of the privileged orders of beggars, attended by some of the civil authorities of the city, entered the chamber of Wickliff. They at first expressed sympathy for his sufferings, with hopes for his recovery. They then suggested that he must be aware of the wrongs the mendicants had experienced from him, especially by his sermons, and other writings; as death now appeared at hand, they concluded that he must have

* Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, D.D., by Robert Vaughan, in 2 vols. London, 1828—vol. ii., p. 257.

feelings of compunction on this account; therefore they expressed their hope that he would not conceal his penitence, but distinctly recall whatever he had hitherto said against them. The suffering reformer listened to this address unmoved. When it was concluded, he made signs for his attendants to raise him in his bed; then fixing his eyes on the mendicants, he summoned all his remaining strength, and loudly exclaimed, "I SHALL NOT DIE, BUT LIVE, AND SHALL AGAIN DECLARE THE EVIL DEEDS OF THE FRIARS." The appalled doctors, with their attendants, hurried from the room, and they speedily found the prediction fulfilled. "This scene," it has well been remarked, "would afford a striking subject for an able artist,"* and we have endeavored, by the help of our skilful artist, to represent it in the accompanying engraving.

§ 17.—But however much the intrepid rector of Lutterworth exposed himself to papal hatred, by his work "on the Schism of the Popes," he completed in the year 1383 an infinitely more important work, which excited to a still higher pitch the enmity and rage of his popish opponents. This was the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the English language from the Latin, a work which cost him the labor of several years.† The feelings of Romanists

* Life of Wickliff in British Reformers, vol. i., p. 23.

† The following specimen of Wickliff's translation may be interesting to the curious in such matters, and may serve to show the changes in the English language since his day.

1 JON, CAP. I.—*Wickliff's version.*

That thing that was fro the bigynnyng, which we herden, which we sigen with oure igen, which we biheelden and oure hondis touchiden of the word of liif. and the liif is schewid, and we saigen, and we witnessen and tellen to you euerlesting liif that was anentis the fadir and apperide to us. therefore we tellen to you that thing that we sigen and herden, that also ye haue felowschip with us and oure felowschip be with the fadir and with his sone iesu crist. and we writen this thing to you, that ye haue ioie, and that youre ioie be ful. and this is the tellyng that we herden of him and tellen to you, that god is ligt and ther ben no derknessis in hym. if we seien that we hau felowschip with him, and we wandren in derknessis, we lien and doen not treuthe. but if we walken in ligt as also he is in ligt we hau felowschip togidre, and the blood of iesu crist his sone clenseth us fro al synne, if we seien that we haue no synne we disseyuen ussilff, and treuthe is not in us. if we knowlechen oure synnes, he is feithful and iust that he

1 JOHN, CHAP. I.—*Common version.*

That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us); that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. And these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full. This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not

Wickliff rebuking the Mendicant Friars

The dead bod, of a Pope lying in State

A popish priest's lament that the Bible should be made common to the laity and to women.

relative to this first translation of the Scriptures into the English language, are well illustrated by a passage from the historical work of a popish contemporary of Wickliff, Knighton, a canon of Leicester. "Christ delivered his gospel," says he, "*to the clergy and doctors* of the church, that they might administer to the laity and to weaker persons, according to the state of the times, and the wants of man. But this master John Wickliff translated it out of Latin into English, and thus laid it more open to the laity, and to *women* who can read, than it formerly had been to the most learned of the clergy, even to those of them who had the best understanding. And in this way the gospel pearl is cast abroad, and trodden under foot of swine, and that which was before precious both to clergy and laity, is rendered as it were the common jest of both! The jewel of the church is turned into the sport of the people, and *what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines, is made for ever common to the laity.*" What would this popish hater of the bible have said could he have foreseen how "common to the laity," and even to "women," the Holy Scriptures would have become in the nineteenth century, when the whole of God's word can be purchased for an English shilling? Then a copy of the Scriptures could not be procured by the artisan short of the entire earnings of years; now it can be procured by the poorest laborer for less than the earnings of a day. True, the copies of Wickliff's Bible were multiplied with astonishing rapidity, considering that printing was not invented, and each one had to be transcribed with the patient labor of the pen; still it is evident that the possession even of a New Testament could only be hoped for by those who were comparatively rich.*

§ 18.—Notwithstanding the malice of the Pope and the priests toward Wickliff, for thus opening to the common people the Scriptures, in which they might learn for themselves the errors of Rome, through the kindness of a protecting providence, he was permitted to die peacefully on his bed, December 31, 1384.

The popish clergy in England were so incensed at the increasing circulation of the English Bible, that in 1390, a few years after the reformer's death, the prelates brought forward a bill in the house of lords for suppressing Wickliff's translations. The duke of Lancaster is said to have interfered on this occasion, boldly declaring, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations

forgyve to us oure synnes, and clense us fro al wickidnesse. and if we seien that we hau not synned, we maken him a lier, and his word in not in us.

in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.

* From the register of Alnwick, bishop of Norwich, in 1429, it appears that the cost of a testament of Wickliff's version, was 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* (equal to more than 20*l.*, or one hundred dollars of our present money). At that time five pounds were considered a sufficient allowance for the annual maintenance of a tradesman or a curate. (*Life of Wickliff in British Reformers*, vol. i. p. 25.)

have the law of God, which is the law of our faith, written in their own language." He added that he would maintain our having the divine law in our own tongue, against those, whoever they should be, who first brought in the bill. The Duke being seconded by others, the bill was thrown out. Three years previously, in 1387, a severe statute had been revived at Oxford, which is thus described in a prologue for the English Bible, written by one of Wickliff's followers:—"Alas! the greatest abomination that ever was heard among Christian clerks is now purposed in England by worldly clerks and feigned religious, and in the chief university of our realm, as many true men tell with great wailing. This horrible and devilish cursedness is purposed of Christ's enemies, and traitors of all Christian people, that no man shall learn divinity, or holy writ, but he that hath done his form in art, that is, who hath commenced in arts, and hath been regent two years after. Thus it would be nine or ten years before he might learn holy writ." In the course of half a century, however, when these priests of Rome, after having burned the bones of Wickliff, because they could not burn him alive, had at their command the fire and the faggot, we shall see that they were more successful in their efforts to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures in the English language.

§ 19.—It would be interesting to present to the reader copious specimens of the bold and earnest manner in which Wickliff argued against the priests of Rome in favor of the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, but the limits and design of this work forbid, and I must refer those who wish to study further the life and writings of Wickliff to the authorities mentioned in the note.* A single specimen I must quote of his vigorous mode of reproving those popish priests who withheld from the people the possession of the Scriptures, and attached a greater importance to the decisions of popes and councils than to the dictates of the unerring word. "All those," says Wickliff, "who falsify the pope's bulls, or a bishop's letter, are cursed grievously in all churches, four times in the year. Lord, why was not the gospel of Christ admitted by our worldly clerks into this sentence? Hence it appeareth, that they magnify the bull of a pope more than the gospel; and in proof of this, they punish men who trespass against the bulls of the pope more than those who trespass against the gospel of Christ. Accordingly, the men of this world fear the pope and his commandments more than the gospel of Christ, or the commands of God. It is thus that the wretched beings of this world are estranged from

* See Vaughan's life and writings of Wickliff, chap. viii.; Lewis's life of Wickliff, *passim;* Baber's, ditto, prefixed to his edition of Wickliff's New Testament, and especially Wickliff's tract, entitled "Anti-Christ's labor to destroy holy writ," published from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the British Reformers, vol. i., page 172—178. I am happy to inform the reader that this valuable set of works, *the Lives and Writings of the British Reformers, in* 12 *volumes*, has recently been made accessible to the American reader, by its republication from the London edition by the Presbyterian Board of Publication

Articles from Wickliff's works condemned by the council of Constance.

faith, and hope, and charity, and become corrupt in heresy and blasphemy, even worse than heathens. True teaching is the debt most due to holy church, and is most charged of God, and most profitable to Christian souls. As much, therefore, as God's word, and the bliss of heaven in the souls of men, are better than earthly goods; so much are these worldly prelates, who withdraw the great debt of holy teaching, worse than thieves, more accursedly sacrilegious than ordinary plunderers, who break into churches and steal thence chalices and vestments, or ever so much gold. The greatest of all sins is to deprive men of faith, and of the mirror of Christ's life, which is the ground of his well-being hereafter."

§ 20.—About thirty years after the death of Wickliff, the council of Constance assembled for the purpose of healing the western schism, and purging the church of heresy. One principal business of the council was to examine the opinions of John Huss, of Bohemia, which had lately given much trouble to the bigoted and blinded adherents of Popery in that kingdom. Before, however, smiting, in the person of John Huss, such doctrines as were subversive of the power of the priests, it was thought advisable to brand with reprobation the source from which they had been taken. The council remembered that, toward the close of the preceding century, the world had seen a celebrated heresiarch go unpunished; it recollected that Wickliff had peaceably expired in the very country where his doctrines had been condemned; that his mortal remains reposed in consecrated ground; and that his writings were in circulation throughout Europe. In citing him before it, the council proceeded against his genius and his dead body. Forty-five propositions, attributed to Wickliff, and already condemned in England, had been similarly dealt with at Rome, in 1412, in a council convoked by John XXIII. These same articles were again brought forward at Constance, and formed the principal ground of the accusation laid against him. This great cause was brought before the council and judged, but without any discussion, in the eighth session.

The assembly was as solemn as any of the preceding ones. The Emperor was present; Cardinal de Viviers occupied the president's chair, and the Patriarch of Antioch celebrated mass. The passage of the gospel chosen to be read for the occasion was that beginning with the words, "*Beware of false prophets.*"

§ 21.—Among the articles attributed to Wickliff, and solemnly condemned by the council, were five, which were so many violent attacks directed against the convents and monks of all the orders, who under the appearance of poverty, drew together as much wealth as possible, and who were the most indefatigable champions of the privileges and the abuses of the Church of Rome. Wickliff designated them by the appellation of Satan's synagogue. One of the articles condemned under this head, was the following:—"*Monks ought to earn their livelihood by the labor of their hands, and not by begging.*" This proposition was declared to be false, rash, and

Wickliff's bones condemned by the council to be dug up and burnt.

founded on error, because it was written that *the birds of the air reaped not, neither did they spin.* By the birds thus mentioned, said the council, were to be understood the saints who flew toward heaven (! !)

Three other articles combated the Roman doctrine re.ative to the mass, and denied the bodily presence of Jesus Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist, one directly asserting the folly of believing in indulgences, and another speaking of the Pope as Anti-Christ. But the most remarkable condemnation of this *infallible* general council, was that of Wickliff's proposition, which declares the FAMOUS DECRETALS OF EARLY POPES *to be false and apocryphal.* The spurious character of these forged decretals has since been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, and is admitted (since it is impossible to deny it) even by Romanists; so that, after all, the *infallible* council was wrong—the papists themselves being judges—and the poor dead heretic was right, whose opinions were so unceremoniously condemned, and whose mouldering bones were so savagely ordered to be dug up from his grave and burnt!

The published works of Wickliff were condemned *en masse*, but his *Dialogus* and *Trialogus** were thought worthy of special mention.

"As to Wickliff himself," says L'Enfant, "the council declared, that since they had, after the strictest inquiry, decided that the said Wickliff died AN OBSTINATE HERETIC, therefore they condemn his memory, and order his bones to be dug up, if they can be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, and THROWN UPON A DUNGHILL."†

§ 22.—This savage sentence was not enforced till the year 1428, at the command of pope Martin V., but then the popish executioners of the dead reformer's bones, in their willing zeal, transcended the sentence of the council. They dug his remains from the grave in the chancel of the church at Lutterworth, where they had peacefully reposed for over forty years, burnt them to ashes, and then cast them into a neighboring brook, called the Swift. "And so," says Fox, "was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire and water; they thinking thereby to abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old pharisees and sepulchre knights, who when they had brought the Lord to the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all others must know, that as there is no council against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his body, burned his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn,

* See an extract of this famous production of the reformer in the volume of the British Reformers before referred to, occupying five pages, 179—183. See also a summary of the Trialogus, including several extracts in L'Enfant's history of the council of Constance, in 2 vols. quarto; London, 1739: vol. i., pp. 231—241.

† L'Enfant's Council of Constance, vol. i., 231.

which yet TO THIS DAY, for the most part of his articles, do remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed."

I will close this account of the "morning star of the Reformation," by citing the words of Fuller the historian, in reference to the bones of Wickliff—words which are worthy to be written in letters of gold. "The brook Swift did convey his ashes into Avon, the Avon into Severn, the Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. AND THUS THE ASHES OF WICKLIFF ARE THE EMBLEM OF HIS DOCTRINE, WHICH IS NOW DISPERSED ALL THE WORLD OVER."*

CHAPTER III.

JOHN HUSS OF BOHEMIA. HIS CONDEMNATION AND MARTYRDOM BY THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

§ 23.—DURING the latter years of the venerable Wickliff, a youth was growing up in an obscure village in Bohemia, who was destined to bear the torch of gospel truth which the English reformer had kindled, into the very recesses of popish darkness, to seal, with the blood of martyrdom, his testimony against the corruptions of anti-Christ, and to transmit, with a martyr's hand, that torch of truth through a long succession of spiritual descendants. This youth was John Huss, or John of *Huss*, or Hussenitz, the small village of Bohemia which was rendered illustrious by his birth, on the 6th of July, 1373. At the death of Wickliff in 1384, Huss was a boy of eleven, pursuing his studies at a school in the town of Prachatitz, and aiming by his diligence and assiduity to reward the care and the tenderness of a kind and widowed mother.†

It is related of the youthful John Huss, that when he was one evening reading by the fire the life of St. Laurence, his imagination

* Fuller's Church History of Britain, from the birth of Christ till 1646—book iv., page 171. If Fuller could thus speak two centuries ago, what would he have said, had he been living now, and beheld the doctrines of Wickliff and the New Testament spreading in India, Burmah, Persia, China, Africa and the Islands of the South Seas?

† See *L'Enfant's* Council of Constance, book i., chap. 20—to which valuable and authentic work, together with the work of *Bonnechose*, I am indebted for most of the facts in the present chapter. The work of L'Enfant is the great storehouse of facts and authorities, to which subsequent writers, including *Bonnechose*, have had recourse, in reference to the lives of Huss and Jerome, and the proceedings of the council of Constance, which condemned them to the flames. It is a work, the accuracy of which rests not merely upon the authority of the learned L'Enfant—though that is highly respectable—but upon the testimony of Romish writers themselves, who are constantly referred to by L'Enfant.

Huss's first feelings at the perusal of the writings of Wickliff. His subsequent favorable opinion.

kindled at the narration of the martyr's sufferings, and he thrust his own hand into the flames. Being suddenly prevented by one of his fellow-pupils from holding it there, and then questioned as to his design, he replied: "I was only trying what part of the tortures of this holy man I might be capable of enduring." To the exemplary moral character and excellent mental ability of Huss, even Romish writers have borne testimony. "Thus," says the Jesuit Balbinus, "John Huss was even more remarkable for his acuteness than his eloquence; but the modesty and severity of his conduct, his austere and irreproachable life, his pale and melancholy features, his gentleness and affability to all, even the most humble, persuaded more than the greatest eloquence."*

§ 24.—In the boyhood of Huss, the writings of Wickliff were already known in Bohemia. They had probably been brought there from England, in consequence of the intercourse between the two countries, resulting from the fact that the queen of Richard II., at that time king of England, was a Bohemian princess, the sister of king Wenceslaus. At the first perusal of Wickliff's writings, it is said that he read them with a pious horror; but in after years, when his judgment became more matured, and his knowledge of the corruptions and disorders of the popes and the priests more extensive, he formed a far more favorable opinion of the doctrines of the English reformer, though he clung, even to the close of his life, to some Romish opinions which were rejected by Wickliff. It is even related of him, by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., that after entering upon the priesthood he was accustomed, in his discourses from the pulpit of Bethlehem, to address his earnest vow to Heaven, that, "whenever he should be removed from this life, he might be admitted to the same regions where the soul of Wickliff resided; since he doubted not, that he was a good and holy man, and worthy of a habitation in heaven."†

As the disgraceful schism continued, Huss, who had now entered upon the priesthood, studied more seriously the writings of Wickliff, and spoke of them with greater praise. He put himself forward, neither as the leader of a sect, nor an innovator: he laid claim to no admiration, or submission, or eulogium, from others; he simply drew his force from the authority of the Divine word, which he preached in his chapel of Bethlehem with an indefatigable zeal, and which, it was asserted, the priests had disfigured or veiled to such a degree, that it seemed as if the Holy Word was then for

* Subtilior tamen quam eloquentior semper est habitus Hussus; sed mores ad omnem servitutem conformati, vita horrida et sine deliciis, omnibus abrupta, quam nullus accusare posset, tristis et exhausta facies, languens corpus, et parata omnibus obvia, etiam vilissimo cuique, benevolentia, omni lingua facundius perorabant. —(*Balbinus*, Epit. Rer. Bohem., p. 431.)

† "Qui, cum se libenter audiri animadverteret, multa de libris Viclefi in medium attulit, asserens in iis omnem veritatem contineri; adjiciensque crebro inter prædicandum, se, postquam ex luce migraret, ea loca proficisci cupere, ad quæ Viclefi anima pervenisset; quem virum fuisse bonum, sanctum, cœloque dignum non dubitaret." (*Æn. Syl. Hist. Boh.*, l. xxxv.)

Huss gives himself to his destined work. Wickliff's writings burnt in Bohemia.

the first time brought forward in Bohemia. Less daring than Wickliff, John Huss admitted in principle the greater part of the distinctive dogmas of the Roman Church, which the former rejected. In certain ones, such as the efficacy of prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, auricular confession, and the power of the priests to give absolution and to excommunicate, he blamed the *principle* much less than the *abuse*. Upon the grand fundamental principle of *the appeal to the Scriptures as the only infallible authority*, Huss agreed perfectly with the English reformer, and this contained in itself the seeds of a complete revolution in the anti-scriptural church of Rome. He also agreed with him in the necessity of bringing back the clergy to discipline and morality, and this, in that corrupt age, arrayed against him the whole priesthood as a body.

§ 25.—Huss had to encounter a severe conflict with himself, before he could venture to declare himself openly as the reformer of the abuses of the church and the clergy. Referring to a passage in Ezekiel viii. 8, 9, "And when I had digged in the wall, behold a door. And the Lord said unto me, Go in and behold the wicked abominations that they do here," he exclaims, "I also, I, have been raised up by God to *dig in the wall*, in order that the multiplied abominations of the holy place may be laid open. It has pleased the Lord to draw me forth from the place where I was, like a brand from the burning. Unhappy slave of my passions as I was, it was necessary that God himself should rescue me, like Lot from the burning of Sodom; and I have obeyed the voice which said to me, *Dig in the wall*. . . . . I next beheld a door, and *that door was the Holy Scriptures*, through which I contemplated the abominations of the monks and the priests, laid open before me and represented under divers emblems. Never did the Jews and Pagans commit such horrible sins in presence of Jesus Christ, as those bad Christians and hypocritical priests commit every day in the midst of the Church."* From that time (about 1407), Huss gave himself to what he conceived his destined work, grappling with the whole body of the clergy, and boldly reproving their scandalous and immoral lives, from the obscure curate or monk, to the luxurious cardinals and rival pontiffs of a corrupt and apostate church.

§ 26.—On the 20th December, 1409, pope Alexander V. issued his bull against the doctrines and writings of Wickliff, forbidding all to preach or teach his doctrines in private chapels or any places whatever. In obedience to this bull, the archbishop of Prague and primate of Bohemia caused upwards of two hundred volumes, beautifully written and richly ornamented, to be burned without any further proceedings,† which act gave birth to very formidable resentments. The price of books, which at that period were all manuscripts, was, before the invention of printing, elevated in proportion to their rarity, and their destruction almost always caused

* Hist. et Monument. J. Hus., p. 503.

† Supra ducenta volumina fuisse traduntur. (*Æneas Sylvius*, Hist. Boh., p. 69.)

a serious loss to the possessors. A great number of the books burned by the Archbishop belonged to members of the University of Prague. That dignitary had therefore violated their privileges, and John Huss undertook their defence, being doubly offended by this act of episcopal despotism, both in his authority as rector, and in his esteem for Wickliff. Upon the accession of pope John XXIII. in 1410, that violent and vicious pontiff immediately summoned the Bohemian reformer to appear before his court at Bologne, and upon Huss refusing to comply with the summons, he was excommunicated, the city of Prague laid under an interdict, and the priests forbidden to perform the rites of baptism or burial, so long as John Huss continued in the city. Against this sentence, Huss appealed from the pretended vicar of God to the tribunal of God himself. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "real God and real man, when encompassed by pontiffs, scribes, pharisees, and priests, at once his judges and accusers, gave his disciples the admirable example of submitting their cause to the omniscient and omnipotent God. In pursuance of this holy example, I now appeal to God, seeing that I am oppressed by an unjust sentence, and by the pretended excommunication of the pontiff's scribes, pharisees, and judges seated in the chair of Moses,—I, John Huss, present this my appeal to Jesus Christ, my Master and my Judge, who knows and protects the just cause of the humblest of men."

§ 27.—The persecuted reformer, though enjoying the protection of the royal family, chose to retire for the present to his native village, from whence he wrote to his spiritual children to explain to them the cause of his retirement, in the following pious and affecting strain. "Learn, beloved," says he, "that if I have withdrawn from the midst of you, it is to follow the precept and example of Jesus Christ, in order not to give room to the ill-minded to draw on themselves eternal condemnation, and in order not to be to the pious a cause of affliction and persecution. I have retired also through an apprehension that impious priests might continue for a longer time to prohibit the preaching of the Word of God amongst you; but I have not quitted you to deny the divine truth, for which, with God's assistance, *I am willing to die.*"* In another of these admirable letters, he exhorts them not to be cast down by terror, if the Lord should try some among them. Then alluding to the example of Jesus, he says: "He came to the aid of us miserable sinners, supporting hunger, thirst, cold, heat, watching and fatigue; when giving us his Divine instructions, he suffered weighty sorrows and grave insults from the priests and scribes, to such a point that they called him a blasphemer, and declared that he had a devil; asserting that he, whom they had excommunicated as a heretic, and whom they had driven from their city and crucified as an accursed one, could not be God. If, then, Christ had to support such things—he, who cured all kinds of diseases by his mere word, without any

* Hist. et Monum. Hus., t. i., p. 117.

His presentiment of martyrdom. His noble and illustrious friend, Jerome of Prague

recompense on earth—who drove out devils, raised the dead, and taught God's holy word—who did no harm to any one, who committed no sin, and who suffered every indignity from the priests, simply because he laid open their wickedness—why should we be astonished, in the present day, that *the ministers of anti-Christ*, who are far more covetous, more debauched, more cruel, and more cunning, than the Pharisees, should persecute the servants of God—overwhelm them with indignity, curse, excommunicate, imprison, and kill them?"

In some of his letters, written about the same time, Huss manifests a vague presentiment of martyrdom. It is thus, that, writing to the new rector of the University of Prague, he says: "I know well that, if I persevere in what is just, no evil, whatever it may be, will be able to turn me from the paths of truth. If I desire to live piously in Christ, it is necessary for me to suffer for his name. . . . What are to me the riches of the age! What the indignities, which, endured with humility, prove, purify, and illuminate, the children of God! What, in fact, is death, should I be torn from this wretched existence! He who loses it here below, triumphs over death itself, and finds the real life. As for me, I have no desire to live in this corrupt age:—I shall, I trust, affront death itself, if the mercy of the Lord comes to my aid." Huss goes on to draw an energetic picture of the licentiousness of the clergy, in which body he sees anti-Christ; and then, giving free vent to his grief, he exclaims: "Wo, then, to me, if I do not preach against an abomination of the kind! Wo to me if I do not lament, if I do not write! . . . Already the great eagle takes its flight, and cries, 'Wo! wo! to the inhabiters of the earth!'"*

§ 28.—Amidst all the dangers and trials, however, to which the godly Huss was exposed, there were many of his friends who, in the face of danger, remained faithful to the doctrine he had taught them and to their beloved teacher. But amongst them all, the most illustrious was he whose name has been handed down to posterity, inseparable from his own—Jerome of Prague, doctor of theology. This learned and eloquent doctor was one of the most eminent men of his time. He had studied at Oxford, and had defended most brilliant theses at Paris against Gerson, as well as the most celebrated universities of Europe. Even before his return to Bohemia, he had signalized himself by a strong opposition to the church of Rome. He was thrown into prison at Vienna, as a favorer of Wickliff; and, being set at liberty at the request of the University of Prague, he came to join John Huss in this city. In a short time, he guarded no measures with respect to the Pope and the cardinals: and, amongst other problems, he openly proposed the following:—Whether the Pope possessed more power than another priest—and whether the bread in the Eucharist, or the body of Christ, possessed more virtue in the mass of the Roman pontiff, than in that of any

* Hist. et Mon. Hus., Epist. iv., t. i., p. 118.

other officiating ecclesiastic? One day, Jerome and some of his friends drew a sketch of Christ's disciples, on one side, following with naked feet their Master mounted on an ass; whilst on the other they represented the pope and the cardinals, in great state, on superb horses, and preceded, as usual, with drums and trumpets. Those pictures were exposed in public; and it is easy to conceive the effect that they ought to produce on an excitable and enthusiastic multitude.

Such was Jerome of Prague, whom his contemporaries have recognized as superior in intellectual powers to John Huss; but the latter, by his manner of living, his character, and his piety, possessed so great an authority, that Jerome always felt its ascendency. John Huss was the master, Jerome the disciple; and nothing does more honor to those two men than this deference—this voluntary humiliation of genius at the feet of virtue.

§ 29.—The opposition of both Jerome and Huss to the Pope's bull of crusade against Ladislaus issued, as we have already seen (page 375), by John XXIII. in 1411, tended to increase the hatred of that pontiff to the Bohemian reformers. Huss did not content himself with attacking the bull, but animadverted with considerable severity, against the Pope's pretended power of indulgences, of granting the full remission of their sins to such as should engage in the *pious* work of butchering all who opposed his *Holiness* in his views of ambition. After referring to the sentiments of Augustine and Gregory, Huss says: "When, then, those two great saints have not dared to promise remission of sins even to those who have done penance, with what countenance can pope John, in his bull, promise *the most entire remission of sins*, and the recompense of eternal salvation, to his accomplices! If, notwithstanding the example of Christ, the Pope strives for temporal domination, it is evident that he sins in that, as do those who aid him in that object. How, then, could the indulgence granted for a criminal act be of any value?"

The Pope cannot know, without an especial revelation, if *he* is predestined to salvation; he cannot, therefore, give such indulgence to himself; it is not, besides, contrary to the faith, that many popes who have granted ample indulgences are damned. Of what value, therefore, are their indulgences in the sight of God? No saint in Scripture has granted indulgences for the absolution of the penalty of the trespass during a certain number of years and days: our doctors have never dared to name any of the Fathers as having instituted and published indulgences; because, in fact, they are ignorant of their origin: and if these indulgences, which are represented as so salutary to mankind, have slumbered, as it were, for the space of a thousand years and more, the reason most probably is, that *covetousness had not at that period, as at present, reached its highest point.* In order to show the absurdity of the pretended power to pardon the sins of those who should contribute money toward the Pope's crusade, Huss uses the following illustration: "Of two men," says he, "one has been an offender all his life; but

Primitive Christianity—Christ, the Master.

Papal Christianity—The Pope, the Servant.

"The servant is *not* above his master."

provided he pays a sum of money, he can obtain, by means of a very slight contrition, remission of his sins, and of their consequent penalty: the other is a man of worth who has never committed but venial sins; yet, if he gives nothing, he shall have no pardon. Now, according to the bull, if those two men should happen to die, the former—the criminal—will go straight to heaven, escaping the pains of purgatory; and the second—the just man—will have to undergo them. Were such indulgences really available in heaven, we ought to pray to God that war might be waged against the Pope, in order that he might throw open all the treasures of the Church!"*

In reading these extracts from the writings of Huss, it is impossible not to think of the still more severe and pointed rebukes of Luther, a hundred years later, of this blasphemous pretence of pardoning sin for money, excited by the conduct of the infamous Tetzel, *the indulgence-peddler* of pope Leo X.

§ 30.—This noble reply of Huss to the bulls of John XXIII., while it increased his favor and influence with the people, drew on him the hostility of the court. The King was then at war with Ladislaus; his favor, like that of the greater part of princes, was subordinate to his political interests: he, therefore, accepted the bulls, and withdrew for a time his support from John Huss. Prague was then divided between two powerful parties. All who had favors to expect from the King or the people declared themselves in support of the bulls; and to this period must be assigned the rupture between Huss and Stephen Paletz, an influential member of the clergy. Paletz had been his friend and disciple; but being as anxious for the advancement of his fortune as Huss was for the progress of the truth, he preached in favor of the bulls and the indulgences. These reverses, however, did not shake the resolution of Huss. He caused a placard to be put upon the doors of the churches and monasteries of Prague, inviting the public, and particularly all doctors, priests, monks and scholars, to come forward and discuss the following theses: "Whether, according to the law of Jesus Christ, Christians could, with a safe conscience, approve of the crusade ordered by the Pope against Ladislaus and his followers,—and whether such a crusade could turn to the glory of God, to the safety of the Christian populations, and to the welfare of the kingdom of Bohemia?"

On the appointed day, the concourse was prodigious; and the rector, in alarm, endeavored, though in vain, to dissolve the assembly. A doctor of canon law stood up and delivered a defence of the Pope and the bulls; then, falling upon John Huss, he said—"You are a priest; you are subordinate to the Pope, who is your spiritual father. It is only filthy birds that defile their own nest; and Ham was cursed for having uncovered his father's shame." At these words, the people murmured, and were in great commotion. Already were stones beginning to fly, when John Huss interfered and calmed the storm. After him, the impetuous Jerome of Prague

* Hist. et Monum. Hus., Tom. i., p. 215, &c.

Popular tumult at Prague. Valuable testimony of cardinal Peter D'Ailly.

addressed the multitude, and terminated a vehement harangue with these words: "Let those who are our friends unite with us; Huss and I are going to the palace, and we will let the vanity of those indulgences be seen."

Jerome was, however, persuaded not to go to the palace, but the feelings of the excited multitude could not be calmed. On the following Sunday an event occurred which raised this excitement to an almost ungovernable pitch. A report was in circulation that three men had been thrown into prison by the magistrates, for having harangued against the Pope and indulgences. The students rose; arms were taken up, and Huss, followed by the people and the scholars, proceeded to the town-house, and demanded that the prisoners' lives should be spared. Two thousand men were in arms in the square. "Return peaceably to your homes," cried John Huss to them; "the prisoners are pardoned." The crowd shouted their applause and withdrew; but, a short time after, blood was seen to flow in abundance from the prison. The senators had determined on the most dangerous course,—that of endeavoring to inspire terror, after having exhibited it themselves. An executioner had been introduced, and had beheaded the prisoners, and it was their blood which had escaped. At this sight a furious tumult arose. The doors of the prison were burst open, the bodies taken off, and transported in linen shrouds under the vault of the chapel of Bethlehem. There they were interred with great honors, the scholars singing in chorus over their tomb,—"*They are saints who have given up their body for the gospel of God.*" Indignation gradually pervaded the whole of Bohemia, and John Huss, in his violent invectives against the Pope, used but little moderation. He attacked, in the most unmeasured language, the despotism and simony of the pontiff, as well as the debauchery and display of the priests; he rejected also the traditions of the Church respecting fasts and abstinence, and he opposed to every other authority that of the Scriptures. The popish doctors of Prague formed a league against him, and accused him of belonging to the sect of the Arminians, who relied on the authority of Scripture only, and not on that of the church and the holy fathers. To this Huss replied, that on the point in question he was of the same opinion as St. Augustine, *who acknowledged the Scriptures alone* as the foundation of his faith.

§ 31.—The testimony of Peter D'Ailly, cardinal of Cambray, as to the real cause of the dissatisfaction in Bohemia, considering the source from whence that testimony is derived, is valuable. "It is," said he, "on account of the *simoniacal heresy* and the other iniquities which are practised at the Court of Rome, that there have arisen, in Bohemia and Moravia, sects which have spread from the head to the other members in this kingdom, where a thousand things highly insulting to the Pope are publicly uttered. . . . . Thus it is that the *notorious vices* of the Court of Rome trouble the Catholic faith, and corrupt it by errors. It is to be desired, certainly, that

those heresies, and their authors, were rooted out of all those provinces; but I do not see that this result can be accomplished, unless the court of Rome can be brought back to its ancient morals and its praiseworthy customs." In the meanwhile, the disgraceful schism of the rival popes continued, and furnished the partizans of Huss with arguments for combating the jurisdiction of the Pope. "If we must obey," said they, "to whom is our obedience to be paid? Balthazar Cossa, called John XXIII., is at Rome,—Angelo Corario, named Gregory XII., is at Rimini,—Peter de Lune, who calls himself Benedict XIII., is in Arragon. If one of them, in his quality of the *Most Holy Father*, ought to be obeyed, how does it come to pass that he cannot be distinguished from the others, and why does he not begin by subduing them?"

§ 32.—During a second retirement of John Huss to his native village of Hussenitz, he published a short but energetic treatise, under the title of *The Six Errors*. The *first* was the error of the priests, who boasted of making the body of Jesus Christ in the mass, and of being *the creator of their Creator*. The *second* consisted in declaring—*I believe in the popes and the saints*. The *third* was the pretension of the priests to be able to remit the trespass and the penalty of sin to whom they pleased. The *fourth* error was implicit obedience to superiors, no matter what they ordered. The *fifth* consisted in not making a distinction, in their effect, between a just excommunication and one that was not so. And, lastly, the *sixth* error was simony, which John Huss designated a heresy, and of which he accused the greater part of the clergy. This little work, which attacked the clergy in particular, was placarded on the door of the chapel of Bethlehem; it ran with wonderful rapidity through the whole of Bohemia, and its success was immense. He wrote also at this period his treatise on the *Abomination of the Monks*, the purport of which is sufficiently explained by its title; and another, entitled, *Members of Anti-Christ*, a vigorous and fearless exposure of the vices and disorders of the Pope and his court.

§ 33.—Upon the assembling of the Council of Constance in 1414, John Huss was immediately summoned to attend it. Had he refused to obey the summons, doubtless, as he himself asserted at Constance, the powerful barons of Bohemia, who favored his cause, would have protected him, in their fortified castles, from the rage of his enemies—and even King Wenceslaus would not have ventured to deliver him up. In this event, the eyes of the Bohemian reformer might gradually have been opened yet more fully to the abominations of Popery, and the scenes of the glorious Reformation of Germany might have been witnessed a hundred years earlier than the age of Luther. But, to prepare the way for the Reformation, the providence of God required yet another bloody sacrifice to be offered in view of the world—a sacrifice, in defiance of the most solemn promise of protection and safety—in order to exhibit yet more fully the cruel and perfidious character of the papal

Copy of the Emperor's safe-conduct. Huss's misgivings whether he should ever return alive

anti-Christ; and John Huss was destined to be that sacrifice, Upon the reception of the summons, Huss prepared to depart for Constance. He obtained a safe-conduct (a document promising him protection upon the faith of the grantor) from king Wenceslaus, and demanded a similar one from the emperor Sigismund, which he received while on his journey. This document, the violation of which, at the advice of the popish cardinals and prelates at Constance, stamps such indelible disgrace upon all who thus openly declared the doctrine, that NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS, is of so much importance that I shall transcribe it. It was couched in the following terms:* "Sigismund, by the grace of God, King of the Romans, &c., to all ecclesiastical and secular princes, &c., and to all our other subjects, greeting. *We recommend to you with a full affection,—to all in general, and to each in particular, the honorable master,* JOHN HUSS, *bachelor in divinity, and master of arts, the bearer of these presents, journeying from Bohemia to the council of Constance, whom we have taken under our protection and safe-guard, and under that of the empire, enjoining you to receive him and treat him kindly, furnishing him with all that shall be necessary to speed and assure his journey, as well by water as by land, without taking anything from him or his, for arrivals or departures, under any pretext whatever; and calling on you to allow him* TO PASS, SOJOURN, STOP, AND RETURN FREELY AND SURELY,† *providing him even, if necessary, with good passports, for the honor and respect of his Imperial Majesty.—Given at Spires, this* 18*th day of October of the year* 1414, *the third of our reign in Hungary, and the fifth of that of the Romans.*"

§ 34.—Notwithstanding these precautions, it appears that the intrepid and faithful reformer had some doubts whether he should ever be permitted to return alive. He probably knew enough, from the past history of Rome, to produce misgivings whether his popish enemies would hesitate to violate a promise, however solemn, if made to a heretic; and therefore he "set his house in order," and arranged all his worldly affairs, before leaving that home, to which he might never return. He made some bequests, in the event of his death, and wrote several farewell letters, which are intensely interesting, as exhibiting his evident growth in piety and spirituality, as he drew nearer and nearer to the martyr's sufferings and the martyr's crown.

In one of these letters, addressed to his beloved friends in Prague, he writes—"I am departing, my brethren, with a safe-conduct from the king to meet my numerous and mortal enemies. . . . . I confide altogether in the all-powerful God, in my Saviour; I trust that he will listen to your ardent prayers, that he will infuse his pru-

* L'Enfant's Council of Constance, vol. i., p. 61; Bonnechose, book ii., ch. i

† "OMNIQUE PRORSUS IMPEDIMENTO REMOTO TRANSIRE, STARE, MORARI, ET REDIRE LIBERE PERMITTATIS." "Venir librement et d'en revenir," *Dupin.* For the original of the document, see *Acta publica apud Bzovium*, Ann. 1414, Sec. 17; quoted in Latin by Gieseler, III., 351, and Waddington, p. 465.

dence and his wisdom into my mouth, in order that I may resist them; and that he will accord me his Holy Spirit to fortify me in his truth, so that I may face, with courage, temptations, prison, and *if necessary, a cruel death.* Jesus Christ suffered for his well-beloved; and, therefore, ought we to be astonished that he has left us his example, in order that we may ourselves endure with patience all things for our own salvation? He is God, and we are his creatures; He is the Lord, and we are his servants; He is master of the world, and we are contemptible mortals:—yet he suffered! Why, then, should we not suffer also, particularly when suffering is for us a purification! Therefore, beloved, if my death ought to contribute to his glory, pray that it may come quickly, and that he may enable me to support all my calamities with constancy. But if it be better that I return amongst you, let us pray to God that I may return without stain,—that is, that I may not suppress one tittle of the truth of the gospel, in order to leave my brethren an excellent example to follow. Probably, therefore, you will never more behold my face at Prague; but should the will of the all-powerful God deign to restore me to you, let us then advance with a firmer heart in the knowledge and the love of his law."*

In another letter, which Huss addressed, when setting out, to the priest Martin, his disciple, he speaks of himself with the greatest humility. He accuses himself, as if they were so many grave offences, of having felt pleasure in wearing rich apparel, and of having wasted hours in frivolous occupations. He adds these affecting instructions: "May the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, occupy thy mind, and not the possession of benefices and estates. Beware of adorning thy house more than thy soul; and, above all, give thy care to the spiritual edifice. Be pious and humble with the poor; and consume not thy substance in feasting. Shouldst thou not amend thy life and refrain from superfluities, I fear that thou wilt be severely chastened, as I am myself—I, who also made use of such things, led away by custom, and troubled by a spirit of pride. Thou knowest my doctrine, for thou hast received my instructions from thy childhood; it is therefore useless for me to write to thee any further. But I conjure thee, by the mercy of our Lord, not to imitate me in any of the vanities into which thou hast seen me fall."† He concludes by making some bequests, and disposing, as if by will, of several articles which belonged to him; and then, on the cover of the letter, he adds this prophetic phrase, "*I conjure thee, my friend, not to break this seal until thou shalt have acquired the certitude that I am dead.*" Thus evident is it, that God was preparing his servant for the sufferings of martyrdom and the joys of Heaven.

In the month of October, 1414, Huss bade adieu to his chapel of Bethlehem, which he was no more to behold, and to his friends and

* Hist. et Monum., J. Huss, t. i., p. 72, Epist. i.

† Ibid., Epist. ii.

disciples. He left behind his faithful Jerome, and their parting was not without emotion. "Dear master," said Jerome to him, "be firm: maintain intrepidly what thou hast written and preached against the pride, avarice, and other vices of the churchmen, with arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures. Should this task become too severe for thee—should I learn that thou hast fallen into any peril, I shall fly forthwith to thy assistance."

§ 35.—In shameful violation of the safe-conduct of the Emperor almost immediately upon the arrival of Huss at Constance, he was placed under arrest by order of the Pope and cardinals, and committed to a loathsome prison. When this was known at Prague, the city was thrown into commotion. A number of protests were at once signed. Several barons and powerful noblemen wrote pressing letters to the Emperor, reminding him of the safe-conduct which he had received from Sigismund himself. "John Huss," observed they, "departed with full confidence in the guarantee given him in your Imperial Majesty's letter. Nevertheless, we now understand that he has been seized on, though having that in his possession; and not only seized on, but cast into prison, without being either convicted or heard. Every one here, princes or barons, rich or poor, has been astonished to hear of this event. . . . . Each man asks his neighbor how the holy Father could so shamefully have violated the sanctity of the law, the plain rules of justice, and finally, your Majesty's safe-conduct,—how, in fact, he could thus have thrown into prison, without cause, a just and innocent man.

The enemies of Huss were not less active in their efforts to destroy, than his defenders to save him. They circumvented Sigismund, and dexterously took advantage of his prejudices, his blind devotion, and his zeal—more remarkable for energy than sound judgment—for the extinction of the schism. They adduced arguments of great length to prove *that he was perfectly at liberty not to keep faith with a man accused of heresy:* they persuaded him that he possessed no right to accord a safe-conduct to John Huss without the consent of the council; and that, the council being above the Emperor, *could free him from his word.* Yet, notwithstanding the attempts of these popish priests to silence the clamors of Sigismund's conscience, at so base an act of treachery, the Emperor did not abandon the victim to their power without considerable resistance. It was like yielding up the helpless lamb to a conclave of wolves thirsting for his blood, and it required all the efforts of popish sophistry to convince Sigismund, even for the passing moment, that such a violation of his solemnly pledged faith was lawful; and the remembrance of this perfidious abandonment of the man he had engaged to protect, haunted and disquieted him in the subsequent years of his life. Two years after the council, when no longer blinded by the sophistries and seduced by the persuasion of the bitter enemies of Huss, the Emperor wrote to the barons of Bohemia in the following terms: "I am unable to express it—how much I was afflicted by his ill fortune. The active measures that I

took in his favor are matters of public notoriety,—for I went so far as several times to leave the assembly in anger, and had even once quitted the city; upon which the Fathers of the council sent to inform me, that if I stopped the course of their justice, they had nothing to do at Constance. I therefore determined to abstain from any further interference: for if I interested myself further in John Huss's favor, the council would have been dissolved."*

§ 36.—It would be a tedious task to relate the particulars of the various audiences of Huss before the council; the charges which were brought against him, the doctrines that he was alleged to have taught (some of which he denied, and others he defended), the cruel insult, abuse, and mockery that he received from his oppressors, and the meekness, yet firmness and holy boldness with which he conducted himself, through the whole of the proceedings. All his letters, and all the testimony of contemporary writers, serve to prove that at this last period of his life, his angelic meekness and resignation were as constant as his misfortunes. If indignation had formerly characterized some of his acts and writings with an impress of extra violence or bitterness, these defects had given place to their opposite virtues, and, through the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, he had never been more meet for the crown of immortality in heaven than at the moment when his enemies were preparing to inflict martyrdom on him on earth. Never did any one manifest a faith more full of hope and gratitude, in the midst of trials in which carnal men would have beheld only motives for lamentation and despair. "This declaration of our Saviour," said he, "is to me a great source of consolation: 'Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day; for, behold, your reward is great in heaven."

§ 37.—*His condemnation and degradation.*—But we hasten to the description of his condemnation and martyrdom. On the 6th of July he appeared the last time before the council in the fifteenth general session, to hear his sentence pronounced. The Emperor and all the princes of the empire were present, and an immense crowd had assembled from all quarters to view this sad spectacle. Mass was being celebrated when Huss arrived, and he was kept outside until it was over, lest the holy mysteries should be profaned by the presence of so great a heretic. A high table had been erected in the midst of the church, and on it were placed the sacerdotal habits with which John Huss was to be invested, in order to be stripped of them afterward. He was directed to seat himself in front of this table on a footstool, elevated enough to allow him to be seen by every one.

A fierce and blood-thirsty harangue was delivered by the popish bishop of Lodi, from Rom. vi., 6, "*That the body of sin might be destroyed*" which he concluded with the following words, addressed

* Cochlœus, lib. iv.

to Sigismund: "Destroy heresies and errors, and, above all," pointing to John Huss, "this obstinate heretic. It is a holy work, glorious prince, that which is reserved to you to accomplish—you to whom the authority of justice is given. Smite, then, such great enemies of the faith, in order that your praises may proceed from the mouth of children, and that your glory may be eternal. May Jesus Christ, for ever blessed, deign to accord you this favor."

§ 38.—The articles from the writings of Huss were then read, to which the holy martyr made several attempts to reply, but was prevented by the uproar and clamor that was raised to prevent him from speaking. He was accused, among other absurd charges, of having given himself out for a fourth person in the Trinity. To this he replied by repeating aloud the Athanasian or Trinitarian creed. His appeal to Jesus Christ, mentioned in page 390, was also laid to his charge as a heavy crime. He, however, repeated it, and maintained that it was a just and proper proceeding, and founded upon the example of Jesus Christ himself. "Behold!" cried he, with his hands joined together and raised to heaven, "behold, O most kind Jesus, how thy council condemns what thou hast both ordered and practised; when, being borne down by thy enemies, thou deliveredst up thy cause into the hands of God, thy Father, leaving us thy example, that we might ourselves have recourse to the judgment of God, the most righteous Judge, against oppression! Yes," continued he, turning toward the assembly, "I have maintained, and I still uphold, that it is impossible to appeal more safely than to Jesus Christ, because HE cannot be either corrupted by presents, or deceived by false witnesses, or overreached by any artifice." When they accused him of having treated with contempt the excommunication of the Pope, he observed: "I did not despise it; but as I did not consider him legitimate, I continued the duties of my priesthood. I sent my procurators to Rome, where they were thrown into prison, ill treated, and driven out. It is on that account that I determined, of my own free will, to appear before this council, *under the public protection and faith of the Emperor here present.*" At the moment of pronouncing these words, Huss looked steadfastly at the emperor Sigismund, and we are not surprised to be informed by the historian, that *a deep blush crimsoned his face.* It was in allusion to this circumstance, in the next century, that the emperor Charles V., when solicited by some worthy successors of the popish foxes of Constance, to cause Luther to be arrested at the diet of Worms, notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had given him, replied, "No, I SHOULD NOT LIKE TO BLUSH LIKE SIGISMUND."*

§ 39.—After hearing the sentence, Huss fell on his knees, and said, "Lord Jesus pardon my enemies! Thou knowest that they have falsely accused me, and that they have had recourse to false testimony and vile calumnies against me; pardon them from thy

* See L'Enfant, vol. i., page 422.

His degradation. Stripped of his priestly vestments. Led out to martyrdom.

infinite mercy!" Then commenced the afflicting ceremony of degradation. The bishops clothed John Huss in sacerdotal habits, and placed his chalice in his hand, as if he was about to celebrate mass. He said, in taking the alb, "Our Lord Jesus Christ was covered with a white robe, by way of insult, when Herod had him conducted before Pilate." Being thus clad, the prelate again exhorted him to retract, for his salvation and his honor; but he declared aloud, turning toward the people, that he should take good care not to scandalize and lead astray believers by a hypocritical abjuration. "How could I," said he, "after having done so, raise my face to heaven! With what eye could I support the looks of men whom I have instructed, should it come to pass, through my fault, that those same things which are now regarded by them as certainties, should become matters of doubt—if, by my example, I caused confusion and trouble in so many souls, so many consciences, which I have filled with the pure doctrine of Christ's gospel, and which I have strengthened against the snares of the devil? No! no! It shall never be said that I preferred the safety of this miserable body, now destined to death, to their eternal salvation!" The bishops then made him descend from his seat, and took the chalice out of his hand, saying: "O accursed Judas! who, having abandoned the counsels of peace, have taken part in that of the Jews, we take from you this cup, filled with the blood of Jesus Christ!" His habits were then taken off, one after the other, and on each of them the bishops pronounced some maledictions. When, last of all, it was necessary to efface the marks of the tonsure, a dispute arose among them whether a razor or scissors ought to be employed. "See," said John Huss, turning toward the Emperor, "though they are all equally cruel, yet can they not agree on the manner of exercising that cruelty." They placed on his head a crown or sort of pyramidal mitre, on which were painted frightful figures of demons, with this inscription, "THE ARCH-HERETIC," and when he was thus arrayed, the prelates devoted his soul to the devils. 'Animam tuam diabolis commendamus.' John Huss, however, recommended his spirit to God, and said aloud. "I wear with joy this crown of opprobrium, for the love of Him who bore a crown of thorns."

§ 40.—*His martyrdom.*—The church then gave up all claim to him—declared him a layman—and as such, delivered him over to the secular power, to conduct him to a place of punishment. John Huss, by the order of Sigismund, was given up by the Elector Palatine, vicar of the empire, to the chief magistrate of Constance, who, in his turn, abandoned him to the officers of justice. He walked between four town serjeants, to the place of execution. On arriving at the place of burning, Huss kneeled down and recited some of the penitential psalms. Several of the people, hearing him pray with fervor, said aloud: "We are ignorant of this man's crime, but he offers up most excellent prayers." When he wished to address the crowd in German, the Elector Palatine opposed it, and ordered him forthwith to be burned. "Lord Jesus!" cried John

Huss's meek, courageous, and godly demeanor at the stake of burning. His ashes cast into the Rhine.

Huss, "I shall endeavor to endure with humility, this frightful death, which I am awarded for thy gospel,—pardon all my enemies." While he was praying thus, with his eyes raised up to heaven, the paper crown fell off: he smiled, but the soldiers replaced it on his head, in order, as they declared, that he might be burned with the devils he had obeyed.

Having obtained permission to speak to his keepers, he thanked them for the good treatment he had received at their hands. "My brethren," said he, "learn that I firmly believe in my Saviour: it is in his name that I suffer, and this very day I shall go and reign with him!" His body was then bound with thongs, with which he was firmly tied to a stake, driven deep into the ground. When he was so affixed, some persons objected to his face being turned to the East, saying that this ought not to be, since he was a heretic. He was then untied and bound again with his face to the West. His head was held close to the wood by a chain smeared with soot, and the views of which inspired him with pious reflections on the ignominy of our Saviour's sufferings. Faggots were then arranged about and under his feet, and around him was piled up a quantity of straw. When all these preparations were completed, the Elector Palatine, accompanied by Count d'Oppenheim, marshal of the empire, came up to him, and for the last time recommended him to retract. But he, looking up to heaven, said with a loud voice: "I call God to witness, that I have never either taught or written what these false witnesses have laid to my charge,—my sermons, my books, my writings, have all been done with the sole view of rescuing souls from the tyranny of sin, and, therefore, most joyfully will I confirm with my blood the truth which I have taught, written and preached; and which is confirmed by the divine law and the holy fathers." The Elector and the marshal then withdrew, and fire was set to the pile! "Jesus, Son of the living God," cried John Huss, "have pity on me!" He prayed and sung a hymn in the midst of his torments, but soon after, the wind having risen, his voice was drowned by the roaring of the flames. He was perceived for some time longer moving his head and lips, and as if still praying,—and then he gave up the spirit. His habits were burned with him, and the executioners tore in pieces the remains of his body and threw them back into the funeral pile, until the fire had absolutely consumed everything; the ashes were then collected together and thrown into the Rhine; and as it was said of Wickliff, so may it be said of the holy martyr of Bohemia, that the dispersion of his ashes in the river and in the ocean, is an emblem of the subsequent dissemination of those truths, for the sake of which he braved a martyr's sufferings, and won a martyr's crown.

Burning of John Huss, at Constance.

CHAPTER IV.

JEROME OF PRAGUE, AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.—HIS CONDEMNATION AND MARTYRDOM.

§ 41.—Upon hearing of the imprisonment and danger of Huss, his faithful friend Jerome remembered the promise he had made him at his departure from Prague, and prepared to fulfil it. He set out for Constance without a safe-conduct, accompanied by a single disciple. He determined to appear before the council and plead his friend's cause. He arrived in that city on April 4th, and mingling, without being known, with the crowd of people, he overheard disastrous intelligence. It was said that John Huss would not be admitted into the presence of the council—that he would be judged and condemned in secret—that he would leave his prison only to die. Jerome was struck with alarm, and thought all was lost. A violent terror seized on him, and he took to flight as suddenly as he had come. On his mournful return to Bohemia, he stopped at Uberlingen, and wrote, but in vain, to the Emperor for a safe-conduct. The council granted one, but in such terms as to render it useless. It contained the following rather curious *assurance of protection:* "*As we have nothing more at heart than to catch the foxes which ravage in the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts*, we summon you, by these presents, to appear before us as a suspected person, and violently accused of having rashly advanced several errors; and we order you to appear here within a fortnight from the date of this summons, to answer, as you have offered to do, in the first session that shall be held after your arrival. It is for this purpose, that, in order to prevent any violence being offered to you, we, by these presents, give you a full safe-conduct as much as in us lies, *excepting always the claims of the law, and that the orthodox faith does not, in any respect, prevent it;* certifying to you, beside, that whether you appear within the specified period or not, the council, by itself or its commissioners, will proceed against you as soon as the term shall have elapsed."

Jerome proceeded with a sad heart on his way homeward, when he was arrested in the Black Forest, and brought back to Constance, which he entered on a cart, loaded with chains and surrounded by a guard of soldiers.*

§ 42.—He was taken in that miserable condition to the Elector's house, where he was kept until he appeared in public, before a general meeting of the members of the council. At his first appearance before the council, he was bitterly assailed by several of the members, and his attempts to reply to their accusations were met with

* Venit igitur currui impositus, catenis longis ac sonantibus constrictus. *(Msc. Lips. Von der Hardt*, t. iv., p. 216.)

Jerome, in a moment of fear, recants. Resolves to renounce his recantation.

vociferous shouts: "To the flames with him!—to the flames!" He was conducted back to his loathsome dungeon, chained in the most painful postures, and fed on bread and water.

For six months he was suffered to pine away in chains, no severity had been spared him in his noisome dungeon, and his legs were already afflicted with incurable sores. It was hoped that sufferings of such duration and rigor would have depressed his soul, and subdued his courage. His cruel persecutors hoped that his spirit had been subdued by the terrible vengeance of the council on Huss. He was taken out of prison, and summoned, under pain of being burned, to abjure his errors, and subscribe to the justice of John Huss's death. Human weakness prevailed—Jerome was afraid, and signed a paper in which he submitted himself to the council, and approved of all its acts. This retraction of Jerome proves, by the very restrictions which it contains, how much it must have cost the unfortunate man to consent to it. He subscribed, it is true, to the condemnation of the articles of Wickliff and John Huss; but he declared that he had no intention of bearing any prejudice to the holy truths which these two men had taught; and as to Huss in particular, he avowed that he had loved him from his tenderest years, and that he had always been ready to defend him against every one, on account of the mildness of his language, and the good instructions he gave the people. While we cannot but mourn that the weakness of nature, and fear of the most terrible and painful of deaths, induced Jerome thus to recant his opinions, and profess to condemn what in his heart he approved; before we venture harshly to censure him, we should place ourselves in his position, and ask, would we have displayed a greater degree of courage and constancy.

§ 43.—Jerome was then led back to prison, but treated with greater lenity. His qualified recantation, however, was unsatisfactory to some of the members of the council, who, like the tiger with his appetite whetted by the taste of human flesh, ardently thirsted for the blood of Jerome. The persecuted martyr then comprehended, that, in order to save his life, he should be obliged to plunge deeper into perjury. Indignation restored him strength—the love of the truth prevailed over the love of life—and he at once made up his mind to adopt a heroic resolution. He resolved boldly to defend his opinions, and follow the martyred Huss to the flames. On the 23d of May, 1516, upon being again confronted with his cruel judges, he renounced his former recantation, advocated his own opinions and those of John Huss, with a degree of learning, argument, and eloquence truly astonishing even to his enemies.* In reference to his martyred associate and brother, he ex-

* In a long and interesting letter of the learned Roman Catholic Poggio, the Florentine historian, and once secretary to pope John XXIII., he writes as follows:—"It is worthy of remark, that after having been so long shut up in a place where it was utterly impossible for him either to read or even to see, and where the perpetual anxiety of his mind would have been quite sufficient to de-

His courageous and eloquent protestations before the council.

claimed aloud before all the council, "I knew John Huss from his childhood, and there was never anything wrong in him. He was a most excellent man, just and holy;—he was condemned, notwithstanding his innocence;—he has ascended to heaven, like Elias, in the midst of flames; and from thence he will summon his judges to the formidable tribunal of Christ. I, also—I am ready to die: I will not recoil before the torments that are prepared for me by my enemies and false witnesses, who will one day have to render an account of their impostures before the great God, whom nothing can deceive. Of all the sins," added he, "that I have committed since my youth, none weigh so heavily on my mind, and cause me such poignant remorse, as that which I committed in this fatal place, when I approved of the iniquitous sentence rendered against Wickliff, and against the holy martyr, John Huss, my master and my friend. Yes! I confess it from my heart; and declare, with horror, that I disgracefully quailed, when, through a dread of death, I condemned their doctrines. I therefore supplicate and conjure Almighty God to deign to pardon me my sins—and this one, in particular, the most heinous of all—according to the promise which he has made us, 'I will not have the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live!'" Then, raising his hand, and pointing to his judges, he exclaimed, in tones which must have made them tremble on their seats, "You condemned Wickliff and John Huss, not for having shaken the doctrine of the church, but simply because they branded with reprobation the scandals proceeding from the clergy—their pomp, their pride, and all the vices of the prelates and priests. The things which they have affirmed, and which are irrefutable, I also think and declare, like them."

§ 44.—Upon the heroic martyr being interrupted by the exclamations of his judges, trembling with rage, and asking, "What need of further proof?"—"Away with the most obstinate of heretics!" Jerome exclaimed with a noble dignity of manner and eloquence of speech, "What do you suppose that I fear to die? You have held me for a whole year in a frightful dungeon, more horrible than death itself. You have treated me more cruelly than a Turk, Jew, or pagan, and my flesh has literally rotted off my bones alive; and yet I make no complaint, for lamentation ill becomes a man of heart and spirit; but I cannot but express my astonishment at such great barbarity towards a Christian." "His voice," remarks the learned Romanist Poggio, in the remarkable letter referred to in the last note, "his voice was touching, clear, and sonorous; his gesture full of dignity and persuasiveness, whether he expressed indignation or moved his hearers to pity, which, however, he ap-

prive any other of memory altogether, he could, notwithstanding, have been able to quote, in support of his opinions, so great a number of authorities, and learned testimonies of the greatest doctors, so that one would have said that he had passed all that time in perfect repose, and at full liberty to devote himself to study."

peared neither to ask for nor to desire. He stood there, in the midst of all, the features pale, but the heart intrepid, despising death, and advancing to meet it. Interrupted frequently, attacked and tormented by many, he replied fully to all, and took vengeance on them, forcing some to blush, and others to be silent, and towering above all their clamors. Sometimes, too, he earnestly besought, and at others forcibly claimed to be permitted to speak freely—calling on the assembly to listen to him whose voice would soon be hushed for ever."*

§ 45.—Before being brought up for sentence, Jerome was again remanded to prison, and while there, was visited by several cardinals and bishops, who had been astonished by his wonderful eloquence and ability. The cardinal of Florence exhorted him again to recant, and to save his life. "The only favor that I demand," replied Jerome, "and which I have always demanded, is to be convinced by the Holy Scriptures. This body, which has suffered such frightful torments in my chains, will also know how to support death by fire, for Jesus Christ." "And in what manner," asked the Cardinal, "do you desire to be instructed?" "BY THE HOLY WRITINGS, which are our illuminating torch," was the emphatic reply of Jerome.

"What!" said the Cardinal, "is everything to be judged of by the Holy Writings? Who can perfectly comprehend them? And must not the fathers be at last appealed to, to interpret them?"

"What do I hear!" cried Jerome. "Shall the word of God be declared fallacious? And shall it not be listened to? Are the traditions of men more worthy of faith, than the holy gospel of our Saviour? Paul did not exhort the priests to listen to old men and traditions, but said, 'The Holy Scriptures will instruct you.' O Sacred Writings, inspired by the Holy Ghost, already men esteem you less than what they themselves forge every day! I have lived long enough. Great God! receive my life; Thou who canst restore it to me!"

"Heretic!" said the Cardinal, regarding him with anger. "I repent having so long pleaded with you. I see you are urged on by the devil."†

§ 46.—On the 30th of May, Jerome was brought before the council for sentence. The bishop of Lodi ascended the pulpit and delivered, as he had at the sentence of Huss, another most savage harangue, from which it will be sufficient to quote a brief extract from the part addressed to the martyr. "But with you—who are more guilty than Arius, Sabellius, and Nestorius;—with you, who have infected all Europe with the poison of heresy, grand indulgence has been practised. You have been detained in prison only

* The whole of this letter, occupying six quarto pages, which is a noble testimony to the learning, eloquence, and courage of the martyr, especially as coming from an eye-witness and a Romanist, may be found in L'Enfant, vol. i., pp. 594, 599.

† "Te a diabolo agitari video." (*Theob. Bell. Hussit.*, chap. xxiv., p. 60.)

Ferocious harangue of the bishop of Lodi. Copy of Jerome's sentence.

from necessity; honorable witnesses alone have been listened to against you, and the torture has not been employed, which was a great fault. Would to God that you had been tortured! You would have denied your errors in your torments; and suffering would have opened your eyes, which your crime held closed."*

At the close of this popish sermon, Jerome mounted a bench, and again, in a loud voice, expressed his abhorrence of his former cowardice, of approving, in order to save his life, of the inhuman sentence of Huss—"I only gave my assent to it," said he, "from a dread of being burned—from the fear of that dreadful punishment. I revoke that culpable avowal; and I declare it anew, that I lied like a wretch, in abjuring the doctrines of Wickliff and of John Huss, and in approving of the death of so holy and just a man.'

The sentence of Jerome was then read, which is recorded by L'Enfant, as follows:—"Our Lord Jesus Christ being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, told his disciples, that he would cut off all the branches that did not bear fruit in him. Therefore the sacred synod of Constance, in obedience to the order of the sovereign teacher, being informed, not only by public fame, but by an exact inquiry into the fact, that Jerome of Prague, master of arts, a layman, has affirmed certain erroneous and heretical articles maintained by John Wickliff and John Huss, and condemned not only by the Holy fathers, but by this sacred synod; and that after having publicly recanted the said heresies, condemned the memories of both Wickliff and Huss, and sworn to persevere in the Catholic doctrine, he returned in a few days like a dog to his vomit; and that in order to propagate the pernicious venom which he concealed in his heart, he demanded a public hearing; and that when he had obtained it, he declared in full council that he was guilty of great iniquity and a very wicked lie, in consenting to the condemnation of Wickliff and John Huss, and that he for ever revoked the said recantation, though he had declared that he held the faith of the Catholic church as to the sacrament of the altar and transubstantiation. For these causes the sacred synod has resolved and commanded, that the said Jerome be cast out, as a rotten withered branch, and declares him a heretic, relapsed, excommunicated, accursed, and as such condemns him."

§ 47.—Jerome was then handed over to the secular power to be burnt. A high crown of paper, on which were painted demons in flames, was brought in. Jerome, on seeing it, threw his hat on the ground in the midst of the prelates, and taking it in his hand, placed it on his head himself, repeating the words which John Huss had pronounced—"Jesus Christ, who died for me a sinner, wore a crown of thorns. I will willingly wear this for him." The soldiers then seized on his person, and led him away to death. Upon arriv-

* See an abstract of this *Sermon*, which strikingly exhibits the unchangeably persecuting spirit of Popery, in L'Enfant, i., 588, 589.

Jerome's martyrdom. Sings on his way to the stake, and prays in the midst of the flames

ing at the same stake as that to which Huss had been bound, the martyr fell on his knees to pray, but the executioners raised him up whilst still praying, and having bound him to the stake with cords and chains, they heaped up around him pieces of wood and a quantity of straw. Jerome sang the hymn, *Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis ævo, etc.* He then repeated the creed, and addressing the people, he exclaimed, "This creed which I have just sung, is my real profession of faith; I die, therefore, only for not having consented to acknowledge that John Huss was justly condemned. I declare that I have always beheld in him a true preacher of the gospel." When the wood was raised on a level with his head, his vestments were thrown on the pile, and, as the executioner was setting fire to the mass behind, in order not to be seen, "Come forward boldly," said Jerome; "apply the fire before my face. Had I been afraid, I should not be here." When the pile had taken fire, he said with a loud voice, "Lord, into thy hands do I commit my spirit!" Feeling already the burning heat of the flames, he was heard to cry out in the Bohemian language, "Lord, Almighty Father, have pity on me, and pardon me my sins; for Thou knowest that I have always loved thy truth!" His voice was speedily lost; but by the rapid movement of his lips, it was easy to see that he continued to pray. At last, when he had ceased to exist, all that had belonged to him, his bed, cap, shoes, &c., were brought from the prison and thrown into the flames, where they were reduced to ashes with himself. These ashes were then collected and thrown into the Rhine, as had been done in the case of John Huss. It was hoped, by this means, to remove from the followers of these two holy martyrs every article that might by possibility, become in their hands an object of veneration; even to the last particle of their bodies and clothes, everything was made away with; but the very ground where their stake was placed was hollowed out, and the earth on which they had suffered, was carried to Bohemia, and guarded with religious care, as the most precious and invaluable memorials of these holy men.

§ 48.—Comment upon the above horrible illustrations of the cruelty and perfidy of Popery, is unnecessary. The simple facts speak most eloquently, and should never be forgotten till in reference to this popish Babylon, in which "is found the blood of the prophets and the saints," the mighty angel of prophecy shall declare, BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN. (Rev. xviii., 2, 24.) There is no historical fact which modern Romanists have so much endeavored to conceal, obscure, or deny, as this well known act of perfidy on the part of the council of Constance, in imprisoning and condemning Huss, in defiance of the Emperor's safe-conduct, and their own efforts to reconcile the conscience of Sigismund to this base and perfidious act. This is not to be wondered at. There is scarcely a fact in the history of this apostate church, which reflects upon her such indelible disgrace, and happily for the cause of truth, not one fact which rests upon more conclusive evidence.

Copies of the decrees of the council, establishing the doctrine of *no faith with heretics*.

Yet as the principle upon which papists act, is that frauds are pious, and lies are holy, when perpetrated for the good of the church, we expect, of course, where the evidence is not supposed to be at hand, that the fact will be denied. To furnish this evidence, the following decrees of the council, passed after the burning of Huss, to silence the public clamors against the perfidy of the council, are recorded in the original, and a translation. It is not known to the author that the original of these memorable decrees, establishing the doctrine as an article of the Romish church, *that no faith is to be kept with heretics*, is to be found except in the scarce, voluminous, and expensive work of L'Enfant. They ought to be known to all, and are therefore transcribed here.

§ 49.—The first of these decrees relates to the validity of safe-conducts in general, granted to heretics, by the temporal princes. It is as follows:

"Præsens sancta synodus ex quovis salvo-conductu per imperatorem, Reges, et alios seculi principes hæreticis, vel de hæresi diffamatis, putantes eosdem sic à suis erroribus revocare, quocunque vinculo se adstrinxerint, concesso, nullum fidei Catholicæ vel jurisdictioni ecclesiasticæ præjudicium generari, vel impedimentum præstari posse seu debere, declarat, quo minus salvo dicto conductu non obstante, liceat Judici competenti ecclesiastico de ejusmodi personarum erroribus inquirere, et alias contra eas debite procedere, easdemque punire, quantum justitia suadebit, si suos pertinaciter recusaverint revocare errores, etiamsi de salvo-conductu confisi ad locum venerint judicii, aliàs non venturi nec sic promittentem, cum aliàs fecerit, quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum."

"The present synod declares that every safe-conduct granted by the Emperor, kings, and other temporal princes, to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, in hopes of reclaiming them, ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic faith, or to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor to hinder, but such persons may, and ought to be examined, judged, and punished, according as justice shall require, if those heretics refuse to revoke their errors; even though they should be arrived at the place where they are to be judged only upon the faith of the safe-conduct, without which they would not have come thither. And the person who shall have promised them security, SHALL NOT, IN THIS CASE, BE OBLIGED TO KEEP HIS PROMISE, by whatsoever tie he may be engaged, because he has done all that is in his power to do."

The second of these decrees is, perhaps, still more valuable. It relates to the safe-conduct of John Huss in particular:

"Sacro sancta, etc. Quia nonnulli nimis intelligentes, aut sinistræ intentionis, vel forsan solentes sapere plus quàm oportet nedum Regiæ Majestati, sed etiam sacro, ut fertur, Concilio, linguis maledictis detrahunt publice et occulte dicentes, vel innuentes, quod salvus-conductus per invictissimum principem Dominum Sigismundum Romanorum et Ungariæ, etc. Regem, quondam Johanni Hus, hæresiarchæ damnatæ memoriæ datus, fuit contra justitiam aut honestatem indebite violatus: Cum tamen dictus Johannes Hus fidem ortho-

"Whereas there are certain persons, either ill-disposed or over-wise beyond what they ought to be, who in secret and in public, traduce not only the Emperor, but the sacred council, saying, or insinuating, that the safe-conduct granted to John Huss, an arch-heretic, of damnable memory, was basely violated, contrary to all the rules of honor and justice; though the said John Huss, by obstinately attacking the Catholic faith in the manner he did, rendered himself unworthy of any manner of safe-conduct and privilege; and THOUGH ACCORDING

The same doctrine of *no faith with heretics*, avowed by pope Martin V,

doxam pertinaciter impugnans, se ab omni conductu et privilegio reddiderit alienum, nec aliqua sibi fides aut promissio, de jure naturali, divino, vel humano, fuerit in præjudicium Catholicæ fidei observanda: Idcirco dicta sancta synodus præsentium tenore declarat: dictum invictissimum principem circa prædictum quondam Johannem Hus, non obstante memorato salvo-conductu, ex juris debito fecisse quod licuit, et quod decuit Regiam Majestatem; statuens et ordinans omnibus et singulis Christi fidelibus, cujuscunque dignitatis, gradus, præeminentiæ, conditionis, status, aut sexus, existant, quod nullus deinceps sacroconcilio aut Regiæ Majestati de gestis circa prædictum quondam Johannem Hus detrahat, sive quomodolibet obloquatur. Qui vero contrarium fecerit, tanquam fautor hereticæ pravitatis et reus criminis læsæ majestatis irremissibiliter puniatur."

TO THE NATURAL, DIVINE, AND HUMAN LAWS, NO PROMISE OR FAITH OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN KEPT WITH HIM, TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH. The sacred synod declares, by these presents, that the said Emperor did, with regard to John Huss, what he might and ought to have done, notwithstanding his safe-conduct; and forbids all the faithful in general, and every one of them in particular, of what dignity, degree, pre-eminence, condition, state, or sex they may be, to speak evil in any manner, either of the council, or of the King, as to what passed with regard to John Huss, on pain of being punished, without remission, as favorers of heresy, and persons guilty of high treason." (*For the original of these decrees, see L'Enfant* ii., *p.* 491*; for his translation, which has been adopted, see* i., *p.* 514).

§ 50.—The abominable doctrine thus shamelessly avowed that faith is not to be kept with heretics, was still more emphatically expressed and enjoined by the Pope, who owed his elevation to the council of Constance, Martin V. In a bull addressed in 1421, to Alexander, Duke of Lithuania, who, it appears, thought himself bound by some promise, not to persecute heretics, the Pope tells him as plain as words can express it, if he had made any promise to undertake their defence, "THAT HE WOULD BE GUILTY OF A MORTAL SIN, SHOULD HE KEEP FAITH WITH HERETICS, WHO ARE THEMSELVES VIOLATORS OF THE HOLY FAITH, because there can be no fellowship between a believer and an unbeliever." I shall insert the original of this unequivocal avowal of pope Martin in the text, lest, by being thrown into a note, it should escape the attention of the reader. "Quod si tu aliquo modo inductus defensionem eorum suscipere promisisti; SCITO TE DARE FIDEM HÆRETICIS, VIOLATORIBUS FIDEI SANCTÆ, NON POTUISSE, ET IDCIRCO PECCARE MORTALITER, SI SERVABIS; quia fideli ad infidelem non potest ulla communio." It is published by *Cochlæus*, a prejudiced Catholic. (Lib. v., p. 212.)

We cannot better close this subject than by citing the just remarks of Dean Waddington, relative to the act of horrid murder and perfidy, perpetrated by the council, and described above. After enumerating various acts of the council, he proceeds as follows: "But we have still to describe the most arbitrary and iniquitous act of the same assembly. The holy fathers, be it recollected, had met for the reformation of the church. The word was perpetually on their lips, and they denounced, with unsparing vehemence, some of the corruptions of their own system. In the midst of them were two men of learning, genius, integrity, and piety, who had entrusted their personal safety to the faith of the council, John Huss

Dean Waddington's just remarks on the perfidy and cruelty of the council of Constance.

and Jerome of Prague, and these two were reformers. But it happened that they had taken a different view of the condition and exigencies of the church, and while the boldest projects of the wisest among the orthodox were confined to matters of patronage, discipline, ceremony, the hands of the two Bohemians had probed a deeper wound; they disputed, if not the doctrinal purity, at least the spiritual omnipotence of the church. Those daring innovators had crossed the line which separated reformation from heresy—and they had their recompense. In the clamor which was raised against them, all parties joined as with one voice: divided on all other questions, contending about all other principles, the grand universal assembly was united, from Gerson himself down to the meanest Italian papal minion, in common detestation of the heresy, in implacable rage against its authors. Those venerable martyrs were imprisoned, arraigned, condemned, and then by the command, and in the presence of the majestic *senate* of the church, the deposer of popes, the uprooter of corruption, the reformer of Christ's holy communion—they were deliberately consigned to the flames. Is THERE ANY ACT RECORDED IN THE BLOOD-STAINED ANNALS OF THE POPES MORE FOUL AND MERCILESS THAN THAT? . . . . More than this. The guilt of the murder was enhanced by perfidy; and for the purpose of justifying this last offence (for the former, being founded on the established church principles, required no apology), they added to those principles another, not less flagitious than any of those already recognized—'THAT NEITHER FAITH NOR PROMISE, BY NATURAL, DIVINE, OR HUMAN LAW, WAS TO BE OBSERVED TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION!'"* Mr. Waddington adds the important fact, that "this maxim did not proceed from the caprice of an arbitrary individual, and a pope,—for so it would scarcely have claimed our serious notice; but from the considerate resolution of a very numerous assembly, which embodied almost all the learning, wisdom, and moderation of the Roman Catholic church."†

§ 51.—After some attempts by John Gerson and others, at the partial reformation of the horrible corruptions of the church, "in its head and members," which were principally defeated through the crafty management of the new pope, Martin V., it assembled for the forty-fifth and closing session on the 22d of April, 1418, and the Bull which gave the members of the council permission to return to their homes, showered on them and their domestics a profusion of *indulgences*, as a *fitting reward* for their labors. The following is a copy of the *Bull of indulgence*, issued on this occasion. "We,

* 'Cum tamen dictus Johannes Hus, fidem orthodoxam pertinaciter impugnans se ab omni conductu et privilegio reddiderit alienum, nec aliqua sibi fides aut promissio de jure naturali, divino vel humano, fuerit in præjudicium Catholicæ fidei observanda: idcirco dicta sancta synodus declarat, &c.' These words are cited by Hallam (Middle Ages, chap. vii.), without suspicion, and also by Von der Hardt, in his valuable collection of authentic documents (Tom. iv., p. 521), without any expression of doubt.

† Waddington's History of the Church, page 458.

Martin, bishop, servant of the servants of God, with a perpetual remembrance of this great event, and at the request of the sacred council, do hereby dismiss it, giving to each member liberty to return home. By the authority of the Almighty God, and the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and by our own, we grant to all who have been present at this council, *a full and entire remission of their sins*, once during their lifetime, so that each of them may enjoy the benefits of this absolution for two months after it shall have become known to him. We grant them the same grace when *in articulo mortis*, both to them and their servants, on this condition, however, that they shall fast all the Fridays in a year for the absolution, at the point of death, unless they be legitimately prevented: in which case they will perform other acts of piety. After the second year, they shall fast the Friday for the rest of their life. . . . If any one shall rashly oppose this absolution and this concession, which we give, let him learn that he will thereby have incurred the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles, Paul and Peter."*

§ 52.—Thus this numerous council, consisting of cardinals, archbishops, and abbots, beside the Pope and the Emperor, occupied about three years and a half in the glorious achievements of removing three spiritual tyrants to make room for another, passing a decree denying the use of the cup to the laity, in the sacrament, and burning the bodies of two living heretics, and the mouldering bones of one dead one.

The canon which deprived all but the clergy of the use of the cup in the eucharist, was as follows: "The sacred council, wishing to provide for the eternal safety of the faithful, after a mature deliberation by several doctors, declares and decides, although in the primitive church this sacrament was received by the faithful in the two kinds, it can be clearly proved, that afterward it was received in that manner only by the officiating priests, and was offered to the laity under the form of bread alone, because it must be believed firmly, and without any hesitation or doubt, that the whole body and the whole blood of Jesus Christ are truly contained in the bread as well as in the wine. Wherefore, this practice, introduced by the church and by the holy fathers, and observed for a very great length of time, ought to be regarded as a law, which it is not permitted to reject or change, without the authority of the church."

The object of this unjust prohibition, so plainly contrary to the command of Christ, was evidently to exalt the dignity of the clergy, and draw the line of distinction between them and the laity (already wide enough) still wider, by giving them some exclusive prerogative, even at the Lord's table. Compared with other popish innovations and corruptions, this prohibition may seem to be of little importance, yet it was deemed so serious an innovation by the countrymen of the martyred Huss, that in addition to the horrid

* From the MSS. at Venice, in Von der Hardt, vol. iv.

murder of their two eminent countrymen, it produced a serious revolt against their sovereign, who sustained the papal decrees, which continued for some years under the direction of that extraordinary man, the courageous, but too violent John Ziska. A portion of these Bohemian dissenters from Rome took the name of Calixtines, from the Latin *calix*, a cup. The fathers of the council found a greater difficulty in reconciling the minds of the people to this prohibition, than scarcely anything else, especially as the version of Wickliff's New Testament, and probably some others in other languages, were by this time in the hands of many of the people. The words of Christ were so explicit, "*Drink ye* ALL *of it*" (Matt. xxvi., 27), as though his omniscience had foreseen and provided against this perversion of his ordinance, by the great apostasy, that the popish doctors found it a most difficult task, even in appearance, to reconcile their prohibition with the Scriptures. One of their most learned writers, the famous French Doctor John Gerson, wrote an elaborate treatise against "Double Communion," in which he inadvertently disclosed the cause of his uneasiness, in the following words: "There are many laymen among the heretics who have a version of the *Bible in the vulgar tongue*, to the great prejudice and offence of the Catholic faith. It has been proposed," he adds, "to reprove that scandal in the committee of reform." No wonder, that since the Bible is directly opposed to this popish edict, the papists were anxious to shut that book up from the people. Such has ever been, and without doubt, such is still the cause of their bitter hatred of the universal circulation, in the vernacular languages of the people, of God's holy word.

CHAPTER V.

POPERY AND THE POPES FOR THE CENTURY PRECEDING THE REFORMATION.

§ 53.—THE progress of Popery from the dissolution of the council of Constance in 1418 to the time of Luther, about a century later, was from bad to worse. Pope Martin V., who was raised to that dignity by the council, yielded to but few of his predecessors in his haughty and extravagant claims of the dignity of the Holy See. He was a steady opponent of all measures of reform, during the whole of his pontificate. The people, starving for spiritual food, demanded bread, but he gave them a stone;—they clamored for reform, but he gave them—*indulgences*.

We can sometimes scarcely repress a smile at the pompous edicts

of the emperor of China, who styles himself "Lord of the Sun," but this was far outdone by pope Martin, who in his dispatches sent by his nuncio to Constantinople, adopted the following array of titles: "Sanctissimus, et Beatissimus, qui habet cœleste arbitrium, qui est Dominus in terris, successor Petri, Christus Domini, Dominus Universi, Regum Pater, orbis Lumen," that is, "The most Holy and most happy, who is THE ARBITER OF HEAVEN, AND THE LORD OF THE EARTH, the successor of St. Peter, the anointed of the Lord, THE MASTER OF THE UNIVERSE, THE FATHER OF KINGS, THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD," &c.* Who in reading these blasphemous assumptions of a miserable mortal, is not reminded of the inspired description of the papal anti-Christ: "as God, sitting in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God!" (2 Thess. ii., 4.)

§ 54.—In the year 1431 pope Martin died, and was succeeded by Eugenius IV., a man whose ignorance was only equalled by his presumption and obstinacy. His pontificate was chiefly distinguished by the obstinate and protracted contentions between him and the council of Basil, which, after a feeble attempt of the Pope to prevent it, assembled on the 14th of December, 1431. In the course of the contest with the Pope, the council of Basil published and reiterated a decree that had been passed by the council of Constance, that the Pope was inferior, and subject to a General Council, and in the history of the council by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., this doctrine is strongly and forcibly urged, that a council is superior to a Pope, and that the latter is rather the Vicar of the *church* than the Vicar of *Christ*.† We shall soon see that a change of circumstances produced a great change in this writer's views, and that pope Pius II. pronounced Æneas Sylvius a heretic, though one and the same person.

§ 55.—The following extracts from an eloquent letter of cardinal Julian, the president of the council of Basil to pope Eugenius, are transcribed on account of the light they throw on the morals of the popish clergy of this age, to reform which was one of the professed objects of the council. "One great motive with me," says the Cardinal President, "in joining this council, was *the deformity and dissoluteness of the German clergy*, on account of which the laity are immoderately irritated against the ecclesiastical state: so much so, as to make it matter of serious apprehension whether, if they be not reformed, the people will not rush, after the example of the Hussites, upon the whole clergy, as they publicly menace to do. Moreover, this deformity gives great audacity to the Bohemians, and *great coloring to the errors of those*, who are loudest in their invectives against the baseness of the clergy: on which account, had a general council not been convoked at this place, it had been necessary to collect a provincial synod for the reform of the German clergy; since in truth, if that clergy be not corrected, even

* Papal Rome by Rev. Dr. Giustiniani, p. 181.

† Æneas Sylvius, Comment. de Gestis Basil, Concil., Lib. I., p. 16.

Cardinal Julian's letter. The Pope suspended by the council, who in turn annuls its acts.

though the heresy of Bohemia should be extinguished, others would rise up in its place." . . . . "If you should dissolve this council, what will the whole world say, when it shall learn the act? Will it not decide, that the clergy is incorrigible, and *desirous for ever to grovel in the filth of its own deformity?* Many councils have been celebrated in our days, from which no reform has proceeded; the nations are expecting that some fruit should come from this. But if it is dissolved, all will exclaim that we laugh at God and man." . . . . "Most blessed Father, believe me, the scandals which I have mentioned will not be removed by delay. Let us ask the heretics, whether they will delay for a year and a half the dissemination of their virulence? Let us ask those, who are *scandalized at the deformity of the clergy*, if they will for so long *delay* their indignation? Not a day passes in which some heresy does not sprout forth; not a day in which they do not seduce or oppress some Catholics; they do not lose the smallest moment of time. There is not a day, *in which new scandals do not arise from the depravity of the clergy;* yet all measures for their remedy are procrastinated!" . . . . "Why then do you longer delay? You have striven with all your power, by messages, letters, and various other expedients, to keep the clergy away; you have struggled with your whole force utterly to destroy this council. Nevertheless, as you see, it swells and increases day by day, and the more severe the prohibition, the more ardent is the opposite impulse. Tell me now—is not this to resist the will of God? Why do you provoke the Church to indignation? Why do you irritate the Christian people? Condescend, I implore you, so to act, as to secure for yourself the love and good will, and not the hatred of mankind."

§ 56.—The earnest pleadings of the Cardinal were, however, lost upon Eugenius. He was resolutely opposed to the council and to reform. The council cited him before them. The Pope retorted by a Bull of dissolution, and both were equally fruitless. At length, after eighteen months of remonstrance and forbearance, the council, on the 12th of July, 1433, *suspended* the Pope from his dignity; and Eugenius, in reply, annulled their decree. At length this quarrel was carried to its final result. On the 31st of July, 1437, the council cited the Pope to Basil to answer for his vexatious opposition to the reform of the Church; and the Pope, in that plenitude of power to which he had never formally abandoned his pretensions, declared the council transferred to Ferrara in Italy. In the 28th session (Oct. 1, 1437), Eugenius was convicted of contumacy; and on the 10th of the January following, he celebrated, in defiance of the sentence, the first session of the council he had assembled in opposition at Ferrara. On that occasion he solemnly annulled every future act of the assembly at Basil, excepting only such as should have reference to the troubles of Bohemia. Finally, on the 25th of June, 1439, the council of Basil solemnly deposed Eugenius IV. from the papal throne, and on the 5th of November following, another pope was elected, Amadeus *Duke* of Savoy, who assumed

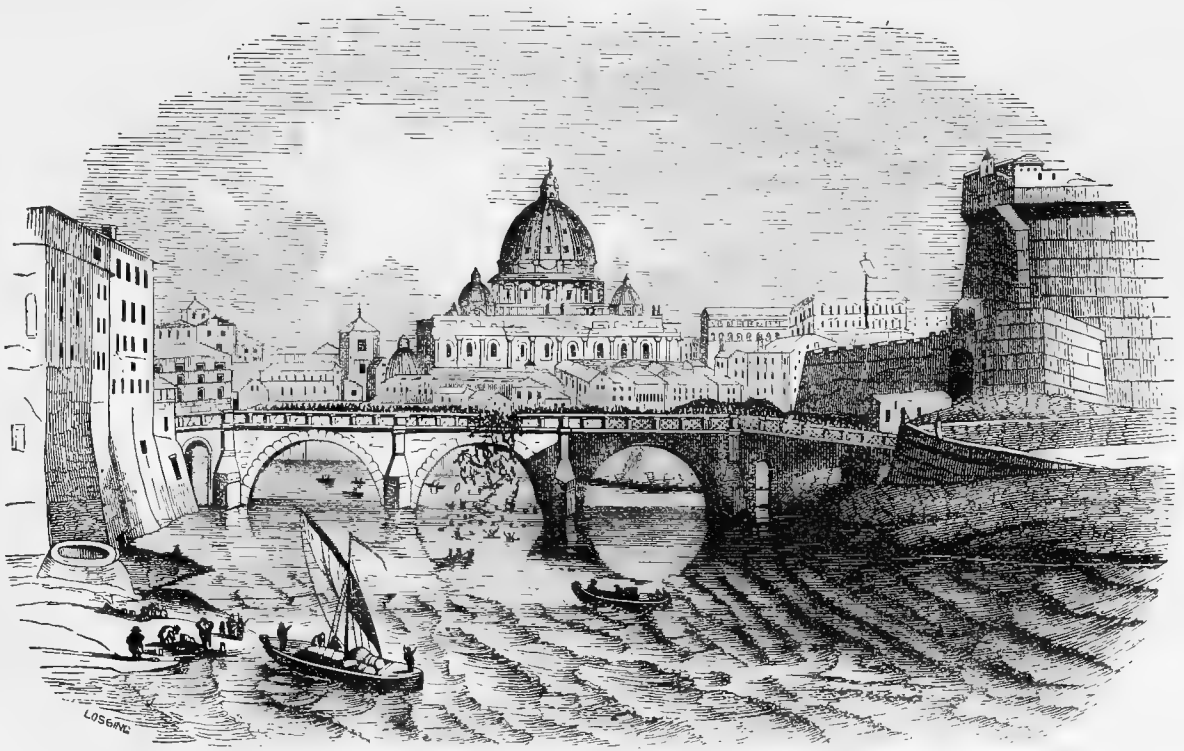
the name of Felix V. Thus was again revived that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of Constance. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of Basil and Florence, to which place Eugenius had removed the council of Ferrara.

The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and among others, by the famous university of Paris, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of Basil continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at Basil, Lyons, or Lausanne, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered. This schism was at length terminated, in the year 1449, by the resignation of Felix V., who returned as Duke of Savoy to his delicious retreat called Ripaille, upon the borders of Lake Leman. The obstinate pope Eugenius had died in February, 1447, and his successor, Nicholas V., by the retirement of Felix, obtained undisputed possession of the papal throne.

§ 57.—During the reign of pope Nicholas, in the year 1450, the avarice of the Roman Clergy and people was again nourished by the celebration of the Jubilee; and so vast were the multitudes which on this occasion sought the plenary indulgence at the tombs of the apostles, that many are said to have been crushed to death in churches, and to have perished by other accidents. One of these accidents, on account of the number of lives lost, deserves particular mention. In consequence of the pressure of the vast multitude on a certain day, no less than ninety-seven pilgrims were thrown at once from the bridge of St. Angelo and drowned. This bridge is one of the favorite spots for viewing the vast and splendid fabric of St. Peter's, especially on the night of the great festivals, when the dome is almost instantaneously illuminated, not by any ingenious mechanical contrivance, but by the vast number of hands employed, each of whom, at a given signal, lights the lamp at which he is stationed, and thus converts, in a moment, the noble and stately dome, into a vast hemisphere of liquid light.

Our artist has represented, in the adjoining engraving, the accident at the bridge of St. Angelo, during the Jubilee of 1450, partly as a memorial of that event, but chiefly on account of the fine distant view that is afforded of the church of St. Peter's, and of a large portion of the city from that spot.

We have preferred to represent St. Peter's church as it is *now*



Rome and St. Peter's, from the Bridge of St. Angelo.—Accident at the Jubilee of Pope Nicholas.

seen from the bridge of St. Angelo, rather than the old church of Constantine, which then occupied the site of St. Peter's; reminding the reader, at the same time, that the foundation stone of the present noble edifice, was not laid till a half a century later, viz. by pope Julius in the year 1506. Of course, it is impossible to represent in a *distant* view the magnificent square of St. Peter's, surrounded by its stately colonnade of near three hundred pillars, with the Egyptian obelisk in the centre, and the beautiful fountain on each side of the obelisk. This deficiency, however, has already been supplied in the accurate engraving of this architectural wonder of the world opposite page 178.

While we cannot but lament over the unjustifiable means employed to obtain funds for the erection of this magnificent structure by trafficking in the sins of men; it is impossible to withhold our admiration at the grandeur of the architectural design and the ability, taste, and skill displayed in carrying forward to its completion, this proudest of all modern temples.

§ 58.—In the year 1453, an event occurred which spread a deep gloom over the whole Christian world. This was the taking of the city of Constantinople, for so many centuries the capital of the Eastern Roman empire, by the Mahometan, or as they were commonly called, infidel Turks, and the consequent entire overthrow of that empire, of which it was the metropolis. Previous to the fall of Constantinople, pope Nicholas had used some exertions, but without success, to make the protection of the Christian capital of the East from the designs of the infidels, the common cause of the monarchs of Christendom, and he redoubled his efforts when the work before him was not one of protection, but of re-conquest. In the midst of his chivalrous designs to recover Constantinople, and expel the conqueror from Europe, and at a moment when there seemed some prospect of a partial co-operation for that purpose, Nicholas V. died, A. D. 1455. His complaint was gout; and it is commonly asserted that its progress was hastened by the affliction with which he saw the triumphs of the infidel.

§ 59.—After the brief reign of pope Calixtus III., the immediate successor of Nicholas, the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, whom we have before had occasion to mention, was elected to the popedom by the name of Pius II., in 1458. One of his first acts was to assemble a council at Mantua, for the purpose of invoking the co-operation of Christian princes, in a general crusade against the Turks, for the recovery of Constantinople. The council opened on the 1st of June, 1459, just six years from the taking of Constantinople, and continued nearly eight months. The intestine divisions of Europe, however, prevented the carrying into effect the designs of Pius. At length the Pope proposed to go in person on this expedition "This then," said he, "shall be our next experiment: we will march in person against the Turks, and invite the Christian monarchs to follow us; not by words only, but by example also. It may be when they shall behold their master and father—the Roman pontiff, the vicar

of Christ Jesus—an infirm old man, advancing to the war, they will take up arms through shame, and valiantly defend our holy religion.* In accordance with this resolution, the old pontiff departed to assume the command of the force which had already assembled at Ancona, but had no sooner joined them than he died, and the whole expedition immediately dispersed.

§ 60.—In his early life, Æneas Sylvius was the able and zealous opponent of papal assumption over councils. His earliest laurels were won at the council of Basil, which deposed pope Eugenius, and reiterated the doctrine, that the Pope was inferior, and subject to a general council; and Æneas at that time warmly advocated these views, and remained, through the whole of the schism, faithful to the council. Upon his becoming pope himself, he seized an early occasion to discourage those liberal principles of church government, which were entertained by many ecclesiastics, and which had so lately been propagated by himself. During the council of Mantua, shortly before its dissolution, and at a moment when his influence over its members was probably the greatest, he published a celebrated bull against all appeals from the Holy See to general councils. "An *execrable abuse*, unheard of in ancient times, has gained footing in our days, authorized by some, who, acting under a spirit of rebellion rather than sound judgment, presume to appeal from the pontiff of Rome, Vicar of Jesus Christ, to whom, in the person of St. Peter, it has been said, 'Feed my sheep;' and again, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;' to appeal, I say, from his judgments to a future council—a practice which every man instructed in law must regard as contrary to the holy canons, and prejudicial to the Christian republic. . . . ." The Pope then proceeded to paint in vague and glowing expressions the frightful evils occasioned by such appeals; and finally pronounced to be *ipso facto* excommunicated all individuals who might hereafter resort to them, whether their dignity were imperial, royal, or pontifical, as well as all Universities and Colleges, and all others who should promote and counsel them.

In the year 1463, pope Pius issued a bull containing a formal recantation of his former views, and declared that no confidence was due to those of his writings, which offended in any manner the authority of the apostolical See, and established opinions which it did not acknowledge. "Wherefore (he added) if you find anything contrary to its doctrine, either in my dialogues, or my letters, or any other of my writings,—despise those opinions, reject them, and follow that which I now proclaim to you. Believe me now that I am old, rather than then, when I spoke as a youth; pay more regard to the Sovereign Pontiff than to the individual; reject Æneas—receive Pius. The former name was imposed by my

* Raynald, Annal. ad Ann. 463.

parents—a Gentile name,—and in my infancy: the other I assumed as a Christian in my Apostolate."*

§ 61.—The remaining popes of this century were Paul II., Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., and Alexander VI., who were all men of vicious and abandoned lives, and who appear to have risen successively in the scale of avarice, cruelty, and sensuality, till Satan produced his master-piece in the infamous Alexander VI. Passing over the two first named, we must dwell for a moment upon the character of Innocent. Sixtus, and preceding popes, had wasted the revenues of the church upon profligate nephews, but pope Innocent introduced a still more revolting race of dependants, in the persons of his illegitimate offspring. Seven children, the fruits of various amours, were publicly recognized by the vicar of Christ, and became, for the most part, pensioners on the ecclesiastical treasury. Fewer crimes would, perhaps, have been perpetrated, had the Pontiff resolved to be the only criminal. But with all his weakness, Innocent was animated by a spirit of avarice, which attracted observation even in that age of the popedom. And he performed at least one memorable exploit, as it were, in the design to surpass his predecessor by a still bolder insult on the sacred College; he placed among its members a boy, thirteen years old, the brother-in-law of his own bastard.† But the court of Rome did not resent the indignity—it was sunk even below the sense of its own infamy.

§ 62.—This same pope Innocent issued a violent and furious bull against the Waldenses, an extract of which, though only a specimen of a large class of similar effusions of papal bigotry and bloodthirstiness, is yet worthy of record as a specimen of the spirit of Popery only a few years before the glorious reformation, and while Luther, its destined author, was just emerging from infancy. Luther was born in 1483. The bull of pope Innocent was issued in 1487. This truly popish document institutes Albert de Capitaneis archdeacon of the church of Cremona, nuncio and commissioner of the apostolic See in the states of the Duke of Savoy, and prescribes to him to labor in the *extirpation* of the very pernicious and abominable sect of men called the Poor of Lyons or the Waldenses, in concert with the Inquisitor-General Blasius, of the order of the Preaching-Brotherhood. The Pope gives him, for that object, full power over all archbishops, bishops, their vicars and chief officers; "in order," says he, "that they may have authority, together with you and the said inquisitor, to take up arms against the said Waldenses and other heretics, and to come to an understanding *to crush them like venomous asps*, and to contribute all their care to *so holy*

* "Æneam rejicite, Pium recipite—illud Gentile nomen parentes indidere nascenti; hoc Christianum in Apostolatu suscepi." (*Waddington*, 506.)

† This boy was John, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, the same who became Leo X. It should be observed, that Innocent, on making the creation, stipulated that the boy should not take his seat in Consistory till he was sixteen. Some state the age of creation at fifteen, that of admission at eighteen. (*See Raynaldus, Ann.* 1489. *Waddington*, 511.)

and so necessary an extermination. . . . . We give you power to have the crusade preached up by fit men: to grant that such persons as shall enter on the crusade and fight against these same heretics, and *shall contribute to it*, may gain *plenary indulgence* and *remission of all their sins* once in their life, and *also at their death;* to command, in virtue of their holy obedience, and under penalty of excommunication, all preachers of God's word to *animate* and *incite* the same believers to exterminate the pestilence, without sparing, by force and by arms. We further give you power to absolve those who enter on the crusade, fight, or contribute to it, from all sentences, censures, and ecclesiastical penalties, general or particular, by which they may be bound, as also to give them dispensation for any *irregularity* contracted in divine matters, or for any apostasy, and to enter some *terms of composition* with them for the *goods* which they may have *secretly amassed, badly acquired*, or held doubtfully, applying them to the expenses attendant on this extirpation of heretics; . . . . to *concede* to each, permission to *lawfully seize on the property*, real or personal, of heretics; also to command all being in the service of these same heretics, in whatsoever place they may be, to withdraw from it, under whatever penalty you may deem fit; and by the same authority to declare that they and all others, who may be *held* and *obliged by contract*, or other manner, to pay them anything, are not for the future *in any way obliged* to do so; and to deprive all those refusing to obey your admonitions and commands, of whatever dignity, state, order, and pre-eminence they may possess, to wit, the ecclesiastics of their dignities, offices, and benefices; and the laity of their *honors, titles, fiefs, and privileges*, if they persist in their disobedience and rebellion; . . . . and to fulminate all kinds of censures, according as the case in your judgment may demand; . . . . to absolve and re-establish such as may wish to return to the lap of the church, *although they may have sworn to favor the heretics, provided, taking the contrary oath, they promise to abstain most carefully from doing so.*"* Who does not perceive that the closing extract I have quoted of this bull of pope Innocent VIII., is another reiteration of the doctrine of Constance, and of pope Martin; and however popish priests may seek to conceal the fact from the eyes of Protestants, *ever* the doctrine of Rome—NO FAITH WITH HERETICS?

§ 63.—Upon the death of Innocent VIII., in 1492, the cardinals were notoriously bribed to give their suffrages for a Spaniard named Roderic Borgia, who upon his election assumed the name of Alexander VI. It would be a tedious and disgusting task to enumerate all the debaucheries, incests, assassinations and other outrages of which this papal Nero, and his equally infamous son Cardinal Cæsar Borgia, were the guilty perpetrators. In the downward progress of pontifical impurity, we have at length reached the lowest step, the

* Leger. Hist. des eglises Vaudoises, Vol. ii., chap. 2; the original of the bull is in the library of Cambridge University.

Pope Alexander, the Devil's master-piece. Gives an entertainment in the Vatican to 50 public prostitutes.

utmost limits which have been assigned to papal and to human depravity. "The ecclesiastical records of fifteen centuries," says Waddington, "through which our long journey is now nearly ended, contain no name so loathsome, no crimes so foul as his; and while the voice of every impartial writer is loud in his execration, he is, in one respect, singularly consigned to infamy, since not one among the zealous annalists of the Roman Church has breathed a whisper in his praise. Thus, those who have pursued him with the most unqualified vituperations, are thought to have described him most faithfully; and the mention of his character has excited a sort of rivalry in the expression of indignation and hatred. In early life, during the pontificate of Pius II., Roderic Borgia, already a cardinal, had been stigmatized by a public censure for his unmuffled debaucheries. Afterwards he publicly cohabited with a Roman matron named Vanozia, by whom he had five acknowledged children. Neither in his manners nor in his language did he affect any regard for morality or for decency; and one of the earliest acts of his pontificate was, to celebrate, with scandalous magnificence, in his own palace, the marriage of his daughter Lucretia. On one occasion, this prodigy of vice gave a splendid entertainment, within the walls of the Vatican, to no less than fifty public prostitutes at once, and that in the presence of his daughter Lucretia, at which entertainment deeds of darkness were done, over which decency must throw a veil;* and yet this monster of vice was, according to papists, the legitimate successor of the apostles, and the Vicar of God upon earth, and was addressed by the title of HIS HOLINESS!! Again I ask, is not that apostate church, of which for eleven years this pope Alexander VI. was the crowned and anointed head, and a necessary link in the chain of pretended apostolic succession—is she not fitly described by the pen of inspiration—"MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH?" (Rev. xvii., 5.)

§ 64.—The following are the circumstances relating to the death of pope Alexander, which stand on the most extensive evidence. His infamous son, Cæsar Borgia, being greatly in want of money to pay his troops, applied to his father for assistance; but the apostolical treasury was exhausted, and neither resources nor credit were then at hand to replenish it. On which, the Cardinal suggested to the Pope an easy, and, as it would seem, not very unusual method of supplying their wants. The cardinal Corneto, as well as some others of the sacred college, had a great reputation for wealth; and it was then the practice at Rome for the property of cardinals to devolve, on their decease, to the See. He proposed to get rid of this Corneto. The Pope consented; and, accordingly, invited the cardinals to an entertainment which he prepared for them in his vineyard of Corneto, which was near the Vatican. Among the wines sent for this occasion, one bottle was prepared with poison; and instructions were

* These infamous debaucheries are related with much more minuteness than is consistent with modern refinement and delicacy, by Burchardus, (Diar. 77.)

carefully given to the superintendent of the feast respecting the disposal of that bottle It happened that, some little time before supper, the Pope and his son arrived, and, as it was very hot, they called for wine. And then, whether through the error or the absence of the confidential officer, the poisoned bottle was presented to them. Both drank of it, and both immediately suffered its violent effects. Cæsar Borgia, who had mixed much water with his wine, and was, besides, young and vigorous, through the immediate use of powerful antidotes, was saved. But Alexander having taken his draught nearly pure, and being likewise enfeebled by age, died in the course of the same evening.*

§ 65.—It was during the pontificate of Alexander VI., that the discovery of America was achieved by that wonderful man, Christopher Columbus. For several centuries previous to that age, it had been regarded as an established doctrine, that the Pope, from his supreme authority, had the right of granting all heathen countries to such Catholic princes as would engage to reduce them under the dominion of the church and the Holy See. In accordance with this doctrine, pope Martin V. early in the same century had granted to the crown of Portugal all the lands it might discover from cape Bojador in Africa, to the Indies.

Immediately upon the intelligence being received by the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, of the success of Columbus, measures were taken to obtain the sanction of the Pope. Accordingly, in compliance with the request of the Spanish ambassadors that were immediately dispatched to Rome, pope Alexander VI. issued his bull, dated May 2d, 1493, "ceding to the Spanish sovereigns the same rights, privileges, and indulgences, in respect to the newly discovered regions, as had been accorded to the Portuguese, with regard to their African discoveries, under the same condition of planting and propagating the Catholic faith. To prevent any conflicting claims, however, between the two powers, in the wide range of their discoveries, another bull was issued on the following day, containing *the famous line of demarcation*, by which their territories were thought to be clearly and permanently defined. This was an ideal line drawn from the north to the south pole, *a hundred leagues to the west of the Azores, and the Cape de Verd islands.* All land discovered by the Spanish navigators to the west of this line, and which had not been taken possession of by any Christian power before the preceding Christmas, was to belong to the Spanish crown; all land discovered in the contrary direction was to belong to Portugal. It seems never to have occurred to the pontiff, that by pushing their opposite careers of discovery, they might some day or other come again in collision, and renew the question of territorial right at the antipodes."†

* See Waddington's Ch. Hist., p. 515. For a particular account of the lives and vices of this flagitious Pope, and his no less infamous son, Cæsar Borgia, see Life of pope Alexander VI., by Alexander Gordon.

† Life and Voyages of Columbus, by Washington Irving, book v., ch. 8.

The power of the popes not what it once was. Pope Julian absolving himself from his oath

It may serve to correct the notions of some good people, who know but little about the history of Popery in past ages, and imagine that it never was more powerful than now, to remember that three centuries and a half ago, not only the territory now called the United States, but the whole of North and South America, were given away by a single dash of pope Alexander's pen. I presume there is but little fear of the great Republic of the West ever being handed over, like an apple or an orange, as a present from his Holiness to their Catholic majesties of Spain or of Portugal. And yet, according to the aforesaid decree of pope Alexander, the Catholic sovereigns of Spain have a right, so far as a papal grant can confer it, to the whole of the United States, from Maine to Texas, and to the entire continent of the West. Well may the old gentleman at Rome, when he thinks of the power of his predecessors, and casts his eye over the vast prairies and savannahs of the West, sit on his trembling throne in Italy, like Bunyan's giant Pope, "biting his nails that he cannot come at them."

§ 66.—Upon the death of Alexander VI., Pius III., a sick and feeble old man, was elevated to the papal throne, through the intrigues of the Cardinal who hoped soon to succeed him, and died after a brief reign of only twenty-six days. The stratagem of Julian della Rovera was successful. He celebrated the mass at the obsequies of the deceased Pope and scarcely was that office performed when he re-opened his former intrigues with the design, on this occasion, of procuring his own election. He gained the leading cardinals by magnificent promises, and the confidence that they would be observed. On the very first scrutiny, Julian della Rovera was unanimously raised to the chair of Alexander VI. On this occasion, Julian, who assumed the name of Julius II., took the same oath which had been taken by the infamous Alexander and several of his unworthy predecessors of the fifteenth century, to convoke a general council within two years from his election, and effect other reforms in the administration of the church, under the penalty of "perjury and anathema," from which they swore neither to absolve themselves, nor suffer any others to absolve them. These oaths, however, were only made to be broken. The popes claimed the power not only of absolving others, but of absolving themselves from the obligation of an oath, and when, therefore, the object of taking the oath was accomplished, and the hat of the Cardinal exchanged for the tiara of the Pope, this convenient power was invariably exercised.*

That this pretended power of the popes of absolving from the obligation of an oath, whether of allegiance to a ruler or of

* Beausobre in his history of the Reformation (Livre i.) gives the words of the oath by which the candidate for the papal chair thus bound himself, which are worthy of being placed on record "Præmissa omnia et singula promitto, voveo et juro observare et adimplere, in omnibus et per omnia, purè et simpliciter et bona fide, realiter, et cum effectu perjurii et anathematis, a quibus nec me ipsum absolvam, nec alieni absolutionem committam. Ita me Deus adjuvet," &c.

The right of absolving from oaths still claimed by the priests of Rome.

any other kind, has ever been believed and practised by the papal anti-Christ, is a fact which needs no proof to such as have but a limited acquaintance with history. We have seen how frequently it was practised in the lives of Gregory VII.,* Innocent III., and the other popes of that period when Popery reigned Despot of the World;† but perhaps it is not equally well known, that the same doctrine is openly advocated by papists of the present day, and plainly taught in the text-books used in their colleges. Thus, in the class-book used in Maynooth College, Ireland, Bailly asserts that "there exists in the church a power of dispensing from the obligation of vows and oaths."‡ In this abominable proposition, quoted from a standard Romish author, the church means the Pope, as, according to the canon law, the Pope is the interpreter of an oath.§ Dens, in his theology, the modern standard of catholicism in Ireland, authorizes this maxim.‖ The dispensation of a vow, says this criterion of truth, "is its relaxation by a lawful superior in the place of God, from a just cause. The superior, as *the vicar of God in the place of God, remits to a man the debt of a plighted promise.*"¶ If a pope has the power of absolving others from the obligation of an oath, he has, of course, the power of absolving himself, and hence can be bound by no promise, however sacred; by no oath, however solemn. Upon this monstrous principle did pope Julius, like many of his predecessors, take a solemn oath previous to his election, which he doubtless intended when he took it, to violate, so soon as his elevation to the popedom should give him the power of absolving himself from his oath, and thus annulling the laws of God with impunity.**

* Gregory, in 1080, asserted his authority to dissolve the oath of fealty. His Infallibility supported his assertion by proofs, or pretended proofs, from scripture and tradition. This authority, his Holiness alleged, was conveyed in the power of the keys, consisting in binding and loosing, and confirmed by the unanimous consent of the fathers. The contrary opinion he represented as madness and idolatry. 'Contra illorum insaniam, qui, nefando ore, garriunt, auctoritatem sanctæ et Apostolicæ sedis non potuisse quemquam a sacramento fidelitatis ejus absolvere.' (*Labb.* 12, 380, 439, 497.)

† See above, Book v., *passim.*

‡ 'Existit in ecclesia potestas dispensandi in votis et juramentis.' (*Bailly* 2, 140; Maynooth Report, 283.)

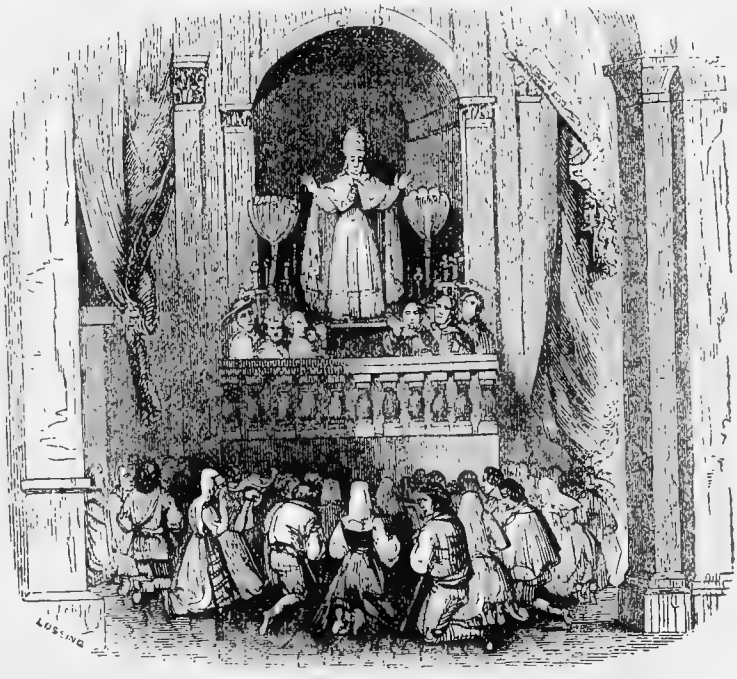
§ 'Declaratio juramenti, seu interpretatio, cum de ipso dubitatur, pertinet ad Papam.' (*Gibert* 3, 512.)

‖ 'Superior tanquam vicarius Dei, vice et nomine Dei, remittit homini debitum promissionis factæ.' (*Dens*, 4, 134, 135.)

¶ Dens also avers that a confessor should assert his ignorance of the truths which he knows only by sacramental confession, and *confirm his assertion, if necessary, by oath.* Such facts he is to conceal, though the life or safety of a man or the destruction of the state, depended on the disclosure. The reason, in this case, is as extraordinary as the doctrine. "The confessor is questioned and answers as a man. This truth, however, *he knows not as man, but* AS GOD;" and, therefore (which was to be proved), he is not guilty of falsehood or perjury. 'Debet respondere se nescire eam, et, si opus est, idem juramento confirmare. Talis confessarius interrogatur ut homo, et respondet ut homo. Jam autem non scit ut homo illam veritatem, quamvis sciat ut Deus.' (*Dens*, 5, 219; *Edgar*, 246.)

** Another instance of the practical exercise of this abominable doctrine oc-

The Pope as a Warrior —Pope Julius in Battle.



The Pope as a God—adored on the high Altar of St. Peter's

Pope Julius a warrior. 200,000 men slain in battle through his means. His quarrel with Lewis XII.

§ 67.—Pope Julius was a man of blood. His assumption of that name was itself an expression of his admiration of the ancient conqueror, Julius Cæsar, and a mode of avowing his preference of the military to the sacerdotal character. Almost the whole ten years of his pontificate (1503–1513) were spent in the field of battle, amidst scenes of carnage and slaughter. The evident object of his ambition was to reduce the whole of the peninsula of Italy under the sovereignty of the self-styled successors of St. Peter. He succeeded in compelling the Venetians to yield up several cities to the *Holy* See, and had he not been cut short by death in his victorious career, it is supposed by many that the object of his ambition might have been realized. It is related of him that he was so fierce and indefatigable a warrior, that though decrepit with age, he did not shrink from the toils of the meanest soldier; that in prosecuting his schemes of ambition, he would never listen to a proposal of peace, while the slightest prospect of success remained, though to be purchased at the cost of thousands of lives; and that two hundred thousand men perished in battle through his means; that almost the only use he made of his pontifical function was to dictate his bulls and anathemas, which he did with the same energy as he commanded his army; and finally, in the words of a celebrated chronicler of France, that in his fierce and bloody conflicts on the field of battle, "he acted *more like a sultan of the Turks* than as THE VICAR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE, and the common Father of all Christians."*

§ 68.—Lewis XII., king of France, provoked at the insults he received from pope Julius, is said by many authors to have caused a medal to be struck, with the inscription, '*Perdam Babylonis nomen*'—that is, "I will destroy the name of Babylon." It is proper here to add that the authenticity and occasion of this celebrated motto, has afforded matter of keen debate to respectable writers on both sides of the question. There is no question, however, that Lewis was violently incensed against the arrogant military Pope, and that in the year 1511, several cardinals under his protection assembled a council at Pisa, with the intention of setting bounds to the power, and curbing the tyranny of this furious and ambitious Pontiff. Julius, on the other hand, thundered his anathemas against the council of Pisa, excommunicated all the members, and degraded the cardinals from their dignity. The council returned the compliment (like that of Basil, seventy years before), by summoning the Pope into their presence, declaring him contumacious, and eventually suspending him from his office. The warlike pontiff,

curred in the life of pope Paul IV., who, in 1555, *absolved himself* from an oath which he had taken in the Conclave. His Holiness had sworn to make only four cardinals; but violated his obligation. His Supremacy declared, *that the Pontiff could not be bound, or his authority limited, even by an oath.* The contrary he characterized as "a manifest heresy." 'Le contraire étoit une heresie manifeste.' (*Father Paul Sarpi*, lib. ii., sec. 27.)

* Mezerai Abregé Chron., tom. v., p. 117; reign of Louis XII.

relying upon his carnal, at least as much as his spiritual defences, treated these proceedings with contempt and laughter, and summoned a council at Rome,* which was opened on the 3d of May, 1512, and in which the proceedings of the council of Pisa were annulled, and condemned in the severest and most insulting language. This council of the Pope is called by Romanists the *eighteenth general council*, or fifth of Lateran, though almost all who were present were Italians, and the total number of cardinals was fifteen, and the archbishops and bishops, together, eighty. Probably the fierce denunciations of the Pope and this petty *general* council against the council of Pisa, would have been followed by the most dire anathemas against king Louis, and other princes who favored that council, had not death snatched away this fierce, turbulent, and bloody Pope on the 20th of February, 1513.

§ 69.—The successor of Julius was Leo X., a name which is inseparable from the history of the glorious reformation, for the determined but unavailing opposition that he offered to the doctrines and measures of Luther. Under Leo the fifth council of Lateran continued its sessions, at various intervals, till the month of March, 1517. Among the decrees of this council was one forbidding the freedom of the press, which in consequence of the invention of the art of printing had for some years been a source of annoyance to Rome. Pope Leo and the council ordained "that no book should be hereafter printed at Rome, or in any other city or diocese, until it had been examined—at Rome by the vicar of his Holiness, and the master of the sacred palace—in other dioceses, by the bishop, or some doctor appointed by him, or by the inquisitor of the place, on pain of various temporal penalties and immediate excommunication." Popery has probably never received so severe a blow, as in the invention of printing; and according to human probabilities, the reformation would have been nipped in the bud, and the world would still have been covered with popish darkness as it was amidst the gloom of the world's midnight, had it not been for the noble art which multiplied, almost with the speed of thought, the fearless protestations of the reformers against the profligacy and corruption of Rome. The date of this noble art is generally placed in 1444, though some years doubtless elapsed before it was very extensively used. About 1472, not thirty years after the invention, pope Sixtus IV. commenced the crusade against the freedom of the press which Popery has carried on from that time to this. In 1501 the vile Alexander VI. ordained under the severest penalties, that no books of any description should be printed, in any diocese, without the sanction of the Bishop,† and a few years after Leo X., in the manner we have seen, renewed this prohibition.

§ 70.—There was another enactment of the fifth council of Late

* The bull of Julius convoking this council, in which he calls the council of Pisa a synagogue of Satan, and compares its authors to Dathan and Abiram, may be found in Raynald's Annals, ad Ann. 1511.

† Raynald's Annals ad Ann. 1501, s. 36.

A papist's groans at the ill success of the laws against heretics, in preventing the Reformation.

ran, which deserves a passing mention. This was a decree enjoining upon the Inquisitions established in various countries to proceed zealously in the punishment and extirpation of heretics and Jews, especially against those who had relapsed, from whom every hope of pardon was withheld. These decrees are recorded by the Romish annalist Raynald, the continuator of the annals of Baronius, who exclaims in tones which we might almost imagine to proceed from a hungry wolf, disappointed of his prey by the watchfulness of the shepherd and his faithful dog. "How ill, alas! these *most holy laws* were observed, appears from the hydra-birth of the Lutheran heresy which came so soon afterwards."*

§ 71.—On the 16th of March, 1517, was held the twelfth and concluding session of the council. The bull of dissolution announced the accomplishment of every object of the assembly: peace had been re-established among the princes of Christendom; the schismatic synod of Pisa abolished; and, above all, the reformation of the Church and court of Rome had been sufficiently provided for! There were, indeed, some fathers who ventured to argue, that every abuse had not even yet been removed, and that the lasting interests of the Church would be better promoted by the further continuance of the council—but the majority supported the Pope; and this universal assembly of the western Church, after having deliberately regulated all matters requiring any attention, and restored the establishment to perfect health and security, separated with complacency and confidence! Little did Leo and the fathers of the council dream of the storm that was impending over them; of the lightning of heaven that was already gathering to purify the moral atmosphere of the popish miasma that corrupted it. It is a coincidence worth remarking, that in the very same year, almost before the prelates of Rome had exchanged their parting congratulations on the imagined peace and security of the church, Luther had commenced his bold and fearless preaching against that plague-spot upon the polluted and rotten carcase of anti-Christ—the infamous doctrine of INDULGENCES.

* Raynald. ad Ann. 1514, sect. 31, &c.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REFORMATION. LUTHER AND TETZEL. THE REFORMER'S WAR AGAINST INDULGENCES.

§ 72.—We have seen, in a previous part of this work, the profitable use that was made by the popes whenever they wished to enrich their coffers, at the expense of a credulous and superstitious multitude, of the doctrine of *indulgences*,—the pretence that a miserable mortal, often polluted with the most awful crimes, had power to control the punishments of God's justice in the invisible world, and to grant a plenary indulgence for the most flagrant crimes, to such as would purchase it with money. The horrid impiety of this blasphemous pretension is such that we can hardly help feeling astonished at the forbearance of the insulted Deity in suffering his name thus to be blasphemed, his prerogatives thus invaded, and his creatures thus outraged and abused for so long a series of ages.

But the justice of God does not sleep for ever. It pleased him that the very means of the aggrandizement and wealth of apostate Rome should also be the cause of its receiving a blow from which it never has, and never will recover. Indulgences, and the money they procured, were for ages the inexhaustible source of papal Rome's grandeur and wealth. Indulgences, and the indignation they excited, were the occasion of her fall. The proud structure of St. Peter's, it is true, was built upon a foundation of indulgences; every stone in that gorgeous structure, if it had a tongue, might tell a tale of robbery, or murder, or adultery; or of the outrageous cheat announced by the infamous Tetzel, "the very moment the money jingles in the chest, the soul for whom it is paid escapes from the pains of purgatory, and flies to heaven." Yet, when the courtly and luxurious Leo proclaimed his bull of indulgences, for the building of St. Peter's, little did he imagine how dearly that proudest of all the temples of anti-Christ would be bought. And there is not a true protestant in Christendom, however much he may despise the spiritual knavery and imposture of the indulgences upon which St. Peter's is erected, that would not regard the glorious reformation as cheaply purchased at the price of the millions of gold and silver it would require to build ten thousand such costly erections.

A work like the present would not be complete without a sketch of the incidents connected with that memorable event in the annals of Popery, the GLORIOUS REFORMATION. Yet it is a source of sincere and unmingled satisfaction to the author, that the recent publication and unparalleled circulation of the most captivating, authentic, and thorough history of the Reformation that has ever

Indulgences to build St. Peter's. Prices of sins in the Tax-books of the Roman Chancery.

been written in any language,* precludes the necessity of devoting more than a few pages to that momentous moral revolution; and even those few will be devoted mainly to facts connected with the reformation, which reflect light upon the character and the history of Popery.

§ 73.—The first stone of the present church of St. Peter's at Rome, was laid in the year 1506 by the ambitious and warlike pope Julius II., and when Leo X. succeeded him on the papal throne, he found the treasury of the church almost exhausted by the ceaseless wars and ambitious projects of his predecessor. "Making use," says Sleidan, "of that power which his predecessors had usurped over all Christian churches, he sent abroad into all kingdoms his letters and bulls, with ample promises of the full pardon of sins, and of eternal salvation to such as would purchase the same with money!"

It is obvious that the multiplication of crimes in a superstitious and dissolute age, would be proportionate to the facility of obtaining pardon. It had been a practice in the different governments of Europe to allow the payment of a fine to the magistrate, by way of compounding for the punishment due to an offence. The avaricious and unprincipled court of Rome adopted a similar plan in religious concerns, and intent only on the augmentation of revenue, it even rejoiced in the degradation of the human mind and character. The officers of the Roman chancery published a book containing the exact sum to be paid for any particular sin. A deacon guilty of murder was absolved for twenty crowns. A bishop or abbot might assassinate for three hundred livres. An ecclesiastic might violate his vows of chastity, even with the most aggravating circumstances, for the third part of that sum. To these and similar items, it is added, "Take notice particularly that such graces and dispensations are not granted to the POOR, *for not having wherewith to pay they cannot be comforted.*"†

* It is almost unnecessary to say, that the author refers to D'Aubigné's popular and invaluable "History of the Reformation," to which he would take this opportunity of expressing his obligation for most of the incidents connected with Luther's struggles against the abominations of Rome. The work of D'Aubigné has lately been honored with a special notice of reprobation in the Pope's bull of 1844. Thank God it is translated into Italian! Let D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation only be read throughout the whole of outraged and injured Italy, and the world will see that the Pope had reason to tremble on his tottering throne.

† Taxa Cancellar. Romanæ, quoted in Cox's life of Melancthon, chap. iii. As it has become usual with Romanists to deny the authenticity of these Tax-books for sin, since it has been discovered that protestants have become acquainted with their contents, it is proper to remark that more than twenty-seven editions of the work had appeared, before any one thought of denying their authenticity. The evidence on this subject has been weighed and sifted a hundred times, and the result is, that in the opinion of the most eminent literary men, the authenticity of this genuine Romish work is established without the shadow of a doubt. The following observations upon "the *Taxatio Papalis*," by the learned Mendham, author of the "Literary policy of the church of Rome," are sufficient to set this matter for ever at rest. The Tax Tables are a considerable advance upon the simple In-

"What," asks an ornament of the British establishment, "was the crying abomination which first roused the indignant spirit of

dulgence; for there, absolution for the grossest crimes—and for *all* crimes—is expressly set to sale at specified prices—absolution, or dispensation, or license, &c., for Grossi, or floreni, or ducats.

To what times or persons the origin of those small and *precious* volumes is to be assigned, it is perhaps impossible to determine. The least objectionable part, indicating only unprincipled cupidity and rapacity, the Chancery Taxes, may with certainty be traced back to pope John XXII., who reigned at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is celebrated by papal as well as other historians, for his immoderate extortion by the dexterous management of benefices, and by other means, and for the immense wealth which he accumulated and left behind him. (*Ciaconii Vit. et Act. Pont.*, tom. 2; 395.) The frequent and exclusive reference to the Liber Jo. XXII. in pope Leo's Xth's Taxæ Canc. Apost., published in 1514, place the fact beyond a doubt; and Polydore Virgil (lib. viii., cap. 2) expressly ascribes the origin of those Taxes to him.

To the Penitentiary Canons succeeded the regular Tax-books; of which *the first fifteen editions were issued at Rome*, as is attested by the Romish author Audiffredi, in a work avowedly enumerating those copies, and which volume is dedicated to "Pius VI., Pont. Opt. Max.," or, the "Most Blessed and Supreme." *Twenty-five other reprints were published at Paris, Cologne, and Venice*—that from the last place *under the auspices of pope Gregory XIII.* The printing was probably rendered necessary or expedient from the number of agents, or collectors of these taxes, employed by the pontiffs; for beyond Rome, in the countries subject to those impositions, it was desirable for individuals to know what their vices would cost them, and how far they could sustain the expense. Mornay, in his Mystère d'Iniquité, and Claude d'Espence, prove that those books were publicly and openly exposed to sale.

But we are told, that these works have been formally and publicly condemned by papal authority in the Indices Prohibitorii. This matter is both a literary and a papal curiosity. Before the year 1564, when the Trent Index was compiled and published, twenty-seven of the editions of the Taxæ had appeared, and probably many more, now unknown—and yet no notice whatever was taken of them, in one single instance, until the year 1570, just a century after the appearance of the first edition, in an Appendix to the Roman Index, published by the authority of the king of Spain. In what terms does it there appear? "Praxis et Taxa officinæ pœnitentiariæ Papæ," p. 76—a work, which, if it ever existed under that title, was probably never known. With apparent misgiving, and possibly with some fear, that it might involve what the papacy knew to be its own offspring, the next Index published by authority in Rome, that of 1596, by pope Clement VIII., adds—"ab hæreticis *depravata; corrupted* by heretics." But that specification is a virtual admission that some copies existed, which were not depraved or corrupted.

In his Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, chap. i., 7, Digressio Secunda, on the word αἰσχροκερδῆ (*greedy of filthy lucre*), Claude d'Espence, a celebrated and candid French Catholic, rector of the University of Paris, having expressly referred to *the Centum Gravamina*, avers, that all those charges might be considered as the fiction of the enemies of the Pope, were it not for a book printed, and for some time *publicly exposed to sale at Paris*, entitled *Taxa Cameræ seu Cancellariæ Apostolicæ*, in which more wickedness may be learned than in all the summaries of all vices; and in which are proposed license of sinning to most, and absolution to all who will buy it. He wondered, that that infamous and scandalous index of iniquity was not suppressed by the friends and rulers of the Roman court; and that the licenses and impunities for such abominations were renewed in the faculties granted to the papal legates, of absolving and rendering capable of ecclesiastical promotion all sorts, and even the most atrocious, of criminals. He then calls upon Rome to blush, and cease any longer to prostitute herself by the publication of so infamous a catalogue."

Farming indulgences. Contract for the sins of the Germans. Tetzel, the famous *indulgence-peddler.*

the great and much-calumniated Luther? The Pope actually drove a gainful pecuniary traffic in ecclesiastical indulgences! Instruments of this description, by which the labor of making a fancied meritorious satisfaction to God by penance or by good works was pared down to the dwarfish standard that best suited the purse of a wealthy offender, were sold in the lump, to a tribe of monastic vagabonds, by the prelate, who claimed to be upon earth the divinely-appointed vicar of Christ. These men purchased them of the Pope, by as good a bargain as they could make; and then, after the mode of travelling pedlars, they disposed of them in retail to those who affected such articles of commerce; each indulgence, of course, bearing an adequate premium. The madness of superstition could be strained no higher: the reformation burst forth like a torrent; and Luther, with the Bible in his hand, has merited and obtained the eternal hatred of an incorrigible church."*

§ 74.—At the commencement of the Reformation, Albert, elector of Mentz, who was, soon afterwards, made a cardinal, had solicited from the Pope the contract for the *farming* of all the indulgences in Germany, or, as they expressed it at Rome, "the contract for the sins of the Germans." The Elector being, however, in immediate want of a large sum of money to advance to the Pope, applied to the Fuggers, a celebrated banking-house, to advance him the needed sum, upon the credit of the expected proceeds of the indulgences, and they deeming the investment a safe one, supplied him with the money. The notorious Tetzel, upon the conclusion of this bargain, hastened to Mentz, and offered his services to Albert, and as he had already many years' experience in this work of *peddling indulgences*, he was at once accepted.

The account which Dr. Merle gives of the mode of Tetzel's proceedings is so graphic and so lively, that I shall endeavor to condense the substance of his remarks. One person, says he, in particular, in these sales of indulgences, drew the attention of the spectators in these sales. It was he who bore the great red cross and had the most prominent part assigned to him. He was clothed in the habit of the Dominicans, and his port was lofty. His voice was sonorous, and he seemed yet in the prime of his strength, though he was past his sixty-third year. This man, who was the son of a goldsmith of Leipsic, named Diez, bore the name of John Diezel or Tetzel. He had studied in his native town, had taken his bachelor's degree in 1487, and entered two years later into the order of the Dominicans. Numerous honors had been accumulated on him. Bachelor of Theology, Prior of the Dominicans, Apostolical Commissioner, Inquisitor (*hereticæ pravitatis inquisitor*), he had, ever since the year 1502, filled the office of an agent for the sale of indulgences. The experience he had acquired as a subordinate functionary had very early raised him to the station of chief commissioner. He had an allowance of 80 florins per month, all his expenses de-

* Difficulties of Romanism, by Rev. George Stanley Faber, p. 157.

frayed, and he was allowed a carriage and three horses; but we may readily imagine that his indirect emoluments far exceeded his allowances. In 1507, he gained in two days at Freyberg 2000 florins. If his occupation resembled that of a mountebank, he had also the morals of one. Convicted at Inspruck of adultery and abominable profligacy, he was near paying the forfeit of his life. The emperor Maximilian had ordered that he should be put into a sack and thrown into the river. The elector Frederic of Saxony had interceded for him, and obtained his pardon. But the lesson he had received had not taught him more decency. He carried about with him two of his children. Miltitz, the Pope's legate, cites the fact in one of his letters. It would have been hard to find in all the cloisters of Germany, a man more adapted to the traffic with which he was charged. To the theology of a monk, and the zeal and spirit of an inquisitor, he united the greatest effrontery. What most helped him in his office, was the facility he displayed in the invention of the strange stories with which the taste of the common people is generally pleased. No means came amiss to him to fill his coffers. Lifting up his voice and giving loose to a coarse volubility, he offered his indulgences to all comers, and excelled any salesman at a fair in recommending his merchandize. As soon as the cross was elevated with the Pope's arms suspended upon it, Tetzel ascended the pulpit, and, with a bold tone, began, in the presence of the crowd whom the ceremony had drawn to the sacred spot, to exalt the efficacy of indulgences.

§ 75.—The people listened, and wondered at the admirable virtues ascribed to them. The Jesuit historian Maimbourg says himself, in speaking of the Dominican friars whom Tetzel had associated with him:—"Some of these preachers did not fail, as usual, to distort their subject, and so to exaggerate the value of the indulgences as to lead the people to believe that, as soon as they gave their money they were certain of salvation and of the deliverance of souls from purgatory."

If such were the pupils, we may imagine what lengths the master went. Let us hear one of these harangues, pronounced after the erection of the cross.

"Indulgences," said he, "are the most precious and sublime of God's gifts. "This cross" (pointing to the red cross) "has as much efficacy as the cross of Jesus Christ. Draw near, and I will give you letters, duly sealed, by which even *the sins you shall hereafter desire to commit* shall be all forgiven you.

"I would not exchange my privileges for those of Saint Peter in heaven, for I have saved more souls with my indulgences than he with his sermons. There is no sin so great that the indulgence cannot remit, and even if any one should (which is doubtless impossible) ravish the Holy Virgin Mother of God,* let him pay—let him only pay largely, and it shall be forgiven him.

* There has been some controversy relative to the passage upon which the imputation of this horrible language is based. The words are, "Is inter alia do-

Tetzel selling Indulgences.

Burning of Bibles, by Romish Priests, at Champlain, N. Y (*See page*, 613.

The money clinking in the chest, and the soul escaping from Purgatory. Bring money! Bring money!

"Even repentance," he would say, "is not indispensable. But more than all this: indulgences save not the living alone—*they also save the dead.* Ye priests, ye nobles, ye tradesmen, ye wives, ye maidens, and ye young men, hearken to your departed parents and friends, who cry to you from the bottomless abyss: 'We are enduring horrible torment! a small alms would deliver us;—you can give it, and you will not!'"

"*The very moment,*" continued Tetzel, "*that the money clinks against the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory, and flies free to heaven.* O, senseless people, and almost like to beasts, who do not comprehend the grace so richly offered! This day heaven is on all sides open. Do you now refuse to enter? When then do you intend to come in? This day you may redeem many souls. Dull and heedless man, with ten groschen you can deliver your father from purgatory, and you are so ungrateful that you will not rescue him. In the day of judgment, my conscience will be clear; but you will be punished the more severely for neglecting so great a salvation. I protest that though you should have only one coat, you ought to strip it off and sell it, to purchase this grace. Our Lord God no longer deals with us as God. He has given all power to the Pope!"

Then, having recourse to other inducements, he added, "Do you know why our most Holy Lord distributes so rich a grace? The dilapidated Church of St. Peter and St. Paul is to be restored, so as to be unparalleled in the whole earth. That church contains the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and a vast company of martyrs. Those sacred bodies, owing to the present condition of the edifice, are now, alas! continually trodden, flooded, polluted, dishonored, and rotting in rain and hail. Ah! shall those holy ashes be suffered to remain degraded in the mire?" This touch of description never failed to produce an impression on many hearers. There was an eager desire to aid poor Leo X., who had not the means of sheltering from the rain the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul!

At the close of his address, Tetzel would point to the strong box in which the money was kept, and call upon the people with a stentorian voice, "Bring your money! bring money! bring money!"—and running down the steps of the pulpit, he would throw in a piece of silver, with a loud sound, before all the people.

§ 76.—The commissioner whose duty it was to sell this popish ware, had a counter close to the cross. He turned a scrutinizing glance on those who came. He examined their manner, step, and attire, and demanded a sum in proportion to the apparent circumstances of the party presenting himself. Kings, queens, princes, archbishops,

cebat, se tantam habere potestatem a Pontifice, ut etiam si quis *virginem matrem* vitiasset ac gravidam fecisset, condonare crimen ipse posset interventu pecuniæ: deinde non modo jam commissa, verum etiam futura peccata condonabat," and have led to much controversy whether it should not read *virginem aut matrem*—that is, a virgin *or* a mother. (*Sleidan*, Lib. xiii., p. 208; *Gies.* iii., 330.)

Prices and form of absolution. Properly called a license to sin

bishops, &c., were to pay, according to the regulation, for an ordinary indulgence, twenty-five ducats; abbots, counts, barons, &c., ten. The other nobles, superiors, and all who had an annual income of 500 florins, were to pay six. Those who had an income of 200 florins, one; the rest, half a florin. And, further, if this scale could not in every instance be observed, full power was given to the apostolic commissary, and the whole might be arranged according to the dictates of sound reason, and the generosity of the giver. For particular sins Tetzel had a private scale. Polygamy cost six ducats; sacrilege and perjury, nine ducats; murder, eight; witchcraft, two. Samson, who carried on in Switzerland the same traffic as Tetzel in Germany, had rather a different scale. He charged for infanticide, four livres tournois; for a parricide or fratricide, one ducat.

The form of absolution by Tetzel has been given by most writers on the Reformation, from Robertson to Merle, and is as follows: "Our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on thee, N. N., and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy sufferings! And I, in virtue of the apostolic power committed to me, absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties that thou mayst have merited; and further, from all excesses, sins, and crimes that thou mayst have committed, however great and enormous they may be, and of whatever kind,—even though they should be reserved to our holy father the Pope, and to the Apostolic See. I efface all the stains of weakness, and all traces of the shame that thou mayst have drawn upon thyself by such actions. *I remit the pains thou wouldst have had to endure in purgatory.* I receive thee again to the sacraments of the Church. I hereby re-incorporate thee in the communion of the saints, and restore thee to the innocence and purity of thy baptism; so that, *at the moment of death, the gate of the place of torment shall be shut against thee, and the gate of the paradise of joy shall be opened unto thee.* And if thou shouldst live long, this grace continueth unchangeable, till the time of thy end. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. *The Brother, John Tetzel, commissary, hath signed this with his own hand.*"

§ 77.—What could be a greater indulgence to the commission of future crimes than the promise contained in this abominable document, that at the moment of death the place of punishment should be closed, and the gate of Paradise opened to the purchaser of this popish license to sin. I call it a license to sin, because it promised salvation to its purchaser irrespective of his future life. Sometimes the good sense of the people administered a cutting rebuke to these popish traffickers in sin. The following two instances are worth recording. The wife of a shoemaker at Hagenau, profiting by the permission given in the instruction of the Commissary-general, had procured, against her husband's will, a letter of indulgence, and had paid for it a gold florin. Shortly after she died: and the widower omitting to have mass said for the repose of her soul, the curate

Common sense rebuking these impostures. Tetzel outwitted and beaten with his own weapons.

charged him with contempt of religion, and the judge of Hagenau summoned him to appear before him. The shoemaker put in his pocket his wife's indulgence, and repaired to the place of summons. "Is your wife dead?" asked the judge.—"Yes," answered the shoemaker.—"What have you done with her?"—"I buried her and commended her soul to God."—"But have you had a mass said for the salvation of her soul?"—"I have not:—it was not necessary:—she went to heaven in the moment of her death."—"How do you know that?"—"Here is the evidence of it." The widower drew from his pocket the indulgence, and the judge, in presence of the curate, read, in so many words, that in the moment of death, the woman who had received it would go, not into purgatory, but straight into heaven. "If the curate pretends that a mass is necessary after that," said the shoemaker, "my wife has been cheated by our Holy Father the Pope; but if she has not been cheated, then the curate is deceiving me." There was no replying to this defence, and the accused was acquitted. It was thus that the good sense of the people disposed of these impostures.

On another occasion a gentleman of Saxony had heard Tetzel at Leipsic, and was much shocked by his impostures. He went to the monk, and inquired if he was authorized to pardon sins *in intention*, or such as the applicant intended to commit? "Assuredly," answered Tetzel; "I have full power from the Pope to do so."—"Well," returned the gentleman, "I want to take some slight revenge on one of my enemies, without attempting his life. I will pay you ten crowns, if you will give me a letter of indulgence that shall bear me harmless." Tetzel made some scruples; they struck their bargain for thirty crowns. Shortly after, the monk set out from Leipsic. The gentleman, attended by his servants, laid wait for him in a wood between Jüterboch and Treblin,—fell upon him, gave him a beating, and carried off the rich chest of indulgence-money the inquisitor had with him. Tetzel clamored against this act of violence, and brought an action before the judges. But the gentlemen showed the letter signed by Tetzel himself, which exempted him beforehand from all responsibility. Duke George who had at first been much irritated at this action, upon seeing this writing, ordered that the accused should be acquitted.

A miner of Schneeberg meeting a seller of indulgences, inquired: "Must we then believe what you have often said of the power of indulgences and of the authority of the Pope, and think that we can redeem a soul from purgatory by casting a penny into the chest?" The dealer in indulgences affirmed that it was so. "Ah!" replied the miner, "what a cruel man the Pope must be, thus to leave a poor soul to suffer so long in the flames for a wretched penny! If he has no ready money, let him collect a few hundred thousand crowns, and deliver all these souls by one act. Even we poor folks would willingly pay him the principal and interest."

§ 78.—At this time, Luther was performing his quiet duties as an Augustin monk. He was full of respect to the Pope, and as he

himself says, "so steeped in the Romish doctrines, that I would willingly have helped to kill any one who had the audacity to refuse the smallest act of obedience to the Pope. I was a true Saul, like many others still living." But at the same time his heart was ready to take fire for what he thought the truth, and against what, in his judgment, was error.

One day Luther was at confessional in Wittemberg. Several residents of that town successively presented themselves: they confessed themselves guilty of great irregularities, adultery, licentiousness, usury, unjust gains: such were the things men came to talk of with a minister of God's word, who must one day give an account of their souls. He reproved, rebuked, and instructed. But what was his astonishment, when these persons *replied that they did not intend to abandon their sins!* The pious monk, shocked at this, declared, that since they would not promise to change their habits of life, he could not absolve them. Then it was that these poor creatures appealed to their letters of indulgence; they showed them, and contended for their efficacy. But Luther replied, that he had nothing to do with their paper; and he added, "If you do not turn from the evil of your way, you will all perish." They exclaimed against this, and renewed their application; but the doctor was immoveable. "They must cease," he said, "to do evil, and learn to do well, or otherwise no absolution. Have a care," added he, "how you give ear to the indulgences: you have something better to do than to buy licenses which they offer to you for paltry pence."

Much alarmed, these inhabitants of Wittemberg quickly returned to Tetzel, and told him that an Augustin monk treated his letters with contempt. Tetzel, at this, bellowed with anger. He held forth in the pulpit, used insulting expressions and curses, and, to strike the people with more terror, he had a fire lighted several times in the grand square, and declared that he was ordered by the Pope to burn the heretics who should dare to oppose his most holy indulgences.

§ 79.—The first courageous step was taken by Luther, on the 31st of October, 1517. On the evening of that day he went boldly to the church, toward which the superstitious crowds of pilgrims were flocking, and affixed to the door ninety-five theses or propositions against the doctrine of indulgences, which he declared himself ready to defend. A few of these noble protestations against the popish abomination of indulgences are given, as specimens of the whole.

"21. The commissioners of indulgences are in error in saying that, through the indulgence of the Pope, man is delivered from all punishment, and saved.

"27. Those persons preach human inventions, who pretend that, at the very moment when the money sounds in the strong box, the soul escapes from purgatory.

"28. This is certain: that as soon as the money sounds, avarice and love of gain come in, grow, and multiply. But the assistance

Tetzel, in revenge, publicly burns Luther's theses, at Frankfort.

and prayers of the church depend only on the will and good pleasure of God.

"32. Those who fancy themselves sure of their salvation by indulgences, *will go to the devil with those who teach them this doctrine.*

"36. Every Christian who feels true repentance for his sins, has perfect remission from the punishment and from the sin, without the need of indulgences.

"37. Every true Christian, dead or living, is a partaker of all the riches of Christ, or of the church, by the gift of God, and without any letter of indulgence.

"46. We must teach Christians, that if they have no superfluity, they are bound to keep for their families wherewith to procure necessaries, and they ought not to waste their money on indulgences.

"50. We must teach Christians, that if the Pope knew the exactions of the preachers of indulgences, *he would rather that the metropolitan church of St. Peter were burnt to ashes, than see it built up with the skin, the flesh and bones of his flock.*

"51. We must teach Christians, that the Pope, as in duty bound, would willingly give his own money, though it should be necessary to sell the metropolitan church of St. Peter for the purpose, to the poor people, whom the preachers of indulgences now rob of their last penny.

"52. To hope to be saved by indulgences is to hope in lies and vanity; even although the commissioner of indulgences, nay, though even the Pope himself should pledge his own soul in attestation of their efficacy.

§ 80.—Tetzel, in reply to the theses of Luther, and out of revenge for his miserable defeat, when endeavoring to defend some theses of his own, in opposition to Luther's, then had recourse to the *ultima ratio* of Rome and its inquisitors,—the fire. He set up a pulpit and a scaffold in one of the suburbs of Frankfort. He went thither in solemn procession, arrayed in the insignia of an inquisitor of the faith. He inveighed, in his most furious manner, from the pulpit. He hurled his thunders with an unsparing hand, and loudly exclaimed, that "the heretic Luther ought to be burned alive." Then placing the Doctor's propositions and sermon on the scaffold, he set fire to them. He showed greater dexterity in this operation than he had displayed in defending his theses. Here there were none to oppose him, and his victory was complete. The arrogant Dominican re-entered Frankfort in triumph. When parties accustomed to power have sustained defeat, they have recourse to certain shows and semblances, which must be allowed them as a consolation for their disgrace.

Tetzel, after this auto-da-fé of the theses of Luther, hastened to send his own theses in defence of indulgences, to Saxony. They will serve, thought he, as an antidote to those of Luther. A man was dispatched by the inquisitor from Alle to distribute his propositions at Wittemberg. The students of that university, indignant that Tetzel should have burned the theses of their master, no sooner

heard of the arrival of his messenger, than they surrounded him in troops, inquiring in threatening tones how he had dared to bring such things thither. Some of them purchased a portion of the copies he had brought with him; others seized on the remainder; thus getting possession of his whole stock, which amounted to eight hundred copies; then, unknown to the Elector, the senate, the rector, Luther, and all the professors, the students of Wittemberg posted bills on the gates of the university, bearing these words: "Whosoever desires to be present at the burning and obsequies of the theses of Tetzel, let him repair at two o'clock to the market-place." They assembled in crowds at the hour appointed; and, amid the acclamations of the multitude, committed the propositions of the Dominican to the flames. One copy was saved from the fire. Luther afterward sent it to his friend Lange, of Erfurth. The young students acted on the precept of them of old time, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and not on that of Christ. But when doctors and professors had set such an example at Frankfort, can we wonder that young students should follow it at Wittemberg?

§ 81.—In the meantime, pope Leo, at Rome, reclining upon the lap of sensuality and indolence, cheered by the beams of prosperity, and lulled by the echoes of parasitical adulation into luxurious repose, took no notice of the progress of opinion in Germany. He expected that the contentions which had arisen, would cease of themselves, and like a few bubbles on the surface of a stream, produced by some temporary and slight agitation of the waters, would gradually, and without any interference, disappear. When Prierio, master of the apostolic palace, at Rome, referred to the heresies of Luther, he replied, '*Che fra Martino aveva un bellissimo ingegno, et che coste erano invidie fratesche.*' "Martin is a man of talents, but these are only the squabbles of monks."

Luther had not yet broken his allegiance to the Pope. He spoke of Leo with respect, and gave him credit for justice and a love of truth. He proceeded to prepare explanations of his theses on indulgences, which were written with moderation, and called *solutions*. He endeavored to soften the passages that had occasioned irritation, and evinced a genuine modesty. But, at the same time, he manifested an immovable conviction, and courageously defended every proposition that truth obliged him to maintain. He repeated once more, that *every Christian who truly repented had remission of sins without any indulgence:* that the Pope had no more power than the lowest priest, to do anything beyond simply declaring the forgiveness that God had already granted; *that the treasury of the merits of saints, administered by the Pope, was a pure fiction:* and that holy Scripture was the sole rule of faith. "It is impossible," says Luther, "for a man to be a Christian, without having Christ, and if he has Christ, he has, at the same time, all that is in Christ. What gives peace to the conscience is that, by faith, our sins are no more ours, but Christ's upon whom God hath laid them all; and that, on the other hand, all Christ's righteousness is ours,

Sends his solutions to Leo X. His respectful letter to the Pope.

to whom God hath given it. Christ lays his hand upon us, and we are healed. He casts his mantle upon us, and we are clothed; for he is the glorious Saviour, blessed for ever." With such views of the riches of salvation by Christ, there could no longer be any need of indulgences.

When these *solutions* were finished, Luther caused a copy of them to be forwarded to the Pope.—"I beg of you," said he to his friend Staupitz, vicar general of the Augustin order, "to receive with favor the poor productions that I send you, and to forward them to the excellent pope Leo X. Not that I mean by this to draw you into the peril in which I stand; I am resolved myself to incur the whole danger. Christ will look to it, and make it appear whether what I have said comes from him or myself,—Christ, without whom the Pope's tongue cannot move, nor the hearts of kings decree. As for those who threaten me, I have no answer for them but the saying of Reuchlin: 'The poor man has nothing to fear, for he has nothing to lose.' I have neither money nor estate, and I desire none. If I have sometimes tasted of honor and good report, may He who has begun to strip me of them, finish his work. All that is left me is this wretched body, enfeebled by many trials; let them kill it by violence or fraud, so it be to the glory of God; by so doing they will but shorten the term of life by a few hours. It is sufficient for me that I have a precious Redeemer, a powerful High Priest, my Lord Jesus Christ. I will praise him as long as I have breath. If another will not join me in praising him, what is that to me?"

§ 82.—On the 13th of May, 1518, Luther addressed a letter to pope Leo, of which the following are extracts: "To the most blessed Father, pope Leo X., Supreme Bishop,—brother Martin Luther, an Augustin, wishes eternal salvation! . . . I hear, most holy father, that evil reports circulate concerning me, and that my name is in bad odor with your Holiness. I am called a heretic, an apostate, a traitor, and a thousand other reproachful names. What I see surprises me, and what I hear alarms me. But the sole foundation of my tranquillity remains unmoved, being a pure and quiet conscience. O, holy father! deign to hearken to me, who am but a child, and need instruction." Luther then relates the affair from the beginning, and thus proceeds: "Nothing was heard in all the taverns, but complaints of the avarice of the priests, attacks on the power of the keys, and of the supreme bishop. I call all Germany to witness. When I heard these things, my zeal was aroused for the glory of Christ,—if I understand my own heart; or if another construction is to be put on my conduct,—my young and warm blood was inflamed. . . . I represented the matter to certain princes of the church, but some laughed at me, and others turned a deaf ear. The awe of your name seemed to have made all motionless. Thereupon I published this dispute. . . . This, then, holy father, this is the action which has been said to have set the whole world in a flame! . . . And now what am I to do? I cannot retract what I have said, and I

Bold expressions of Luther, in his solutions, with respect to the degree of regard due to the Pope.

see that this publication draws down on me, from all sides, an inexpressible hatred. I have no wish to appear in the great world, for I am unlearned, of small wit, and far too inconsiderable for such great matters, more especially in this illustrious age, when Cicero himself, if he were living, would be constrained to hide himself in some dark corner. . . . But in order to appease my enemies and satisfy the desires of many friends, I here publish my thoughts. I publish them, holy father, that I may dwell the more safely under your protection. All those who desire it may here see with what simplicity of heart I have petitioned the supreme authority of the church to instruct me, and what respect I have manifested for the power of the keys. If I had not acted with propriety, it would have been impossible that the serene Lord Frederick, duke and elector of Saxony, who shines foremost among the friends of the apostolic and Christian truth, should have endured that one, so dangerous as I am asserted to be, should continue in his university of Wittemberg. . . . Therefore, most holy father, I throw myself at the feet of your holiness, and submit myself to you, with all that I have, and all that I am. Destroy my cause, or espouse it: pronounce either for or against me; take my life, or restore it, as you please; I will receive your voice as that of Christ himself, who presides and speaks through you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die; the earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is. May He be praised for ever and ever. May He maintain you to all eternity. Amen.

"Signed the day of the Holy Trinity, in the year 1518. Brother Martin Luther, Augustin."

In this letter what admirable humility and sincerity are evident! Yet by his expressions of deference to the Pope, he meant not to sacrifice one iota of the truth. He was willing to be instructed, to be convinced, if possible, but he could not, he would not renounce it. In the very *solutions*, to which he called the attention of Leo, were these bold words: "I care little what pleases or displeases the Pope. He is a man like other men. There have been many popes who have not only taken up with errors and vices, but things yet more extraordinary. I listen to the Pope as pope, that is, when he speaks in the canons, agreeably to the canons, or regulates any matter conjointly with a council,—but not when he speaks of his own mind. If I acted on any other rule, might I not be required to say, with those who know not Jesus Christ, that the horrible massacres of Christians, by which Julius II. was stained, were the good deeds of a kind shepherd of the Lord's sheep?"

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER AND CAJETAN.—THE NOBLE CONSTANCY OF THE REFORMER.

§ 83.—Leo X., roused at length by the outcry of the theologians and monks, now appointed an ecclesiastical court in Rome, for the purpose of judging Luther, and in which the reformer's great enemy, Sylvester Prierias, was at once accuser and judge. The preliminaries were soon arranged, and the court summoned Luther to appear before it in person within sixty days. Luther was at Wittemberg, quietly awaiting the good effects which he imagined his submissive letter to the Pope was calculated to produce, when, on the 7th August, two days only after the letters from Frederick and Maximilian had been dispatched to Rome, he received the summons from the papal tribunal. "At the moment that I looked for benediction," said he, "I saw the thunderbolt descend upon me. I was like the lamb that troubled the stream at which the wolf was drinking. Tetzel escaped, and I was devoured."

The Elector and the members of the University at Wittemberg, protested against Luther going to Rome, and the Pope at length consented that his cause should be heard in Germany, and on the 23d of August, 1518, cardinal Cajetan de Vio received his commission as the Pope's legate to reduce Luther to submission. In Leo's instructions to Cajetan, he says, "We charge you to compel the aforesaid Luther to appear before you in person; to prosecute and reduce him to submission without delay, as soon as you shall have received this our order; he having already been declared a heretic by our dear brother Jerome, Bishop of Asculan. For this purpose invoke the power and assistance of our very dear son in Christ, Maximilian, and the other princes of Germany, and of all the communities, universities, and potentates, whether ecclesiastical or secular. And when you have secured his person, cause him to be detained in safe custody, that he may be brought before us. If he should return to a sense of his duty, and ask pardon for so great an offence, freely and of his own accord, we give you power to receive him into the unity of holy mother church. If you fail to get possession of his person, we give you power to proscribe him in all places in Germany; to put away, curse, and excommunicate all those who are attached to him, and to enjoin all Christians to shun their society. And to the end that this pestilence may the more easily be rooted out, you will excommunicate all the prelates, religious orders, universities, communities, counts, dukes and potentates, the emperor Maximilian excepted, who shall neglect to seize the said Martin Luther, and his adherents, and send them to you under proper and safe custody. And if (which God forbid) the aforesaid princes, communities, universities, and potentates, or any who belong to them, shelter the said Martin and his adherents, or give

The Pope's flattering letter to the Elector, to induce him to withdraw his protection from Luther.

them publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, assistance and advice, we lay an interdict on these princes, communities, universities and potentates, with their towns, boroughs, countries, and villages; as well as on the towns, boroughs, countries, and villages, where the said Martin shall take refuge, as long as he shall remain there, and three days after he shall have quitted the same."

§ 84.—While Rome was thus arming the Legate with her thunders, she was endeavoring, by soft and flattering speeches, to detach from Luther's interest the prince whose power she most dreaded. The same day (the 23d of August, 1518), the Pope wrote to the elector of Saxony. He had recourse to the practised policy of Rome with powerful princes, and sought to flatter the prince's vanity. "Dear Son," said the Roman Pontiff, "when we think of your noble and worthy family; of you who are its ornament and head; when we remember how you and your ancestors have always wished to uphold the Christian faith and the honor and dignity of the Holy See, we cannot believe that a man who abandons the faith can rely on your highness's favor, and recklessly give the rein to his wickedness. And yet reports have reached us from all quarters, that a certain brother Martin Luther, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, acting the part of a child of iniquity and a despiser of God, has forgotten his habit and his order, which require humility and obedience, and boasts that he fears neither the authority nor the chastisement of any man, assured, as he declares himself, of your favor and protection. But, as we are sure that he is, in this, deceiving himself, we have thought it good to write to your Highness, and to exhort you, according to the will of God, to be jealous of your honor as a Christian prince, the ornament, the glory, and the sweet savor of your noble family,—to defend yourself from these calumnies,—and to clear yourself, not only from the commission of so great a crime as that which is imputed to you, but also from the very suspicion which the rash presumption of this monk tends to bring upon you."

Before this letter of the Pope had yet reached Germany, and while Luther was still fearing that he should be obliged to appear at Rome, a fortunate circumstance occurred to comfort his heart. He needed a friend into whose bosom he could pour out his sorrows, and whose faithful love should comfort him in his hours of dejection. God sent him such a friend in Melancthon, who, at the early age of twenty-one, arrived at Wittemberg to enter upon the duties of his professorship, on the 25th of August, just two days after the Pope had signed the brief institutions to cardinal Cajetan, and the letter to the elector of Saxony.

§ 85.—The order for Luther's appearance at Augsburg, before the Cardinal legate, at length arrived. It was now with one of the princes of the Roman Church that Luther had to do. All his friends besought him not to set out. They feared that a snare might be laid for him on his journey, or a design formed against his life. Some set about finding a place of concealment for him, and others from

Luther goes to Augsburg to appear before the Pope's legate, Cardinal Cajetan.

different quarters gave him the most alarming information. Count Albert of Mansfeldt sent him a message to abstain from setting out, because some great nobles had bound themselves by an oath, to seize and strangle, or drown him. But nothing could shake his resolution. Everywhere, in the history of Luther, and of the reformation, do we find ourselves in the presence of that intrepid spirit, that elevated morality, that boundless charity, which the first establishment of Christianity had exhibited to the world. "I am like Jeremiah," said Luther, at the moment we are speaking of,—"'a man of strife and contention;' but the more they increase their threatenings, the more they multiply my joy. My wife and children are well provided for. My lands and houses and all my goods are safe. They have already torn to pieces my honor and my good name. All I have left is my wretched body;—let them have it;—they will then shorten my life by a few hours. But as to MY SOUL,—they shall not have that. He, who resolves to bear the word of Christ to the world, must expect death at every hour."

In accordance with this self-sacrificing spirit, Luther set out *on foot*, on his perilous journey to Augsburg, accompanied by two faithful friends, Link and Leonard, and arrived at the monastery of the Augustins in that city, on the 7th of October. On the following day, a crafty Italian courtier named Serra Longa, paid Luther a visit, to persuade the reformer to submission, or to prepare him for his interview with the Cardinal legate. The instructions given to Luther by this courtier of Rome are curious. "Remember," said he, "that you are to appear before a PRINCE OF THE CHURCH! I will myself, conduct you to him. But first let me tell you how you must appear in his presence. When you enter the room where he is sitting, you must prostrate yourself with your face to the ground; when he tells you to rise, you must kneel before him, and you must not stand erect till he orders you to do so."

§ 86.—Luther had neglected to provide himself with a *safe-conduct*. His friends advised him, by no means to appear before the Legate without one, as he would then be at the mercy of Cajetan. But should he obtain such a document, the Legate could not imprison or harm him, without persuading the emperor Maximilian to violate his faith. They took upon themselves the task of obtaining the necessary safe-conduct from the Emperor. Cajetan's plan was, no doubt, to compel Luther, if possible, to retract; and if he failed in that, to secure his person, and have him conveyed to Rome, where he would doubtless have shared the fate of Huss and of Jerome. Hence he was in hopes that Luther would apply for no safe-conduct, but entrust himself entirely to his mercy.

Serra Longa offered to accompany Luther before the Legate, but the reformer told him of the advice of his Augsburg friends to procure a safe-conduct. "Beware of asking anything of the sort," replied Serra Longa quickly, "you have no need of it whatever. The Legate is well disposed toward you, and quite ready to end the affair amicably. If you ask for a safe-conduct, you will spoil

all." "My gracious lord, the elector of Saxony," replied Luther, "recommended me to several honorable men in this town. They advise me not to venture without a safe-conduct: I ought to follow their advice. Were I to neglect it, and anything should befall me, they would write to the Elector, my master, that I would not hearken to them." Luther persisted in his resolution; and Serra Longa was obliged to return to his employer, and report to him the failure of his mission, at the very moment when he fancied it would be crowned with success.

The agents of the Cardinal, who was exceedingly desirous to get Luther into his power without a safe-conduct, soon renewed their importunities. "The Cardinal," said they, "sends you assurances of his grace and favor: why are you afraid?" And they endeavored by every possible argument to persuade him to wait upon the Legate. "He is so gracious, that he is like a father," said one of these emissaries. But another, going close up to him, whispered, "Do not believe what they say. There is no dependence to be placed upon his words." Luther persisted in his resolution. On the morning of Monday, the 10th of October, Serra Longa again renewed his persuasions. The courtier had made it a point of honor to succeed in his negotiations. The moment he entered, he asked in Latin, "Why do you not go to the Cardinal? He is expecting you in the most indulgent frame of mind. With him the whole question is summed up in six letters—REVOCA—*retract.* Come, then, with me; you have nothing to fear."

Luther thought within himself that those were six very important letters: but, without further discussion, he replied, "As soon as I have received the safe-conduct I will appear." Serra Longa lost his temper at these words. He persisted—he brought forward additional reasons for compliance. But Luther was immovable. The Italian courtier, still irritated, exclaimed, "You imagine, no doubt, that the Elector will take up arms in your favor, and risk, for your sake, the loss of the dominions he inherits from his ancestors." "God forbid!" replied Luther. "When all forsake you," asked the Italian, "where will you then take refuge?" "Where?" said Luther, *smiling and looking upwards with the eye of faith,* "UNDER HEAVEN!" Serra Longa was struck dumb by this sublime and unexpected reply; he soon left the house, leaped into his saddle and visited Luther no more.

§ 87.—Having soon after obtained his safe-conduct, Luther appeared before the Legate. On entering the room where the Cardinal was waiting for him, Luther found him accompanied by the apostolical nuncio and Serra Longa. His reception was cool, but civil: and, according to Roman etiquette, Luther, following the instructions of Serra Longa, prostrated himself before the Cardinal; when the latter told him to rise, he knelt; and when the command was repeated, he stood erect. Several of the most distinguished Italians of the Legate's household entered the room, in order to be present at the interview, impatient to see the German monk humble him-

Luther's first appearance before the Cardinal Legate.

self before the Pope's representative. The Legate was silent. He expected, says a contemporary, that Luther would begin his recantation. But Luther waited reverently for the Roman Prince to address him. Finding, however, that he did not open his lips, he understood his silence as an invitation to open the business, and spoke as follows:—"Most worthy father, upon the summons of his Holiness the Pope, and at the desire of my gracious Lord, the elector of Saxony, I appear before you, as an humble and obedient son of the Holy Christian Church; and I acknowledge that it was I who published the propositions and theses that are the subject of inquiry. I am ready to listen with all submission to the charges brought against me, and, if I am in error, to be instructed in the truth."

The Cardinal, who had determined to assume the tone of a kind and compassionate father towards an erring child, answered in the most friendly manner, commended Luther's humility, and expressed the joy he felt on beholding it, saying:—"My dear son, you have filled all Germany with commotion by your dispute concerning indulgences. I hear that you are a doctor well skilled in the Scriptures, and that you have many followers; if, therefore, you wish to be a member of the church, and to have in the Pope a most gracious lord;—listen to me." After this exordium, the Legate did not hesitate to tell him all that he expected of him, so confident was he of his submission: "Here," said he, "are three articles which, acting under the direction of our most holy Father, pope Leo X., I am to propose to you:—First, you must return to your duty; you must acknowledge your faults, and retract your errors, your propositions, and sermons. Secondly, you must promise to abstain for the future from propagating your opinions. And, thirdly, you must engage to be more discreet, and avoid everything that may grieve or disturb the church." "Most worthy father," replied Luther, "I request to be permitted to see the Pope's brief, by virtue of which you have received full power to negotiate this affair."

§ 88.—Serra Longa and the rest of the Italians of the Cardinal's train were struck with astonishment at such a demand, and although the German monk had already appeared to them a strange phenomenon, they were completely disconcerted at so bold a speech. Christians familiar with the principles of justice desire to see them adhered to in proceedings against others or themselves; but those who are accustomed to act according to their own will are much surprised when required to proceed regularly and agreeably to form and law. "Your demand, my son," replied Cajetan, "cannot be complied with. You have to acknowledge your errors; to be careful for the future what you teach; not to return to your vomit; so that you may rest without care and anxiety; and then, acting by the command and on the authority of our most holy father the Pope, I will adjust the whole affair." "Deign then," said Luther, "to inform me wherein I have erred."

Points which the Legate required Luther to yield.

At this request, the Italian courtiers, who had expected to see the poor German fall upon his knees and implore mercy, were still more astonished than before. Not one of them would have condescended to answer so impertinent a question. But the Legate, who thought it scarcely generous to crush this feeble monk by the weight of all his authority, and trusted, moreover, to his own learning for obtaining an easy victory, consented to tell Luther what he was accused of, and said:—"My beloved son. there are two propositions put forward by you, which you must, before all, retract: 1st, 'The treasure of indulgences does not consist of the merits and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ;—2dly, the man who receives the holy sacrament must have faith in the grace offered to him.'"

Both these propositions did indeed strike a death-blow at the commerce of Rome. If the Pope had not power to dispose at will of the Saviour's merits,—if, on receiving the paper in which the brokers of the church traded, men did not acquire a portion of that infinite righteousness,—this paper currency lost its value, and men would count it no better than a mere rag. And thus also with the sacraments. The indulgences were, in some sense, an extraordinary branch of commerce with Rome; the sacraments made part of her ordinary traffic. The revenue they yielded was by no means small. But to assert that faith was necessary to make them productive of any real benefit to the soul of the Christian, was to rob them of their attraction in the sight of the people. For faith is not in the Pope's gift; it is beyond his power, and can come from God alone. To declare its necessity was, therefore, to snatch from the hands of Rome both the speculation and the profits attached to it. In assailing these two doctrines, Luther had followed the example of Christ himself. In the very beginning of his ministry, he had overturned the tables of the money-changers, and driven the dealers out of the temple. "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandize." Cajetan continued: "I will not bring forward the authority of St. Thomas, and the other scholastic doctors, to confute these errors; I will rest entirely on the Holy Scriptures, and speak to you in perfect friendship."

§ 89.—Nevertheless, when he proceeded to bring forward his proofs, he departed from the rule he had laid down. He combated Luther's first proposition by an *Extravagance* or *Constitution* of pope Clement; and the second, by all sorts of opinions from the scholastic divines. The discussion turned at its outset upon this constitution of the Pope in favor of indulgences. Luther, indignant at hearing what authority the Legate attributed to a decree of Rome, exclaimed: "I cannot receive such constitutions as sufficient proofs on subjects so important. For they wrest the Holy Scriptures, and never quote them to the purpose."

"The Pope," said the Legate, "has authority and power over all things." "Save the Scriptures," replied Luther with some warmth.

"Save the Scriptures!" exclaimed Cajetan. "Do not you know

Luther declares he cannot and will not yield those points. Cajetan's wish to send him to Rome.

that the Pope is higher than the Councils, for he has recently condemned and punished the council of Basil."

After some further discussion, Luther declared in relation to one of the articles in dispute, "If I yielded anything there, I should be denying Christ. I cannot, therefore, and will not yield that point, but by God's help will hold it to the end." Cardinal Cajetan could hardly restrain his temper at this bold and decisive declaration, and exclaimed with some warmth, "Whether you will or will not, you *must* this very day retract that article, or else for that article alone, I will proceed to reject and condemn all your doctrine." "I have no will but the Lord's," boldly declared Luther. "He will do with me what seemeth good in his sight. But had I a hundred heads, I would rather lose them all than retract the testimony I have borne to the holy Christian faith."

"I am not come here to argue with you," said Cajetan. "Retract, or prepare to endure the punishment you have deserved." Luther clearly perceived that it was impossible to end the affair by a conference. His adversary was seated before him as though he himself were Pope, and required an humble submission to all that he said to him, whilst he received Luther's answers, even when grounded on the holy Scriptures, with shrugs, and every kind of irony and contempt. Having, therefore, shown a disposition to withdraw: "Do you wish," said the Legate to him, "that I should give you a safe-conduct to repair to Rome?" Nothing would have pleased Cajetan better than the acceptance of this offer. He would thus have got rid of an affair of which he began to perceive the difficulties, and Luther and his heresy would have fallen into the hands of those who would have known how to deal with them. But the reformer, who was sensible of the dangers that surrounded him even at Augsburg, took care to refuse an offer that would have delivered him up, bound hand and foot, to the vengeance of his enemies. He rejected the proposal as often as Cajetan chose to repeat it: which he did several times. The Legate concealed the chagrin he felt at Luther's refusal; he assumed an air of dignity, and dismissed the monk with a compassionate smile, under which he endeavored to hide his disappointment, and at the same time, with the politeness of one who hopes to have better success another time.

§ 90—After two other interviews with the Legate, of which the first may be regarded as a specimen, Luther saw that his powerful opponent would listen to no argument from Scripture, and would be satisfied with nothing short of an unconditional retraction. A rumor, moreover, reached him that if he did not retract, he was to be seized and thrown into a dungeon. When the Imperial counsellors, through the Bishop of Trent, had informed the Legate that Luther was under the protection of the Emperor's safe-conduct, he had passionately replied, "Be it so, but I shall do what the Pope enjoins me." We have already seen that the Pope's orders were to secure his person, detain him in safe custody, and bring him as a

prisoner to Rome. (See page 451.) His friends advised him, before the opportunity might be irrevocably lost, to return from Augsburg. They knew Cajetan well enough to be satisfied that he would scruple at no means to get Luther into his power, and the lessons of Constance had taught them how little an emperor's safe-conduct might avail with popish moralists to save a victim from the flames. They suspected that the Legate might be even then in communication with the Emperor to induce him to revoke or to violate his safe-conduct.

§ 91.—For these reasons they advised Luther to seize the opportunity of returning to Wittemberg, and he followed their advice. They advised him to take every possible precaution, fearing, that if his departure were known, it might be opposed. He followed their directions as well as he could. A horse, that Staupitz had left at his disposal, was brought to the door of the convent. Once more he bids adieu to his brethren: he then mounts and sets out, without a bridle for his horse, without boots or spurs, and unarmed. The magistrate of the city had sent him as a guide, a horseman, who was well acquainted with the roads. This man conducts him in the dark through the silent streets of Augsburg. They direct their course to a little gate in the wall of the city. One of the counsellors, Langemantel, had ordered that it should be opened to him. He is still in the Legate's power. The hand of Rome is still over him; doubtless, if the Italians knew that their prey was escaping, the cry of pursuit would be raised:—who knows whether the intrepid adversary of Rome may not still be seized and thrown into prison? . . . At last Luther and his guide arrive at the little gate:—they pass through. They are out of Augsburg; and putting their horses into a gallop, they soon leave the city far behind them. Luther urged his horse and kept the poor animal at full speed. He called to mind the real or supposed flight of John Huss, the manner in which he was overtaken, and the assertion of his adversaries, who affirmed that Huss having, by his flight, annulled the Emperor's safe-conduct, they had a right to condemn him to the flames. However, these uneasy feelings did not long occupy Luther's mind. Having got clear from the city where he had spent ten days under that terrible hand of Rome which had already crushed so many thousand witnesses for the truth, and shed so much blood,—at large, breathing the open air, traversing the villages and plains, and wonderfully delivered by the arm of the Lord, his whole soul overflowed with praise. He might well say: "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. Our help is in the name of God, who made heaven and earth." Thus was the heart of Luther filled with joy. But his thoughts again reverted to De Vio: "The Cardinal," thought he, "would have been well pleased to get me into his power and send me to Rome. He is, no doubt, mortified that I have escaped from him. He thought he had me in his clutches at Augsburg. He thought he held me fast; but he was holding an eel by the tail. Shame that

these people should set so high a price upon me! They would give many crowns to have me in their power, whilst our Saviour Christ was sold for thirty pieces of silver."

Luther reached Wittemberg on the 30th of October, and found on his arrival, that the disappointed Legate had written a letter to the Elector, breathing vengeance against the "contemptible monk" that had escaped him, and earnestly entreating Frederick to send him as a prisoner to Rome, or at least to banish him from his territories. The Elector refused to deliver up Luther to the tender mercies of Rome, and the Reformer appealed from the decision of the Pope to a General Council. This appeal was made at Wittemberg, in the chapel of Corpus Christi, on the 28th of November, 1518.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER STRIKES AT THE THRONE OF ANTI-CHRIST. THE BREACH MADE IRREPARABLE.

§ 92.—Pope Leo dispatched another legate, Charles Miltitz, to Germany, who, warned by the result of Cajetan's mission, tried the effect of mildness, persuasion and guile; and his courtly and crafty entreaties so far availed, as to induce Luther, on the 3d of March, 1519, to write to the Pope a respectful epistle, declaring that though he could not retract his doctrines, he would "not seek to weaken, either by force or artifice, the power of the Roman church or of his Holiness." We are to remember, however, that the light burst upon Luther's mind only by degrees. Though he had attacked with all his might the popish doctrine of indulgences and human merits, yet he had not learned, as he afterwards did, that the anti-Christian power which originated and gave to those indulgences all their efficacy, was itself a hideous usurpation, which must be struck down by the lightning of God's holy word.

Not long afterward, the light on this subject dawned gradually on his mind. He studied the *decretals* of the Popes, and the discoveries he made, materially modified his ideas. He wrote to Spalatin—"I am reading the *decretals* of the pontiffs, and, let me whisper it in your ear, I know not whether the Pope is anti-Christ himself, or whether he is his apostle; so misrepresented, and even crucified, does Christ appear in them."

At length a challenge from the scholastic Doctor Eck upon the question of the primacy of Rome brought Luther to the bold avowal of the truth he had by this time discovered, contained in the following thesis—"It is by contemptible decretals of Roman pontiffs, com-

posed hardly four centuries ago, that it is attempted to prove the primacy of the Roman church;—but arrayed against this claim are eleven centuries of credible history, the express declarations of Scripture, and the conclusions of the Council of Nice, the most venerable of all the councils."

§ 93.—Eck and Luther met as combatants at Leipsic, and the public disputation between them commenced on the 4th of July. The subject was the primacy of the Pope. "The doctor," said Eck, "requires of me a proof that the primacy of the church of Rome is of *divine right;* I find that proof in the words of Christ—'*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church.*' St. Augustine, in one of his epistles, has thus explained the meaning of the passage—'Thou art Peter, and on this rock, that is to say, on Peter, I will build my church.' It is true, that Augustine has elsewhere said, that by this rock we must understand Christ himself, but he has not retracted his first explanation."—"If the reverend doctor," replied Luther, "brings against me these words of St. Augustine, let him himself first reconcile such opposite assertions. For certain it is, that St. Augustine has repeatedly said, that the rock was Christ, and hardly once that it was Peter himself. But even though St. Augustine and *all* the Fathers should say that the Apostle is the rock of which Christ spake, I would, if I should stand alone, deny the assertion—supported by the authority of the Holy Scripture—in other words by divine right—for it is written, '*Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, even Christ Jesus.* Peter himself calls Christ *the chief-corner stone, and living rock, on which we are built up, a spiritual house.*"

It was during this discussion that Luther ventured publicly to speak with approval of some of the doctrines of Wickliff and Huss, in the following words—"Among the articles of John Huss and the Bohemians, there are some that are most agreeable to Christ. This is certain; and of this sort is that article: 'There is only One church universal;' and again: 'That it is not necessary to salvation that we should believe the Roman church superior to others.' It matters little to me whether Wickliff or Huss said it. It is Truth." These words produced an immense sensation on the audience. Some expressed aloud their feelings at the temerity of a monk, in a Catholic assembly, speaking with respect of Wickliff and Huss, those execrable heresiarchs, whom the church had condemned, anathematized and burned.

Luther did not give way to this burst of murmurs. "Gregory Nazianzen," continued he, with noble calmness, "Basil the Great, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and a great many other Greek bishops, are saved; and yet they never believed that the church of Rome was superior to other churches. It does not belong to the Roman pontiffs to add new articles of faith. There is no authority for the believing Christian but the Holy Scripture. It, alone, is of divine right. I beg the worthy Dr. Eck to grant me that the Roman pontiffs have been men, and not to speak of them as if they were Gods."

Horror produced among the monks by the heresies of Luther. Ulric Zwingle, the Swiss reformer

As a proof of the horror produced among the blinded adherents of Rome, by the bold assertions of Luther, it is related that during this dispute at Leipsic, Luther one Sunday entered the church of the Dominicans just before high mass. There were present only a few monks, who were going through the earlier masses at the lower altars. As soon as it was known in the cloister that the heretic Luther was in the church, the monks ran together in haste, caught up the *remonstrance*, and, taking it to its receptacle, carefully shut it up, lest the holy sacrament should be profaned by the impure eyes of the Augustin of Wittemberg. While this was doing, they who were reading mass collected together the sacred furniture, quitted the altar, crossed the church, and sought refuge in the sacristy, as if, says a historian, the devil himself had been behind them.

§ 94.—At length pope Leo, who for some time had been too much occupied with intrigues relative to the election of an Emperor to succeed the deceased Maximilian, to concern himself very much about the progress of the growing heresy, awoke to the importance of striking a decisive blow. Accordingly, on the 15th of June, 1520, he issued his bull of condemnation against Luther, anathematizing his doctrines and his books, and commanding the latter to be collected and burnt wherever they could be found. In the opinion of Dr. Merle, Luther, courageous as he was, would, even after the disputation of Eck, have been silent if Rome herself had kept silence, or shown any desire to make concessions. But God had not allowed the reformation to be dependent on the weakness of man's heart; Luther was in the hands of One whose eye penetrated results. Divine providence made use of the Pope to break every link between the past and the future, and to throw the reformer into a course altogether unknown, and leading he knew not whither. The Papal bull was Rome's bill of divorce addressed to the pure church of Jesus Christ in the person of one who was then standing as her humble but faithful representative; and the church accepted it, that she might thenceforward hold only from her Head who is in heaven.

Whilst at Rome, the condemnation of Luther was sought for with violent animosity, an humble priest, an inhabitant of one of the rude towns of Switzerland, who never had any intercourse with the reformer, had been deeply affected at the thought of the blow which hung over him, and whilst even the intimates of the doctor of Wittemberg were silent and trembling, this Swiss mountaineer formed the resolution to do his utmost to arrest the dreaded bull! His name was Ulric Zwingle. The Swiss priest dreaded the consequences to the church of so severe a blow struck at Luther. He labored hard to induce a papal nuncio in Switzerland, who was his friend, to employ all his influence with Leo to deter him from excommunicating Luther. "The dignity of the holy See itself is concerned in it," said he, "for if things come to such a pass, Germany, enthusiastically attached to the Gospel and its teacher, will

be sure to treat the Pope and his anathemas with contempt." The effort was unavailing, and it appears that, even at the time it was made, the blow was already struck. Such was the first occasion on which the path of Luther and that of Zwingle were so ordered as to meet together.

§ 95.—In the bull of Leo against Luther he thus invokes the prince of the apostles, "Arise, O Peter! remember thy holy Roman church, mother of all the churches, and mistress of the faith. Arise, O Paul! for a new Porphyry is here, attacking thy doctrines and the holy popes, our predecessors. Finally, arise, O assembly of all the saints! holy church of God! and intercede for us with God Almighty." "As soon as this bull shall be published," continues the Pope, "the bishops are to search diligently for the writings of Martin Luther in which these errors are contained, and to burn them publicly and solemnly in the presence of the clergy and of the laity. As to Martin himself, what is there, in the name of Heaven, that we have not done? Imitating the goodness of God Almighty, we are ready, notwithstanding, to receive him again into the bosom of the church; and we allow him sixty days to forward to us his recantation in writing, attested by two prelates; or, rather (which would be more satisfactory), to present himself before us in Rome, that none may any more doubt his obedience. In the meantime, he must from this moment cease preaching, teaching and writing, and commit his works to the flames. And if he do not recant within the space of sixty days, we, by these presents, sentence himself and his adherents as open and contumacious heretics."

Luther quailed not before those papal thunders, which for centuries had made the mightiest monarchs tremble on their thrones. On the 6th of October he published his famous tract on the Babylonian captivity of the church. He commences this work by ironically stating all the advantages for which he is indebted to his enemies. "Whether I will or no," says he, "I learn more and more every day, urged on as I am by so many celebrated masters. Two years ago I attacked indulgences; but with such faltering indecision that I am now ashamed of it. It, however, is not to be wondered at; for then I had to roll forward the rock by myself." He then returns thanks to Doctor Eck and to his other adversaries. "I denied," he continues, "that the Papacy was from God, but admitted that it stood by human right. But now, after having read all the subtleties on which these worthies set up their idol, I know that *Papacy is nothing but the reign of Babylon*, and the violence of the mighty hunter Nimrod. I therefore request all my friends, and all booksellers, that they will burn the books I have before written on this subject, and in their stead substitute this single proposition:—'*The Papacy is a general chase, led by the Bishop of Rome, and having for its object the snaring and ruining of souls.*'"

Luther concludes this fearless attack upon the popish Babylon as follows: "I hear that new papal excommunications have been concocted against me. If this be so, this book may be regarded as *a*

part of my future 'recantation.' The rest will follow shortly, in proof of my obedience; and the whole will, by Christ's help, form a collection such as Rome has never yet seen or heard of."

§ 96.—On the 10th of December following, Luther took the final step which rendered reconciliation impossible. On that day a placard was affixed to the walls of the university of Wittemberg. It contained an invitation to the professors and students to repair at the hour of nine in the morning to the east gate, beside the Holy Cross. A great number of doctors and youths assembled, and Luther, putting himself at their head, led the procession to the appointed spot. A scaffold had already been erected. One of the oldest among the Masters of Arts soon set fire to it. As the flames arose, Luther drew nigh, and cast into the midst of them the Canon Law, the Decretals, the Clementines, the Extravagants of the popes, and a portion of the works of Eck and of Emser. When these books had been reduced to ashes, Luther took the Pope's bull in his hand, held it up, and said aloud: "Since thou hast afflicted the Lord's Holy One, may fire unquenchable afflict and consume thee!" and thereupon he threw it into the flames. He then with much composure bent his steps toward the city, and the crowd of doctors, professors and students, with loud expressions of applause, returned to Wittemberg in his train. "The Decretals," said Luther, "are like a body whose face is as fair as a virgin's; but its limbs are forceful as those of the lion, and its tail is that of the wily serpent. In all the papal laws, there is not a single word to teach us what Jesus Christ truly is." "My enemies," he said again, "by burning my books, may have disparaged the truth in the minds of the common people, and occasioned the loss of souls; for that reason I have burned their books in my turn. This is a mighty struggle but just begun. Hitherto I have been only jesting with the Pope. I entered upon this work in the name of God;—He will bring it to a close without my aid, by his own power. If they dare to burn my books —of which it is no vain boast to say that they contain more of the Gospel than all the Pope's books put together,—I may with far better reason burn theirs, which are wholly worthless." By this act, the daring reformer distinctly announced his separation from the Pope and the papal church. He now accepted the excommunication which Rome had pronounced. He proclaimed in the face of Christendom that between him and the Pope there was war even to the death. Like the Roman who burned the vessels that had conveyed him to the enemy's shore, he left himself no resource but to advance and offer battle. After this, there could be no peace with Rome.

§ 97.—On the 3d of January, 1521, Leo issued his final bull of excommunication against Luther. The former had given him opportunity to retract within a limited time; in this, the sentence was definitively pronounced, and Luther declared an incorrigible heretic, fitted only for destruction. Aleander and Caraccioli were appointed legates of the Pope, and after unsuccessfully using every possible

The papal legates permitted by the Emperor to burn Luther's books, but not to burn him.

persuasion with the Elector, to employ against the reformer the secular arm, they busied themselves everywhere throughout the empire in collecting his writings and publicly committing them to the flames. To these measures, the papal legates had obtained the consent of the young emperor Charles V.; but after all, Aleander cared little about books or papers—Luther himself was the mark he aimed at. "These fires," he remarked again, "are not sufficient to purify the pestilential atmosphere of Germany. Though they may strike terror into the simple-minded, they leave the authors of the mischief unpunished. We must have an imperial edict sentencing Luther to death." Aleander found the Emperor less compliant when the reformer's life was demanded, than he had shown himself before, when his books alone were attacked. "Raised as I have been so recently to the throne, I cannot," said Charles, "without the advice of my counsellors, and the consent of the princes of the empire, strike such a blow as this against a faction so numerous and so powerfully protected. Let us first ascertain what our father, the elector of Saxony, thinks of the matter; we shall then be prepared to give our answer to the Pope." The legates, therefore, renewed their applications to Frederick, but that humane and honorable-minded prince shuddered at the thought of delivering up the courageous Luther to the fate of Huss and of Jerome.

At length, for the first time, the Elector by his counsellors publicly declared his intentions with regard to Luther. He stated to the papal nuncios that "neither his imperial majesty nor any one else had yet made it appear to him that Luther's writings had been refuted, or demonstrated to be fit only for the flames; that he demanded, therefore, that doctor Luther should be furnished with a safe-conduct, and permitted to answer for himself before a tribunal composed of learned, pious, and impartial judges." In reply to this, said the arrogant Aleander, "I should like to know what would the Elector think, if one of his subjects were to appeal from his judgment to that of the king of France, or some other foreign sovereign." But, perceiving at last that the Saxon counsellors were not to be wrought upon, "We will execute the bull," said he; "we will pursue and burn the writings of Luther. As for his person," he added, affecting a tone of disdainful indifference, "the Pope has little inclination to imbrue his hands in the blood of the unhappy wretch." Thus did the legates of Rome vainly attempt to conceal their mortification and chagrin, that their expected prey had escaped out of their hands.

CHAPTER IX.

LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS, AND IN HIS PATMOS AT WARTBURG.

§ 98.—A GRAND diet of the empire was about to be held, at which the Emperor and all the princes of Germany would be present. Aleander received directions to attend it, and to demand, on the part of his master, the employment of the secular arm for the suppression of the rising heresy. The Diet of Worms was opened January 6, 1521. A more splendid assembly has been scarcely ever held. The nobles of Germany were anxious to do honor to the court of their young Emperor, and to testify their dutiful regards. They vied with each other in the costliness of their equipments, and the number and rank of their attendants. It seemed as if the wealth of the empire had been collected together at one place for proud display. The occasion, too, was unusually interesting and important. In addition to political affairs of pressing urgency, the state of religion called for anxious deliberation. The cry for reform was heard on every hand. All saw that the disease required prompt attention; but none knew what means to suggest, while danger was daily increasing. Aleander, the papal nuncio, was true to his master's interests. On his arrival at Worms he exerted himself to the utmost to procure the immediate condemnation of Luther. He would have had him proscribed and put to the ban of the empire, that his party might be crushed by one vigorous blow. But this was found to be impracticable. The reformer's opinions had taken too deep root to be easily plucked up. Some even talked of taking the whole matter out of the Pope's hands, and referring the decision to impartial judges, chosen by the principal potentates of Europe. Aleander was perplexed and enraged. Still he persevered, sometimes applying to the Emperor, sometimes to his ministers and other members of the diet, among whom he scattered profusely large sums of money intrusted to him by the court of Rome. At length he succeeded, by force of bribes and intrigue, in obtaining permission to address the assembled diet. He appeared before them on the 13th of February, and spoke for three hours in a strain of impassioned eloquence, describing Luther as a monster of iniquity, whose crimes ought to be visited with the utmost severity of the laws.

Aleander had hoped to obtain his condemnation without giving him an opportunity to reply; but much to the chagrin of the Legate, the reformer was summoned to the diet, that he might in person avow or retract the opinions imputed to him, and be dealt with accordingly. With the summons an ample safe-conduct was transmitted, guaranteeing his security in going and returning; signed, not only by the Emperor, but also by those princes through whose States it would be necessary for him to travel. For this precaution he was indebted to the elector of Saxony, who knew the men with

whom he had to deal, and positively refused to allow the reformer to leave Wittemberg without that security. This was another mortification to Aleander, who was fully prepared to act over again the iniquity of the infamous council of Constance, which caused Huss to be seized and burned, notwithstanding the assurance given for his safety. The popish Nuncio was, however, compelled to submit to the decision of the diet, which he did with as good a grace as possible.*

§ 99.—Strenuous efforts were employed to prevent Luther from appearing at Worms. His friends trembled for his safety and his life. His enemies dreaded (what some of them had already witnessed) his reasoning, eloquence, and knowledge of the scriptures, so superior to their own. The papal party tempted him with the hope of an amicable adjustment: the advocates of truth sought to excite his apprehensions. All their efforts failed. "Tell your master," he said to a messenger from Spalatin, "that THOUGH THERE SHOULD BE AS MANY DEVILS IN WORMS AS THERE ARE TILES ON THE ROOFS OF THE HOUSES, I WOULD GO!"

Uninfluenced by persuasions and undaunted by threats, Luther entered Worms on the 16th of April. The day after his arrival he was summoned to attend the diet. On the morning of that day his soul had endured unwonted depression, almost amounting to anguish. But in his distress he sought the Lord with strong crying and tears, and was graciously heard. Peace returned, and holy, undaunted courage again filled his spirit. He cheerfully attended the officer who was appointed to conduct him to the hall of audience. He reached the place with some difficulty, so great was the crowd that thronged every avenue, in eager curiosity to see the man whose fame had spread throughout Germany, and on whom the thunders of the Vatican had hitherto fallen harmlessly. At length he stood before the august assembly. The Emperor occupied the throne. Next to him sat his brother, the arch-duke Ferdinand. Six electors of the empire were present; twenty-four dukes; eight margraves; thirty prelates; seven ambassadors; the deputies of ten free cities; princes, counts and barons; the papal nuncios; in all, two hundred and four noble and illustrious personages. The countenances of many betrayed deep inward concern and anxiety. Luther had held communion with God, and enjoyed "perfect peace." On the table was laid a collection of his writings. He was asked whether he acknowledged them as his productions, and whether he was prepared to retract the opinions they contained. To the first question he answered in the affirmative. To the second he replied that the question was very serious and important, and ought not to be answered without due consideration, lest he should in any way

* See a compendious, but deeply interesting history of the "Reformation in Europe, by the author of the Council of Trent" (Rev. J. M. Cramp), chap. iii., sect. 3, a work which may be profitably read by those whose time would forbid the more diffuse and circumstantial, but thrilling narrative of D'Aubigné.

Luther refuses to retract his writings. His noble and memorable protestation.

injure the cause of truth; he asked, therefore, for a brief delay. So reasonable a request could not be refused.

Next day he appeared again. The questions were repeated. Luther then addressed the assembly. He had acknowledged, he said, the books on the table to be his. Their contents differed much from each other. In some, he had treated of faith and works, unmasking the errors of the age; he could not retract them without treachery to the Gospel. A second class consisted of writings in which he had exposed the enormous corruptions and abuses of the papacy; these were so notorious, and had been so long and so justly the subjects of loud complaint in Germany, that it would be worse than folly to suppress the works in which they were held up to public reprobation. In the third place, he had in some of his books attacked individuals who had advocated existing evils; and he was willing to confess (for he could not pretend to be free from fault) that he had sometimes written with unbecoming violence: yet he could not retract the sentiments advanced in those writings, because such a course would encourage the enemies of the truth, and embolden them in their opposition. Wherefore he prayed that instead of persisting in the demand for retractation, the diet would take measures to convince him, from the Scriptures, of his error. As soon as he should be convinced, he would immediately acknowledge it. "You have not answered the question," said the chancellor of the archbishop of Treves, to whom the management of this part of the business was intrusted. "A clear and express reply is required. Will you or will you not retract?" The reformer's answer was worthy of him. "Since your most serene majesty, and the princes, require a simple answer, I will give it thus: *unless I shall be convinced by proofs from Scripture, or by evident reason* (for I believe neither in popes nor in councils, since they have frequently erred and contradicted themselves), *I cannot choose but adhere to the word of God, which has possession of my conscience. Nor can I possibly, nor* WILL *I ever make any recantation, since it is neither safe nor honest to act contrary to conscience.* HERE I TAKE MY STAND; I CANNOT DO OTHERWISE. GOD BE MY HELP! AMEN."

§ 100.—This speech made a deep impression. The Emperor himself was struck with admiration. "If you will not retract," resumed the chancellor, "the Emperor and the States of the empire will see what ought to be done with an obstinate heretic." "God be my help," rejoined Luther; "I can retract nothing." He then withdrew, leaving the diet in deliberation. When he was called in again, another effort was made. His appeal to Scripture was treated with contempt, since he had revived errors which had been condemned by the council of Constance; as if the authority of the council of Constance were superior to that of the word of God! In conclusion, the chancellor said, "The Emperor commands you to say simply, yes or no, whether you mean to maintain whatever you have advanced, or whether you will retract a part?" "I have no other answer to give than what I have already given," replied

The popish enemies of Luther seek in vain to induce the Emperor to violate his safe-conduct.

the courageous reformer In spite of the persuasions or menaces of his opposers, he persisted in this noble determination. In reply to the entreaties of the archbishop of Treves, who labored hard to induce him to submit to the diet—"I will put my person and my life in the Emperor's hands," said he; "but the word of God—never!" He claimed for every Christian the right of private judgment; if he consented to a council, it would only be on condition that the council should be compelled to judge according to Scripture.

Protracted debates followed. Some counselled the violation of the safe-conduct, and urged the Emperor to seize Luther, and put him to death. But the high-minded princes of Germany scorned the base proposal. Charles himself, bigoted as he was, revolted at it. "If good faith were banished from the whole earth," he exclaimed, "it ought still to find refuge in the courts of kings." At length, the adversaries of the reformer saw that it was useless to labor longer with him to induce him to submit, and other measures must be adopted. Efforts were made by some of Luther's bitterest popish adversaries, but without success, to induce the Emperor, like his predecessor Sigismund, to violate his safe-conduct, and to leave Luther, as Sigismund had left Huss, to the tender mercies of the church; and it was in reply to these suggestions, that Charles uttered that expression already mentioned in the account of the cruel and treacherous murder of Huss, "*I should not like to blush like Sigismund.*" (See page 402.)

On the 25th of April, the chancellor, Doctor Eck, Luther's former antagonist at Leipsic, attended by the chancellor of the Empire, and a notary, presented themselves. The Chancellor addressed him as follows:—"Martin Luther, his Imperial Majesty, the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, having repeatedly and in various ways,—but in vain,—exhorted you to submission,—the Emperor, in his character of defender of the Catholic faith, finds himself compelled to resort to other measures. He therefore orders you to return to whence you came, within the space of twenty-one days, and prohibits you from disturbing the public peace on your journey, either by preaching or writing."

§ 101 —If Charles V. had too much regard for his word to violate his safe-conduct to Luther, it was not because he favored either the reformer or his doctrines. He was willing to take any other step, to oblige the Pope and his emissaries, and to put a stop, if possible, to the rising heresy. At the instigation of Aleander, he issued an edict, the draft of which was prepared by the papal Legate himself, placing Luther under the *ban* of the empire, and threatening the same to all who should favor or protect him. The nature of this sentence will be best explained by the following extract from the decree:—"We, Charles the Fifth, &c., to the Electors, Princes, Prelates, and to all to whom these presents may come. . . . The Augustin monk, Martin Luther, regardless of our exhortations, has madly attacked the holy church, and attempted to destroy it by writings full of blasphemy. . . . In a word, and passing over many

other evil intentions, this being, who is no man, but Satan himself under the semblance of a man in a monk's hood, has collected in one offensive mass, all the worst heresies of former ages, adding his own to the number. . . . We have, therefore, dismissed from our presence this Luther, whom all reasonable men count a madman, or possessed by the devil; and it is our intention that, so soon as the term of his safe-conduct is expired, effectual measures be forthwith taken to put a stop to his fury. . . . For this end, and on pain of incurring the penalty of treason, *we hereby forbid you to receive the said Luther from the moment when the said term is expired, or to harbor or to give him meat or drink*, or by word or act, publicly or in private, to aid or abet him. We further enjoin you to seize, or cause him to be seized, wherever he may be, and to bring him before us without delay, or hold him in durance until you shall be informed how to deal with him, and have received the reward due to your co-operation in this holy work. . . . As to his adherents, you are enjoined to seize upon them, putting them down, and confiscating their property. . . . And if any one, whatever may be his rank, should dare to act contrary to this decree of our Imperial Majesty, we command that he be placed under the ban of the Empire. LET EACH ONE OBSERVE THIS DECREE."

§ 102.—In the meanwhile, Luther had left Worms, and after spending a day or two on his way at his native village, at Eisenach, was on the road to Wittemberg, accompanied by Amsdorff and his brother James. They skirted the woods of Thuringen, taking the path that leads to Waltershausen. As the wagon was passing a narrow defile near the ruined church of Glisbach, a short distance from the castle of Altenstein, suddenly a noise was heard, and in a moment, five horsemen, masked and armed from head to foot, fell upon them. His brother James, as soon as he caught sight of the assailants, jumped from the wagon, and fled as fast as he could, without uttering a word. The driver would have resisted. "Stop," cried a hoarse voice, and instantly one of the attacking party threw him to the earth. Another of the masks grasped Amsdorff, and held him fast. While this was doing, the three horsemen laid hold on Luther, maintaining profound silence. They forced him to alight, and throwing a knight's cloak over his shoulders, set him on a led horse that they had with them. This done, the two other masks let go Amsdorff and the wagoner, and the whole five sprang into their saddles. One dropped his cap, but they did not stop to recover it; and in the twinkling of an eye, the party and their prisoner were lost in the thick gloom of the forest. At first they took the direction of Broderode; but they rapidly changed their route, and without quitting the forest, rode first in one direction and then in another, turning their horses' feet to baffle any attempt to track their course. Luther, little used to riding, was soon overcome with fatigue. His guides permitted him to stop for a few instants. He rested on the earth beside a beech tree, and drank some water from a spring which still bears his name. His brother

James, continuing his flight from the scene of the rencounter, reached Waltershausen that evening. The driver, hastily throwing himself into the wagon, in which Amsdorff had already mounted, galloped his horse at full speed, and conducted Luther's friend to Wittemberg. At Waltershausen, at Wittemberg, in the open country, the villages and towns on the route, the news spread that Luther was carried off. Some rejoiced at the report, but the greater number were struck with astonishment and indignation,—and soon a cry of grief resounded throughout Germany—"Luther has fallen into the hands of his enemies!"

§ 103.—These apprehensions, however, were groundless. The abduction of Luther was planned by his friends and protectors, with the concurrence of the elector Frederick, and, as some suppose, with the connivance even of the Emperor himself, who, notwithstanding his desire to court the favor of the Pope, and to uphold the religion of Rome, might yet have been unwilling to incur the indignation of Germany by delivering up Luther to the flames. Be this as it may; without doubt, the hand of God was visible in thus providing his faithful servant with a retreat from the rage of his bloodthirsty enemies. When the emperor Charles was induced to issue his edict against Luther, doubtless his popish adversaries thought that the victory was theirs. Like Haman glutting his eyes with the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai, Aleander and his associates were, doubtless, feasting their imaginations with the expected destruction of the reformer and the reformation. But God had other designs. Popery must be robbed of its prey, and his faithful servant must have leisure and retirement to continue his bold exposure of the mother of harlots, and above all, to give the New Testament, from which he had learned the doctrines he preached, to the Germans in their native tongue. These objects were accomplished by his mysterious but providential abduction.

The place to which Luther was conducted by his mysterious guides was the lofty and isolated castle of *Wartburg*, an ancient residence of the landgraves of Thuringen. They took away his ecclesiastical habit, attiring him in the knightly dress prepared for him, and enjoining him to let his beard and hair grow, that no one in the castle might know who he was. The attendants of the castle of Wartburg were to know the prisoner only by the name of knight George. Luther scarcely recognized himself under his singular metamorphosis. Left at length to his meditations, he had leisure to revolve the extraordinary events that had befallen him at Worms, the uncertain future that awaited him, and his new and strange abode.

During the ten months of the reformer's captivity, the knight George was not idle. In the castle of Wartburg, Luther composed works which mightily tended to shake the Romish power in Germany. Auricular confession, private masses and monastic vows, were the themes on which his resistless eloquence was employed. He held them up to the indignant reprobation of men, and satisfac-

Translates the New Testament. Returns to Wittemberg. Dies peacefully on his bed.

torily proved that they are alike opposed to the word of God and to Christian freedom. But his greatest work was the translation of the New Testament into the German language. That also was executed at Wartburg. It is the noblest monument of his genius, and was the most precious gift that Germany had yet received. The volume was published in September, 1522, and was received with gratitude and joy by those who loved the truth; but it was denounced, vilified, and in many places publicly burned by the bigoted Romanists.

§ 104.—At length, Luther left his retreat, and arrived at Wittemberg, on the 6th of March, 1522, where he was joyfully received by his beloved Melancthon, and other fellow-laborers in the work of reformation, and immediately resumed his former labors with acceptance and success. The imperial edict had proved as harmless against him as the papal bulls, and notwithstanding his being placed under the ban of the empire, by which all were forbidden to give him food or shelter, and authorized to seize his person wherever he might be found, no one presumed to molest him. There seemed to be a shield of divine protection continually around him, and on it inscribed in characters which made even his popish enemies to falter, "TOUCH NOT MINE ANOINTED, AND DO MY PROPHET NO HARM."

The history of the remaining years of Luther's life, of the rapid progress of his opinions in Germany, France, Switzerland, and England, and other countries; of the diets of Nuremburg, Spires, and Augsburg, and the protest of the reformers against the decisions of Spires,* seem to belong rather to a history of the Reformation than of Romanism. It will be sufficient here to add, that in spite of all the rage of his adversaries, Luther continued for nearly a quarter of a century after his return from his *Patmos* (as he was accustomed to call it) at Wartburg, to advocate those doctrines for which he had made so noble a stand before the crowned and mitred heads of the diet at Worms, and with redoubled energy to expose the abominations, and attack the corruptions of apostate Rome. Luther died peacefully and triumphantly in his bed on the 18th of February, 1546, in the sixty-third year of his age,† and the

* In the year 1526, a diet of the empire had been held at Spires, which granted liberty to the reformers of holding their opinions till a general council, notwithstanding the clamors of the popish party for the execution of the edict of Worms, against Luther and his friends. In 1529, a second diet was held at Spires, in which the popish party triumphed. The decisions of the former diet of Spires were revoked, and the mass was ordered to be restored to the churches. Against this decree, the reformers entered their solemn *protest*, and from this circumstance were called PROTESTANTS.

† For some few years before his death, Luther had suffered much from disease. His popish enemies hoped every day he would die, and about a year before his death, a pamphlet was published at Naples, to inform the world that Luther was dead, and giving the particulars of his end. In this ebullition of popish malignity, it was asserted that Luther had spent his time in gluttony and drunkenness, and blaspheming the Pope; that upon the approach of death he had received the sacra-

anti-Christian church of Rome never has, and *never can*, recover from the blow struck by the German reformer, till the voice of prophecy is fulfilled and the triumphant shout of the angel of the Revelation is heard, "BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN."

§ 105.—Contemporary with the great reformer, another remarkable individual, but of an entirely opposite character, appeared in Spain, and five years previous to the death of Luther, succeeded in establishing a Society which exerted a mighty influence on behalf of the papacy in after generations, the celebrated order of the *Jesuits*. This was IGNATIUS LOYALA, who was born in 1491, and was consequently eight years younger than Luther. In early life, Loyala was a soldier and a warrior, infected with all the vices that are so common in camps. At about the age of thirty, he received a severe wound in the leg, at the siege of Pampeluna, in the war between the emperor Charles V., and the French king, Francis I. During the lingering sickness which ensued upon this wound, he employed himself in reading books of romance and chivalry, and the lives of the Saints, till combining the two ideas of chivalry and devotion to the Virgin, he resolved to become a knight errant in the cause of "our Blessed Lady."

Full of this idea he arose from his bed an altered man. The soldier had become a Saint. He betook himself to study, self-mortification and penance. He journeyed to Italy, to Jerusalem, and there, on the spot, where Christ was crucified, claimed to have received from the Saviour himself, a revelation, that he should found

ment, and immediately died; but the consecrated wafer had leaped out of the stomach of the arch-heretic, and to the astonishment of all beholders, remained suspended in the air (!); that the morning after he was buried, the tomb was found empty, but such an intolerable smell, and such an odor of burnt brimstone came from it, that it made everybody sick who came near it, whereupon many fearing the Devil would in like manner come and steal their dead bodies out of their graves, repented and joined the Catholic church!! A copy of this pamphlet was sent to Luther by the Landgrave of Hesse, with which the reformer was very much amused, and in reply, only expressed his joy that "the Devil and his crew," the Pope and the papists, hated him so heartily.

Luther died during a visit to his native village of Eisleben. About the last words he uttered were, "O, heavenly father, although this body is breaking away from me, and I am departing from this life, yet I certainly know I shall for ever be with thee, for no one can pluck me out of thy hand." Dr. Jonas said to him, "Most beloved father, do you still hold on to Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer?" His fading countenance once more brightened, his clear blue eyes sparkled with intelligence, and he replied, in a distinct and thrilling tone, "O yes!" These were the last words he was heard to utter. An affecting incident occurred just as he breathed his last. One of the old men of the village in attendance, who, nearly sixty years before, had often carried the favorite little Martin to school in bad weather, forgetting in that moment the mighty reformer, and thinking only of the friend of his aged heart, putting his withered face to the cheek of the departed Luther, and his arm across his bosom, exclaimed in the plaintive notes of his childhood, "Martin, dear Martin, do speak to me once more!" But there was no reply. The mighty spirit had fled, and Luther was in the presence of that Saviour whom he had ardently loved and faithfully served. (*See an interesting article on the last days and death of Luther, in the Biblical Repository and Classical Review for April*, 1845, *from the pen of the Rev. Professor Stowe. D. D.*)

a new order, to be called "The Society of Jesus." Returning home, he was joined by Lainez (the second general of the order), Francis Xavier, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez, and Le Fevre; and in 1534 these seven united in recording their solemn vow at the altar of St. Denys, in the city of Paris. Six years afterwards (A. D. 1540), a bull was granted by Pope Paul III., sanctioning the order of the Jesuits, granting to the members the most ample privileges, and appointing Ignatius Loyola the first general of the order, with almost despotic power over its members. In return, Ignatius and his followers were to render unlimited obedience to the Pope, and to hold themselves in readiness, at a moment's notice, to go to any part of the world to advance the interests and to promote the designs of the Holy See; and the wily pontiff was too sagacious not to perceive the immense value of such an army of obedient soldiers to fight his battles in all parts of the world, since the terrible blow inflicted on the papacy by the efforts of Luther and his associates, in the work of reformation. Thus was originated a society which has filled a large share in the history of the world for the last three centuries, and which, after passing through many reverses, still exists; an ever-active and almost omnipresent instrument of papal despotism; the secret, insinuating, but ever-watchful and vigilant foe to freedom, civil or religious, and to the pure and unadulterated gospel of Christ.

§ 106.—The following parallel between Luther and Ignatius Loyala, from the pen of Damianus, a bigoted papist, one of the first historians of the Jesuits, may be regarded, considering the source whence it proceeds, as the highest possible eulogium upon the German reformer It is taken from the "Synopsis Historiæ Societ. Jes.," printed in 1640: "In the same year, 1521, Luther, moved by a consummate malice, declared war openly against the church: Ignatius, wounded in the fortress of Pampeluna, having become better, and, as it were, stronger, from his wound, raised the standard in defence of religion.———Luther attacks the See of St. Peter, with insults and blasphemies: Ignatius, as if to undertake his cause, is miraculously cured by St. Peter.———Luther, subdued by rage, ambition, and lust, quits a religious life: Ignatius, eagerly obeying the call of God, changes from a profane to a religious life.——— Sacrilegious Luther contracts an incestuous marriage with a holy virgin of God: Ignatius binds himself by a vow of perpetual continency.———Luther contemns all the authority of his superiors: the first precepts of Ignatius, full of Christian humility, are to submit and obey.———Luther declaims like a fury against the Holy See: Ignatius everywhere supports it.———Luther draws as many from it as he can: Ignatius conciliates and brings back as many to it as he can.———All Luther's studies and enterprises are directed against it: Ignatius, by a special vow, consecrates his labors, with those of his associates, to it.———Luther detracts from the veneration and worship of the sacred rites of the church: Ignatius maintains all veneration for them.———The sacrifice of the mass, the

eucharist, the mother of God, the tutelary saints, the indulgences of the pontiffs, and the things attacked by Luther with such fury, were objects which the industry of Ignatius and his companions was eagerly and continually employed in seeking new modes of celebrating.———To this Luther, the disgrace of Germany, the hog of Epicurus, the destroyer of Europe, the accursed portent of the universe, the abomination of God and men, etc.———God, in his eternal wisdom, opposed Ignatius."*

* As the reader may be gratified to see the identical words of this remarkable effusion of popish bigotry, the original Latin is subjoined. "Eodem anno vigesimo-primo, adulta jam nequitia, palam ecclesiæ bellum indixit Lutherus: læsus in Pampelonensi arce Ignatius, alius ex vulnere, fortiorque quasi defendendæ religionis signum sustulit.———Lutherus Petri sedem probris, convitiisque lacessere aggreditur: Ignatius quasi ad suscipiendam causam, a S. Petro prodigiose curatur.———Lutherus ira, ambitione, libidine victus, a religiosa vita discessit: Ignatius Deo vocante impigre obsecutus, a profana ad religiosam transit.——— Lutherus cum sacra Deo virgine incesta nuptias init sacrilegas: perpetuæ continentiæ voto se adstringit Ignatius.———Lutherus omnem superiorum contemnit auctoritatem: prima Ignatii monita sunt, plena christianæ demissionis, subesse et parere.———In sedem apostolicam, furentis in morem, declamat Lutherus: illam ubique tuetur Ignatius.———Ab ea quotquot potest Lutherus avertit: quotquot potest conciliat, reducitque Ignatius.———Adversus illam minentur omnia Lutheri studia atque conatus: Ignatius suos suorumque labores peculiari voto illi consecrat.———Lutherus sacris ecclesiæ ritibus venerationem, cultumque detraxit: Ignatius omnem illis reverentiam asserit.———Missæque sacrificio, eucharistiæ, Dei paræ, tutelaribus divis, et illis, tanto Lutheri furore impugnatis, pontificum indulgentiis; in quibus novo semper invento celebrandis Ignatii sociorumque desudat industria.———Luthero illo Germaniæ probro, Epicuri porco, Europæ excitio, orbis infelici portento, Dei atque hominum odio, etc., æterno consilio Deus opposuit Ignatium." (*Damianus Hist. Soc. Jes.*—Lib. i. Diss. vi., p. 18.)

BOOK VII.

POPERY AT TRENT.

FROM THE OPENING SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, A. D. 1545, TO THE CLOSING SESSION, A. D. 1563.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST FOUR SESSIONS. PRELIMINARIES, AND DECREE UPON THE AUTHORITY OF TRADITION AND THE APOCRYPHA.

§ 1.—At the time of Luther's death, the fathers of Trent had just commenced the celebrated council, called at that city by pope Paul III., partly with the professed design of promoting a reform of the abuses in the church, and of the morals and manners of the clergy, which was so loudly demanded; but chiefly for the purpose of rooting out the Lutheran heresy; and, in opposition to the doctrines of the German reformers, of stating and defining with more exactitude and precision than ever before, the *doctrines* of the Romish church. The opening session of the council of Trent was held on the 13th of December, 1545, and the closing session was not held, till the month of December, 1563 (after several suspensions and intermissions), about eighteen years from its commencement. The council of Trent is the last general council ever held by the Romish church, and consequently the very highest source of authority as to the present doctrines and character of Romanism. In the present chapter we shall give a synopsis of the most remarkable doctrinal decrees of the different sessions of this celebrated council.*

* The principal original authorities for the history of the council of Trent, are, (1) The History of the council of Trent, by Father *Paul Sarpi*, a learned Romanist, born at Venice, in 1552, and died in 1623, aged 71. The work was first printed at London, in Italian, in 1619, and in Latin in 1620. The English edition which I have used, "translated out of Italian by a person of quality," is that of London, 1676. The work of Father Paul was regarded by the Pope as too favorable to protestants, and he was called by some "a protestant in a friar's frock."

(2.) The History of the council of Trent by cardinal *Sforza Pallavicini*, who was born in 1607, and died in 1667, aged 60, a bigoted papist, written in opposition to that of Father Paul. The evident partiality and bigotry of Pallavicini render him an unsafe guide, but his work may be profitably read, in connection with

Question whether to begin with doctrine or discipline. Popery too corrupt to be reformed.

§ 2.—About the commencement, an important question arose, whether the fathers should begin with the subject of *doctrine* or of *discipline;* whether they should first, for the sake of guarding the church against the growing Lutheran heresy, discuss and accurately define the doctrines which every true son of the church must receive; or whether, in compliance with the demands that reached them from every quarter, they should proceed at once to the reformation of the notorious abuses in the church, and to enact laws to restrain the acknowledged immorality and profligacy of the clergy. The emperor Charles, by his representatives and advocates in the council, contended earnestly for the latter course, maintaining that the reformation of the ecclesiastics would be the fittest means of reclaiming men from heretical depravity. The Pope had already determined on the former, and had instructed his legates to use all their influence to settle the matters of doctrine, before they turned their attention to matters of reform. If this course had been fully adopted, years would doubtless have been exclusively occupied in *splitting hairs* and framing decrees on doctrinal subjects, and probably the subject of reform, so much dreaded by a corrupt Pope and priesthood, have been crowded out altogether.

As it was, the influence of the Emperor's party was sufficient to secure a compromise of this question, by the adoption of a plan proposed by the bishop of Feltri, that some subject of doctrine, and some subject of reform or discipline, should be decided in each session of the council.*

Every effort was employed by the Pope and his legates to defeat important measures of reform; and the little that was done on this head during the whole session of the council, is scarcely worthy of mention. The fact is that Popery had become a mass of moral corruption—far too corrupt indeed to admit of a radical reform, without demolishing the whole system; and the insignificant attempts at reform made during the council, in matters relative to pluralities of benefices, intrusions of mendicant monks, &c., &c., were like attempting to cure a human body covered all over with ulcers from the mass of corruption within by sticking a square half inch of court-plaster upon one or two of the sores. Nothing effec-

that of Father Paul. The best edition is that of Rome, two vols., folio, 1656. For an able dissertation on the comparative merits of Sarpi and Pallavicini, see Ranke's history of the Popes, appendix, section ii., pp. 437–448.

(3.) A translation of Father Paul's work into French, in two volumes, folio, with copious and valuable notes, reviewing the criticisms and cavils of Pallavicini, by *Pierre F. Courayer*, a French divine, who was born in 1681, and died in 1776, aged 95. The title of this valuable performance is, "Histoire du Concile de Trente, traduite de nouveau en Francois avec des Notes Critiques, Historiques, et Theologiques par Pierre F. le Courayer, D.D." 1736.

The most valuable *accessible* history of the council of Trent, drawn from accurate original sources, with care and skill, is that of the Rev. J. M. Cramp, a work which I cannot recommend too highly, and to which I would take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations in the present division of my work.

* Pallavicini, book vi., chap. 7, sec. 6—8.

Ceremonies of opening. Indulgences promised to all who should pray for the council.

tual could be done with Popery by way of reformation, but by displacing tradition and papal dictation from the throne, and restoring the Bible to its proper place, as the only rule of faith and discipline; and this would have been at once to overturn, from the very foundation, the whole fabric, and to establish in its stead the doctrine and discipline of Luther and the reformation.

The decrees of the council of Trent, therefore, are chiefly useful as being the most correct and authoritative exposition of what Popery was in the Trentine age, and what it still continues to be. Passing over the decrees on discipline, which are of very little importance, we shall proceed to cite the most important portions of the decrees on doctrines, accompanied with such historical and explanatory remarks as may be necessary to a clear understanding of the whole. The portions of the decrees cited will be in the original Latin as well as in English, to guard against that hacknied resort of Romanists, the charge of inaccurate translation. The original Latin of the decrees is copied from the first edition, printed at Rome in 1564.

§ 3.—First Session.—This was held, as already remarked, on the 13th of December, 1545. Three legates had been appointed to preside in the name of the Pope—the cardinals De Monte, Santa Croce and Pole. Of these, De Monte was the president. Much pomp and religious solemnity were exhibited on the occasion of the opening of the council. The legates, accompanied by the cardinal of Trent, four archbishops, twenty-four bishops, five generals of orders, the ambassadors of the king of the Romans, and many divines, assembled in the church of the Trinity, and thence went in procession to the cathedral, the choir singing the hymn Veni Creator. When all were seated, the cardinal De Monte performed the mass of the Holy Ghost; at the end of which he announced a *bull of indulgences* issued by the Pope, promising *full pardon of sin* to all who in the week immediately after the publication of the bull in their respective places of abode should fast on Wednesday and Friday, receive the sacrament on Sunday, and join in processions and supplications for a blessing on the council. A long discourse followed, delivered by the bishop of Bitonto. After this, the Cardinal rose and briefly addressed the assembly; the accustomed prayers were offered, and the hymn Veni Creator again sung. The papal bull authorizing their meeting was then produced and read; and a decree was unanimously passed,* declaring that the sacred and general council of Trent was then begun—for the praise and glory of the holy and undivided Trinity—the increase and exaltation of true religion—the extirpation of heresy—the peace and union of the Church—the reformation of the clergy and Christian people—and the destruction of the enemies of the Christian name. The Pope adopted decisive measures to secure his authority, and prevent all intermeddling with

* The members of the council signified their assent by the word *placet* (it pleaseth), and their dissent by *non placet* (it doth not please.)

A popish bishop declares that laymen have "nothing to do but to hear and submit."

his prerogative. He appointed a congregation or committee of cardinals to superintend the affairs of the council, watch its proceedings, and aid him with their advice. The legates were instructed to begin with the discussion of disputed doctrines and to treat the reformation of abuses as a matter of secondary moment; notes were to be taken and transmitted to him, of any observations relative to his court, the reform of which he reserved for himself. To all letters and documents his own name and those of the legates were to be prefixed, that it might appear that he was not only the author, but also "the head and ruler" of the council:* and he appointed the secretary and other necessary officers without consulting the fathers, or permitting them to exercise their undoubted right of election.

§ 4.—THE SECOND SESSION was held January 7th, 1546, and was chiefly consumed in discussions as to the style to be adopted by the council, and the order of the future proceedings, whether they should commence with doctrine or discipline. Several of the members of the council desired the insertion of the words "representing the universal church." In the debate which ensued, the bishop of Feltri observed, that if the clause were admitted, the Protestants would take occasion to say, that since the church is composed of two orders, the clergy and the laity, it could not be fully represented if the latter were excluded. To this the bishop of St. Mark replied, that the laity could not be termed the church, since, according to the canons, they had only to obey the commands laid upon them; that one reason why the council was called was, to decide that *laymen ought to receive the faith which the church dictated, without disputing or reasoning;* and that consequently the clause should be inserted, to convince them that *they were not the church, and had nothing to do but to hear and submit!* It was finally agreed to employ the words *œcumenical* and *universal* in the designation of the council.

§ 5.—THE THIRD SESSION was celebrated February 4th, 1546, and nothing was done, except to adopt as a decree of the council and to repeat the Nicene creed. It was objected by some that it would be very ridiculous to hold a session for the purpose of repeating a creed 1200 years old, and which was universally believed; that it would be of no service against the Lutherans, who received it as well as themselves; and that the heretics would take occasion to say, and with good reason, that if that creed contained the faith of the church, they ought not to be compelled to believe anything else. Many of the fathers could not help expressing their discontent, and were heard complaining to one another as they left the assembly, that the negotiations of twenty years had ended in coming together to repeat the belief!

§ 6.—THE FOURTH SESSION was celebrated on the 8th of April, 1546, and was one of the most important sessions of the council.

* Pallavicini, Lib. v., cap. 16, sec. 2.

The Council places Tradition on a level with Scripture. So do the Puseyites—*note.*

In this session, a decree was passed which *placed tradition upon an equality with the Scriptures—declared the books of the Apocrypha to be a part of the word of God—elevated the Latin translation of the Scriptures called the Vulgate, to an authority superior to that of the inspired Hebrew and Greek originals, and enacted severe penal laws against the liberty of the press.* The decree passed at this session was divided into two parts:—(1.) Of the Canonical Scriptures; (2.) Of the Edition and Use of the Sacred Books. In quoting from this decree I shall, for the sake of order and perspicuity, prefix headings in italics.

Tradition declared of equal authority with the Scripture.

Sacro-sancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitimè congregata, præsidentibus in ea eisdem tribus Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis, hoc sibi perpetuò ante oculos proponens, ut sublatis erroribus, puritas ipsa Evangelii in Ecclesia conservetur: quod promissum antè per Prophetas in Scripturis sanctis, Dominus noster Jesus Christus Dei Filius, proprio ore primùm promulgavit; deindè per suos Apostolos, tanquàm fontem omnis et salutaris veritatis, et morum disciplinæ, omni creaturæ prædicari jussit: perspiciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ab ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis, Spiritu sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt; orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam veteris quàm novi Testamenti, cùm utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, necnon traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquàm vel receptas à Christo, vel à Spiritu sancto dictatas, et continuâ successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit, et veneratur.

The sacred, holy, œcumenical and general council of Trent, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, the three before mentioned legates of the Apostolic See presiding therein; having constantly in view the removal of error and the preservation of the purity of the gospel in the church, which gospel, promised before by the prophets in the sacred Scriptures, was first orally published by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who afterwards commanded it to be preached by his apostles to every creature, as the source of all saving truth and discipline; and perceiving that this truth and discipline are contained BOTH IN WRITTEN BOOKS AND IN UNWRITTEN TRADITIONS, which have come down to us, either received by the apostles from the lip of Christ himself, or transmitted by the hands of the same apostles, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit; following the example of the orthodox fathers, *doth receive and reverence, with* EQUAL PIETY AND VENERATION, *all the books*, as well of the Old as of the New Testament, the same God being the author of both—AND ALSO THE AFORESAID TRADITIONS, pertaining both to faith and manners, whether received from Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit and preserved in the Catholic church by continual succession.

This placing of uncertain Tradition upon an equality with the Sacred Scriptures is still, of course, the doctrine of Rome, and may be regarded as the grand distinguishing point between Popery and Protestantism. He who receives a single doctrine as matter of faith upon the mere unsupported authority of tradition, so far occupies the popish ground defined in the above decree.*

* That the Puseyite unites with the Romanist is occupying this popish ground, see the proofs adduced above, page 67, and also the valuable work of Bishop M'Ilvaine upon the Oxford divinity, pp. 307—315.

Canon of Scripture adopted by the council, including the apocryphal books.

§ 7.—*The Apocryphal books placed on a level with the inspired Scriptures.*

Sacrorum verò librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit; ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint, qui ab ipsa Synodo suscipiuntur. Sunt verò infrà scripti: Testamenti veteris, quinque Moysis, id est, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium; Josue, Judicum, Ruth, quatuor Regum, duo Paralipomenon, Esdræ primus, et secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias, Tobias, Judith, Hester, Job, Psalterium Davidicum centum quinquaginta psalmorum, Parabolæ, Ecclesiastes, Canticum canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Isaïas, Jeremias cum Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, duodecim Prophetæ minores, id est, Osea, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias; duo Machabæorum, primus et secundus. Testamenti novi, quatuor Evangelia, secundùm Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam et Joannem; Actus Apostolorum à Luca Evangelista conscripti: quatuordecim Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli; ad Romanos, duæ ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, duæ ad Thessalonicenses, duæ ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebræos; Petri Apostoli duæ, Joannis Apostoli tres, Jacobi Apostoli una, Judæ Apostoli una, et Apocalypsis Joannis Apostoli

Moreover, lest any doubt should arise respecting the sacred books which are received by the council, it has been judged proper to insert a list of them in the present decree.

They are these: of the OLD TESTAMENT, the five books of Moses,—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; Joshua; Judges; Ruth; four books of Kings; two books of Chronicles; the first and second of Esdras, the latter is called Nehemiah; *Tobit; Judith;* Esther; Job; the Psalms of David, in number 150; the Proverbs; Ecclesiastes; the Song of Songs; *Wisdom; Ecclesiasticus;* Isaiah; Jeremiah, with *Baruch;* Ezekiel; Daniel; the twelve minor Prophets,—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and *two books of Maccabees*, the first and second. Of the NEW TESTAMENT, the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts of the Apostles written by the Evangelist Luke; fourteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul,—to the Romans, two to the Corinthians, one to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, two to Thessalonians, to Timothy, one to Titus, to Philemon, and to the Hebrews; two of the Apostle Peter; three of the Apostle John; one of the Apostle James; one of the Apostle Jude; and the Revelation of the Apostle John.

Thus did the apostate church of Rome add unto the inspired word of God, a series of books, the writers of which lay no claim to inspiration, and which possess no higher title to that distinction than the Metamorphoses of Ovid, or the forged popish decretals of Isidore; thus subjecting itself to the curse pronounced in the Apocalypse, upon such as presume to add to the word of God: "For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." (Rev. xxii., 18.)

§ 8.—The motives of the papists in giving these apocryphal books a place in the canon of Scripture, are abundantly evident from the use which they make of them in establishing some of their unscriptural doctrines and practices. Yet so entirely opposed are the passages usually cited for this purpose to the whole tenor of the *inspired* word of God, as to be sufficient, of themselves, were there

no other arguments, to prove that they are not inspired. Two or three instances of this only can be given.

(1.) The Apocrypha teaches, as do the papists, that a man can justify himself and make atonement for his sins by his own works: the inspired word of God ascribes justification and atonement wholly to the merit of Christ's righteousness, and the efficacy of his sufferings.

Apocryphal Texts.—Says one of these writers: "The just, which have many good works laid up with thee, shall *out of their own deeds* receive reward." Tobit xii., 8, 9. "Prayer is good with fasting, and alms, and righteousness."———"*Alms doth deliver from death*, and *shall purge away all sins.* Those that exercise alms and righteousness shall be filled with life." Ecclus. iii., 3. "Whoso honoreth his father *maketh atonement for his sins.*" 30. "ALMS MAKETH ATONEMENT FOR SINS!" XXXV., 3. "To forsake unrighteousness is a propitiation."

Inspired Texts.—To show how entirely these texts are opposed to the inspired word of God, it will be sufficient to cite the following two as specimens of hundreds, teaching the same glorious doctrine. Rom. iii., 24, 25. "Being justified FREELY, BY HIS GRACE, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a PROPITIATION, through faith in his blood" Gal. ii., 16. "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: FOR BY THE WORKS OF THE LAW SHALL NO FLESH BE JUSTIFIED."

(2.) The apocryphal book of Maccabees teaches the popish practice of praying for the dead; which is opposed to the whole tenor of God's inspired word, and never once hinted at in a single passage of the old or the new Testament (2 Macc. xii., 43, 44). "And when he had made a gathering throughout the company, to the sum of 2000 drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin-offering, doing therein very well and honestly: for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, *it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.*"

(3.) But these apocryphal books are not only destitute of the slightest claim to inspiration, they are also *immoral*, and teach and commend practices plainly condemned in God's word. The bible condemns *suicide.* (Exodus xx., 13.) The book of Maccabees commends as noble and virtuous the desperate act of Razis, in falling upon his sword rather than suffering himself to be taken by the enemy (2 Macc. xiv., 41, &c). The bible condemns the *assassination* of the Shechemites, in language of just severity (Gen. xlix., 7). The Apocrypha highly commends this base and treacherous wholesale murder (Judith ix., 2, &c). The bible forbids and condemns *magical incantations* (Lev. xix., 26, and Deut. xviii., 10, 11, 14). The Apocrypha represents an angel of God as giving directions for such incantations, by the heart, liver, and gall of a fish (!) in a ludicrous

Silly apocryphal story of incantation by a fish's liver. Apocryphal books not in the ancient catalogue.

and contemptible story, fitter for the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, or the Adventures of Baron Munchausen, than for a book claiming to be a part of God's word (Tobit vi., 1–8). "And as they went on their journey they came to the river Tigris, and they lodged there; and when the young man went down to wash himself, a fish leaped out of the river, and would have drowned him. Then the angel said unto him, take the fish. And the young man laid hold of the fish and drew it to land. To whom the angel said, open the fish, and take the heart and the liver, and the gall, and put them up safely. So the young man did as the angel commanded him, and when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it. Then the young man said unto the angel, brother Azarias, to what use is the heart and the liver and the gall of the fish? And he said unto him, touching the heart and the liver, if a devil, or an evil spirit trouble any, we must make a smoke thereof before the man or the woman, and the party shall be no more vexed. As for the gall, it is good to anoint a man that hath whiteness in his eyes; he shall be healed." In the same book of Tobit, the angel that is introduced, is guilty of *wilful lying*, by representing himself as being a kinsman of Tobit (v. 12), and afterwards contradicting himself, by affirming that he is Raphael, one of the holy angels (xii., 17). It is unnecessary to refer to the silly fable of Bel and the dragon, the ark going after Jeremiah at the prophet's command (2 Macc. ii., 4), the story of Judith, &c., and the numerous contradictions and absurdities that are found in these books. It will be sufficient, in addition to the above, to show that the apocryphal books were never admitted into the canon of Scripture during the first four centuries, that the writers themselves lay no claim to inspiration, and that even popish authors, previous to the council of Trent, have admitted that they did not belong to the canon of scripture.

(4.) These apocryphal books are *not mentioned in any of the earliest catalogues of the sacred writings;* neither in that of Melito, Bishop of Sardis, in the second century,* nor in those of Origen,† in the third century, of Athanasius,‡ Hilary,§ Cyril of Jerusalem,‖ Epiphanius,¶ Gregory Nazianzen,** Amphilochius,†† Jerome,‡‡ Rufi-

* This catalogue is inserted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History, lib. iv., c. 26.

† Ibid., lib. vi., c. 25, p. 399.

‡ In his Festal or Paschal Epistle. See the extract in Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iv., pp. 282—285., 8vo.; vol. 2, pp. 399, 400, 4to.

§ Prolog. in Psalmos, p. 9. Paris, 1693. Lardner, vol. iv., p. 305, 8vo.; vol. ii., p. 413, 4to.

‖ In his Fourth Catechetical Exercise. Ibid., vol. iv., p. 299, 8vo.; vol. ii., p. 411, 4to.

¶ In various catalogues recited by Dr. Lardner, vol. iv., pp. 312, 313, 8vo; vol. ii., p. 409, 4to.

** Carm. 33. Op., tom. ii., p. 98. Ibid., vol. iv., pp. 407, 408, 8vo.; vol. ii., p. 470, 4to.

†† In Carmine Iambico ad Seleucum, p. 126. Ibid., p. 413, 8vo.; vol. ii., p. 473.

‡‡ In Præfat. ad Libr. Regum sive Prologo Galeato. Lardner, vol. v., pp. 16,

Never quoted by Christ and his apostles. Lay no claim themselves to inspiration.

nus,* and others of the fourth century; nor in the catalogue of canonical books recognized by the council of Laodicea,† held in the same century, whose canons were received by the Catholic church; so that, as Bishop Burnet well observes, "we have the concurring sense of the whole church of God in this matter."‡

(5.) These books were *never quoted, as most of the inspired books were, by Christ and his apostles.* They evidently formed therefore no part of that volume to which Christ and his apostles so often referred, under the title of Moses and the prophets. There is scarcely a book in the Old Testament, which is not quoted or referred to in some passage of the New Testament. Christ has thus given the sanction of his authority to Moses, and the Psalms, and the prophets; that is, to the whole volume of scripture which the Jews had received from Moses and the prophets; which they most tenaciously maintained as canonical: and which is known by us under the title of the Old Testament. But there was not one of the apocryphal books so acknowledged by the Jews, or so referred to by Christ and his apostles.

(6.) The authors of these books *lay no claim* to inspiration, and in some instances make statements utterly inconsistent therewith. The book of Ecclesiasticus, which, though not inspired, is superior to all the other apocryphal books, was written by one Jesus the son of Sirach. His grandfather, of the same name, it seems, had written a book, which he left to his son Sirach; and he delivered it to his son Jesus, who took great pains to reduce it into order; but he nowhere assumes the character of a prophet himself, nor does he claim it for the original author, his grandfather. In the prologue, he says, "My grandfather Jesus, when he had much given himself to the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom, to the intent that those which are desirous to learn, and are addicted to these things, might profit much more, in living according to the law. Wherefore let me entreat you to read it with favor and attention, and to pardon us wherein we may seem to come short of some words which we have labored to interpret. Farther, some things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them. From the eight and thirtieth year, coming into Egypt when Euergetes was king, and continuing there for some time, I found a book of no small learning: therefore I

17, 8vo.; vol. ii., p. 540, 4to., and also in several of his prefaces to other books, which are given by Dr. L., vol. v., pp. 17—22, 8vo.; or vol. ii., pp. 540—543, 4to.

* Expositio ad Symb., Apost. Lardner, vol. v., p. 75, 76, 8 vo.; vol. ii., p. 573, 4to.

† Can. 59, 60. Lardner, vol. iv., pp. 308, 309, 8vo.; vol. ii., pp. 414, 415, 4to. Besides Dr. Lardner, Bishop Cosin, in his Scholastical History of the Canon, and Moldenhawer (Introd. ad Vet. Test., pp. 148—154), have given extracts at length from the above mentioned fathers, and others, against the authority of the apocryphal books.

‡ On the Sixth Article of the Anglican church, p. 111. 6th edit.

thought it most necessary for me to bestow some diligence and travail to interpret it; using great watchfulness and skill, in that space, to bring the book to an end," &c. These avowals, as will be seen at a glance, are altogether inconsistent with the supposition that this modest and candid author wrote under the direction of inspiration.

The writer of the second book of the Maccabees professes to have reduced a work of Jason of Cyrene, consisting of five volumes, into one volume. Concerning which work, he says, "Therefore to us that have taken upon us this painful labor of abridging, it was not easy, but a matter of sweat and watching." Again, "leaving to the author the exact handling of every particular, and laboring to follow the rules of an abridgment. To stand upon every point, and go over things at large, and to be curious in particulars, belongeth to the first author of the story; but to use brevity, and avoid much laboring of the work, is to be granted to him that maketh an abridgment." "Is anything more needed to prove that this writer did not profess to be inspired? If there was any inspiration in the case, it must be attributed to Jason of Cyrene, the original writer of the history; but his work is long since lost, and we now possess only the abridgment which cost the writer so much labor and pains. Thus, I think it sufficiently appears, that the authors of these disputed books were not prophets; and that, as far as we can ascertain the circumstances in which they wrote, they did not lay claim to inspiration, but expressed themselves in such a way, as no man under the influence of inspiration ever did."* The author of this book concludes with the following words, which are utterly unworthy of a person writing by inspiration. "Here will I make an end. And IF I HAVE DONE WELL, AND AS IS FITTING THE STORY, IT IS THAT WHICH I DESIRED; BUT IF SLENDERLY AND MEANLY, IT IS THAT WHICH I COULD ATTAIN UNTO. For *as it is hurtful to drink* wine or *water alone;* and as wine mingled with water is pleasant, and delighteth the taste; even so speech finely framed delighteth the ears of them that read the story. And here shall be an end."

(7) There is one additional evidence at least, that this book is not inspired, to be drawn from the silly expression just quoted that "*it is hurtful to drink water alone.*" If there were no other proof, this single expression would be sufficient to show that God was not its author, especially since the investigations of total abstinence societies have proved that cold water alone, instead of being hurtful, is the most healthful beverage which can be used.†

* Alexander on the Canon, page 80.

† The above brief sketch of the evidences which prove that the books of the Apocrypha are uninspired, and therefore not a part of the sacred scriptures, would not have appeared in the present work, had it not been called for, by the fact that Romish priests are taking advantage of the general ignorance that prevails relative to the Apocrypha, to inculcate some of the unscriptural doctrines of their apostate church upon the authority of these books. In a recent course of popular lectures in defence of the doctrines of Popery in the city of New York, the preacher took

The curse against rejecters of tradition or the Apocrypha. Standard authors on the Apocrypha (*note*)

After attentively weighing the above evidences, that the apocryphal books possess not the slightest claim to be regarded as a part of God's word, let the reader peruse the following additional extract from the decree of the council of Trent.

The curse upon those who refuse to receive the apocryphal books as inspired, or who reject the authority of the traditions.

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit; et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall not receive, as sacred and canonical, all those books and every part of them, as they are commonly read in the Catholic Church, and are contained in the old Vulgate Latin edition, or shall knowingly and deliberately despise the aforesaid traditions; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

CHAPTER II.

FOURTH SESSION CONTINUED. LATIN VULGATE EXALTED ABOVE THE INSPIRED HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES. PRIVATE JUDGMENT AND LIBERTY OF THE PRESS FORBIDDEN, AND A POPISH CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS ESTABLISHED.

§ 9.—THE second part of the decree passed at the fourth session is entitled, "of the edition and use of the Sacred books," and as this decree authoritatively declares the present doctrine of the Romish church with respect to the Scriptures, I shall quote the largest part of it in three divisions, with appropriate headings.

as his text to establish the doctrine of prayers for the dead, evidently because he could not find one in God's inspired word, 2 Macc. xii., 43, 44, above cited. He might just as well, in the estimation of protestants, have taken a text from the history of Robinson Crusoe or Sinbad the Sailor. Yet many might be ensnared with the plausible train of remark; "If these books are not inspired," say the papists, "why have even protestants bound them up in their bibles?" And to this we can only reply—WHY INDEED? No consistent protestant should ever purchase a bible with the Apocrypha. Let booksellers, if they choose, publish these apocryphal books, and let readers purchase and read them as they would any other curious and ancient writings, but let them never be bound in the same volume with God's inspired word.

The reader who would examine still further the overwhelming evidences that the apocryphal books are uninspired and uncanonical, is referred to any or all of the following works:—Lardner's works, Vol. v.; Horne's Critical Introduction, Vol. i., Appendix No. v.; Alexander on the Canon. But especially the recent valuable work entitled, "The arguments of Romanists on behalf of the apocrypha, discussed and refuted by Professor Thornwall, of South Carolina College."

A mere human performance, and an imperfect one too, placed above God's inspired word.

The Latin Vulgate put in the place of the inspired Hebrew and Greek Scriptures as the only authentic word of God, from which all translations were therefore in future to be made, and to which all appeals were to be ultimately referred.

Insuper eadem sacro-sancta Synodus considerans non parùm utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur, sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, statuit, et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot seculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.

Moreover, the same most holy council, considering that no small advantage will accrue to the church of God, if of all the Latin editions of the Sacred Book which are in circulation, some one shall be distinguished as that which ought to be regarded as authentic—doth ordain and declare, that THE SAME OLD AND VULGATE EDITION which has been approved by its use in the church for so many ages, *shall be held as authentic*, in all public lectures, disputations, sermons, and expositions; and that *no one shall dare or presume to reject it, under any pretence whatsoever.*

Thus were the *ipsissima verba*, the very words, in the original Hebrew and Greek, which were dictated by the Holy Spirit, thrown aside by the council of Trent, and a mere human performance substituted in their place, viz., the Latin translation of Jerome, which many of the most learned Romanists have acknowledged to abound with errors. The learned Roman Catholic, Dr. Jahn, confesses that in translating the Scriptures into the Vulgate Latin, Jerome "did not invariably give what he himself believed to be the best translation of the original, but occasionally, as he confesses (*Præf. ad Com. in Eccles.*) followed the Greek translators, although he was aware that they had often erred through negligence, because he was apprehensive of giving umbrage to his readers by too wide a departure from the established version; and therefore we find that, in his commentaries, he sometimes corrects his own translation. Sometimes, too, he has substituted a worse in place of the old translation." In another place, Dr. Jahn adds as follows: "The universal admission of this version throughout the vast extent of the Latin church multiplied the copies of it, in the transcription of which it became corrupted with many errors. Towards the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, it was, at the command of Charlemagne, corrected by Alcuin from the Hebrew text. This recension was either not widely propagated, or was again infected with errors; for which reason Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1089, caused some copies to be again corrected. Nevertheless, cardinal Nicholas, about the middle of the twelfth century, found '*tot exemplaria quot codices*' (as many copies as manuscripts), and therefore prepared a correct edition."

In the year 1540, the celebrated printer, Robert Stephens, printed an edition of the Vulgate with the various readings of three editions and fourteen manuscripts. "This again," says Dr

The two *infallible* papal editions of the Vulgate with 2000 variations between them.

Jahn, "was compared by Hentenius with many other manuscripts and editions, and he added the various readings to an edition published at Louvain in 1547. This edition was frequently reprinted, and was published at Antwerp in 1580, and again in 1585, enriched with many more various readings, obtained by a new collation of manuscripts by the divines of Louvain."*

§ 10.—As the Vulgate was thus exalted by the council of Trent to the place of the inspired original, it was, of course, necessary to prepare an authorized edition of this Latin version on account of the innumerable variations in the different editions of the Vulgate issued previous to that time. To effect this object, pope Sixtus V. commanded a new revision of the text to be made, and corrected the proofs himself of an edition which was published at Rome in 1590, and proclaimed, by his *infallible* papal authority, to be the authentic and unalterable standard of Scripture.

It was very soon discovered, however, that this edition abounded with errors, though it had been accompanied by a bull, enjoining its universal reception, and forbidding the slightest alterations, under pain of the most dreadful anathemas.

The popish dignitaries thus found themselves in a most embarrassing predicament, and that whichever horn of the painful dilemma they choose, *if the facts only became known*, it would be equally fatal to themselves! Either this edition must be maintained as a standard with thousands of glaring errors, or infallibility must be shown to be *fallible*, by the correction of these errors. To make the best of a bad thing, the edition, as far as possible, was called in, and a more correct edition issued by pope Clement VIII. in 1592, accompanied by a similar bull. Happily for the cause of truth, the popish doctors were unable to effect an entire destruction of the edition of Sixtus. It is now exceedingly rare, but there is a copy of it in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and another in the royal library at Cambridge.

The learned Dr. James, who was keeper of the Bodleian library, compared the editions of Sixtus and Clement, and exposed the variations between the two in a book which he called, from the opposition between them, *Bellum Papale*, *i. e.* the *Papal War*. In this work Dr. James notices 2000 variations, some of *whole verses*, and many others clearly and decidedly contradictory to each other. Yet both editions were respectively declared to be authentic by the same plenitude of knowledge and power, and both guarded against the least alteration by the same tremendous excommunication.†

Dr. Jahn candidly relates the facts above named, and makes

* See Dr. Jahn's Introduction to the Old Testament, sect. 62, 64.

† For a full account of these two editions of the Vulgate, see Dr. Townley's illustrations of biblical literature, ii., 168, &c. For between thirty and forty specimens of these variations, between the two *infallible* editions, see a small work published by the present author in 1843, entitled "Defence of the protestant Scriptures against popish apologists for the Champlain Bible-burners," pp 45–48.

the following remarkable admission:—"The more learned Catholics have never denied the existence of errors in the Vulgate; on the contrary, Isidore Clarius collected EIGHTY THOUSAND." It is amusing to notice the embarrassment caused to this learned Romanist, by the decree of the council of Trent establishing the authority of the Vulgate. As a good Catholic he was bound to receive that decree, and yet his learning forbade him to blind his eyes to the errors of that version, elevated by the said decree to a higher stand than the original Hebrew and Greek text. The attempt of Dr. Jahn to explain the decree of the council of Trent, so as to reconcile it with his own enlightened views of the Latin Vulgate, exhibits an amusing specimen of ingenuity, and may be seen in his Introduction to the Old Testament, section 65.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the Rhemish Testament, Douay bible, and all other popish versions of the Scriptures are made (not from the original Hebrew and Greek, but) from the above imperfect Latin Vulgate version of Jerome; and as the stream cannot be expected to rise higher than the fountain, the errors of the Vulgate are perpetuated in all the translations made from it. True, even the Douay bible is better than none: but Romish priests are afraid to let even that be given to their blinded adherents without *notes* to prove that, wherever it condemns their anti-Christian system, it does not mean what it says. This, however, is in strict accordance with the council of Trent, which we shall see in the next extract forbids the right of private judgment.

§ 11.—*The right of private judgment in reading the Scriptures prohibited, and its exercise punished.* The next extracts which we shall quote from the decree, are as follows:—

Præterea, ad coërcenda petulentia ingenia, decernit, ut nemo, suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei, et morum, ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, sacram scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum, ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari audeat; etiam si hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquàm tempore in lucem edendæ forent. Qui contravenerint, per Ordinarios declarentur, et pœnis à jure statutis puniantur.

In order to restrain petulant minds, the council further decrees, that in matters of faith and morals and whatever relates to the maintenance of Christian doctrine, *no one, confiding in his own judgment, shall dare to wrest the sacred Scriptures to his own sense of them*, contrary to that which hath been held and still is held by holy mother church, whose right it is to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of Sacred Writ; or *contrary to the unanimous consent of the fathers;* even though such interpretations should never be published. *If any disobey, let him be denounced by the ordinaries, and* PUNISHED ACCORDING TO LAW.

§ 12.—*The liberty of the press authoritatively forbidden.*

Sed et Impressoribus modum in hac parte, ut par est, imponere volens, qui jam sine modo, hoc est, putantes sibi licere quidquid libet, sine licentia superiorum ecclesiasticorum, ipsos sacræ

Being desirous also, as is reasonable, of *setting bounds to the printers, who with unlimited boldness, supposing themselves at liberty to do as they please, print editions of the Holy Scriptures* with notes

The decree of the council enacting fines and penalties for exercising the liberty of the press.

Scripturæ libros et super illis annotationes, et expositiones quorumlibet indifferenter, sæpè tacito, sæpè etiam ementito prælo, et quod gravius est, sine nomine auctoris imprimunt; alibi etiam impressos libros hujusmodi temerè venales habent; decernit, et statuit, ut posthac sacra Scriptura, potissimùm verò hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quam emendatissimè imprimatur; nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere quosvis libros de rebus sacris sine nomine auctoris; neque illos in futurum vendere, aut etiam apud se retinere, nisi primùm examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario, sub pœna anathematis et pecuniæ in canone Concilii novissimi Lateranensis apposita. Et, si regulares fuerint, ultra examinationem, et probationem hujusmodi, licentiam quoque à suis superioribus impetrare teneantur, recognitis per eos libris, juxta formam suarum ordinationum. Qui autem scripto eos communicant, vel evulgant, nisi antea examinati, probatique fuerint, eisdem pœnis subjaceant quibus impressores. Et qui eos habuerint, vel legerint, nisi prodiderint auctores, pro auctoribus habeantur. Ipsa verò hujusmodi librorum probatio in scriptis detur, atque ideò in fronte libri, vel scripti, vel impressi, authenticè appareat: idque totum, hoc est, et probatio, et examen, gratis fiat: ut probanda probentur, et reprobentur improbanda.

and expositions taken indifferently from any writer, *without the permission of their ecclesiastical superiors*, and that at a concealed or falsely-designated press, and which is worse, without the name of the author—and also rashly expose books of this nature to sale in other countries; the holy council decrees and ordains, that for the future the sacred Scriptures, and especially the old Vulgate edition, shall be printed in the most correct manner possible; and no one shall be permitted to print, or cause to be printed any books relating to religion without the name of the author; *neither shall any one hereafter sell such books, or even retain them in his possession, unless they have been first examined and approved by the ordinary, under penalty of anathema*, AND THE PECUNIARY FINE ADJUDGED BY THE LAST COUNCIL OF LATERAN.* And if they be regulars, they shall obtain, besides this examination and approval, *the license of their superiors*, who shall examine the books according to the forms of their statutes. *Those who circulate or publish them in manuscript without being examined and approved, shall be liable to* THE SAME PENALTIES *as the printers; and those who possess or read them, unless they declare the authors of them, shall themselves be considered as the author.* The approbation of books of this description shall be given in writing, and shall be placed in due form on the title-page of the book, whether manuscript or printed; and the whole, that is, the examination and the approval, shall be gratuitous, that what is deserving may be approved, and what is unworthy may be rejected.

The above extracts from this decree need no comment. Let it be remembered that these prohibitions and penalties were enacted by the *last* general council of the Romish church, that they have never been repealed, that they are now enforced wherever Popery has the power to enforce them, and always will be, wherever that power shall be possessed. The proofs are abundant that Popery hates liberty of opinion and of the press, as much in the nineteenth century as she did in the sixteenth, when these laws were passed

* The decree of the council of Lateran here referred to, which was enacted in 1515, was to this effect; that no book whatever should be printed without examination and license by the bishop, his deputy, or an inquisitor; and that those who offended should forfeit the whole impression of the book printed, which should be publicly burnt, pay a fine of 100 ducats, be suspended from the exercise of their trade for one year, and lie under excommunication! (See above, p. 434.)

by the supreme authority of the church. As, however, we are about to transcribe the ten rules of the congregation of the index in relation to prohibited books, no comments are necessary. Those celebrated rules are an emphatic commentary upon the above cited decree.

§ 13.—The proceedings of the council—says Mr. Cramp (p. 57)—were carefully watched by the protestants. They quickly perceived that it was altogether under the control of the Pope, and would issue no enactment contrary to the established order of things at Rome. Several publications were sent forth, declaratory of their views and feelings, one of which was written by Melancthon. In these works, while they expressed their willingness to abide by the decisions of a council composed of learned and pious men, eminent for the fear and love of God, they positively refused to acknowledge the authority of the assembly at Trent. Their reasons were numerous and weighty. They objected to the presidency of the Pope, he being a party in the cause ; to the Romish prelates, the appointed judges, many of whom were ignorant and wicked men, and all of them declared enemies of the reformation, but especially to the rules of judgment laid down in connexion with Scripture, and treated with equal or greater deference—viz., tradition and the scholastic divines.

The friends of the departed Luther, who had just been gathered to his rest, the great champion of the Bible, were deservedly indignant that the council should place tradition on a level with the Scriptures, which they regarded as an act of daring impiety. They were surprised to hear, that several books which had ever been regarded as of doubtful authority, and had only received the sanction of some provincial councils and of two or three popes, should now, without examination, be ranked among the acknowledged productions of inspired men, and be made portions of the Sacred Volume. Nor were they less astonished and surprised at the decision respecting the Vulgate, in which that version, though confessed to abound with errors, was made the authoritative and sole standard of faith and morals, to the neglect of the original Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. Nor were the free spirits of the sixteenth century less indignant that so insignificant a company of priests and monks should endeavor, by restraining the liberty of the press, and appointing a censorship of popish priests, to crush the germ of inquiry, to strengthen the bonds which had held the nations so long, and to cast the mantle of ignorance over the population of a whole continent. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the protestants looked upon the council, not only with suspicion but disgust, and positively refused to submit to its authority or decrees.

During the continuance of the council, a committee was appointed, called the congregation of the index, whose duty it was to prepare an index of prohibited books. This index was not published till March 24, 1564, shortly after the adjournment of the council, by pope Pius IV., to whom it had been committed by the council. The

The ten rules of the index of prohibited books. These rules the present imperative laws of Romanism.

following ten rules, generally called "the rules of the congregation of the index," are here given, though belonging to a later period of the council, on account of their connection with the subject of the present chapter, and they are transcribed entire, on account of their vast importance, as illustrative of the policy of the church of Rome, in repressing as much as possible the circulation of the Scriptures, and in placing restrictions upon the freedom of the press. Let it be remembered that the following rules are the PRESENT imperative laws of the Romish church, adopted by the very highest authority in that church, the last general council, and sent forth to the world under the sanction of its supreme head, pope Pius. These rules are the laws of the Romish church, in precisely the same sense as a statute enacted by the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States, and signed by the President, becomes the law of the American nation; and all popish bishops and priests are bound to enforce these laws, wherever Popery prevails, to the very utmost of their ability. Let the protestant lover of his bible, and of that glorious bulwark of liberty, the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, pay particular attention to the passages marked by italics or capitals, and then say whether it is possible for freedom to exist in any land where Popery is the predominant religion, and the priests of Rome possess the power to enforce these laws of their church.

§ 14.—THE TEN RULES OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS, *enacted by the council of Trent, and approved by pope Pius IV. in a bull, issued on the 24th of March*, 1564.

By these rules, the following descriptions of books are condemned and prohibited:—

Regula 1. Libri omnes quos ante annum MDXV aut Summi Pontifices, aut Concilia œcumenica damnârunt, et in hoc indice non sunt, eodem modo damnati esse censeantur, sicut olim damnati fuerint.

Rule 1. "*All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs*, or general councils, before the year 1515, and not comprised in the present Index, are, nevertheless, to be considered as condemned.

Regula 2. Hæresiarcharum libri, tam eorum qui post prædictum annum hæreses invenerunt, vel suscitârunt, quàm qui hæreticorum capita aut duces sunt vel fuerunt, quales sunt Lutherus, Zuinglius, Calvinus, Balthasar Pacimontanus, Swenchfeldius, et his similes, cujuscumque nominis, tituli aut argumenti existant, omninò prohibentur, Aliorum autem hæreticorum libri, qui de religione quidem ex professo tractant, omninò damnantur. Qui verò de religione non tractant, à Theologis Catholicis, jussu Episcoporum et Inquisitorum examinati et approbati permittuntur. Libri etiam Catholici conscripti, tam ab aliis qui posteà in hæresim lapsi sunt, quàm ab illis qui post lapsum ad Ecclesiæ gremium redîere, approbati à facul-

Rule 2. "*The books of heresiarchs*, whether of those who broached or disseminated their heresies prior to the year above mentioned, or of those who have been, or are, the heads or leaders of heretics, as Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, Balthasar Pacimontanus, Swenchfeld, and other similar ones, are altogether forbidden, whatever may be their names, titles, or subjects. *And the books of other heretics, which treat professedly upon religion, are totally condemned;* but those which do not treat upon religion are allowed to be read, after being examined and approved by Catholic divines, by order of the bishops and inquisitors. Those Catholic books also are permitted to be read, which have been composed by authors who have

tate Theologicâ alicujus Universitatis Catholicæ, vel ab Inquisitione generali permitti poterunt.

Regula 3. Versiones scriptorum etiam Ecclesiasticorum, quæ hactenùs editæ sunt à damnatis auctoribus, modò nihil contra sanam doctrinam contineant, permittuntur. Librorum autem veteris Testamenti versiones, viris tantùm doctis et piis judicio Episcopi concedi poterunt: modò hujusmodi versionibus tamquam elucidationibus Vulgatæ editionis, ad intelligendam sacram Scripturam, non autem tanquàm sano textu utantur. Versiones verò novi Testamenti, ab auctoribus primæ classis hujus indicis factæ nemini concedantur, quia utilitatis parum, periculi verò plurimum lectoribus ex earum lectione manare solet. Si quæ verò annotationes cum hujusmodi quæ permittuntur versionibus, vel cum Vulgata editione circumferuntur, expunctis locis suspectis à facultate Theologica alicujus Universitatis Catholicæ, aut inquisitione generali permitti eisdem poterunt, quibus et versiones. Quibus conditionibus totum volumen Bibliorum, quod vulgò Biblia Vatabli dicitur, aut partes ejus concedi viris piis et doctis poterunt. Ex Bibliis verò Isidori Clarii Brixiani prologus et prolegomena præcidantur: ejus verò textum, nemo textum Vulgatæ editionis esse existimet.

Regula 4. Cùm experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari linguâ passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus indè, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri, hac in parte judicio Episcopi, aut inquisitoris stetur: ut cum concilio Parochi vel Confessarii, Bibliorum à Catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari linguâ eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex hujusmodi lectione, non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis augmentum capere posse, quam facultatem in scriptis habeant. Qui autem absque tali facultate ea legere seu habere præsumpserit, nisi priùs Bibliis Ordinario redditis, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit. Bibliopolæ verò, qui afterwards fallen into heresy, or who, after their fall, have returned into the bosom of the church, provided they have been approved by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisition.

Rule 3. "Translations of ecclesiastical writers, which have been hitherto published by condemned authors, are permitted to be read, if they contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine. *Translations of the Old Testament may also be allowed, but* ONLY *to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the bishop;* provided they use them *merely as elucidations of the vulgate version*, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as the sacred text itself. But Translations of the New Testament made by authors of the first class of this Index, are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. If notes accompany the versions which are allowed to be read, or are joined to the vulgate edition, they may be permitted to be read by the same persons as the versions, after the suspected places have been expunged by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general inquisitor. On the same conditions also, pious and learned men may be permitted to have what is called Vatablus's Bible, or any part of it. But the preface and prolegomena of the Bible published by Isidorus Clarius are, however, excepted; and the text of his editions is not to be considered as the text of the vulgate edition.

Rule 4. "INASMUCH AS IT IS MANIFEST FROM EXPERIENCE, THAT IF THE HOLY BIBLE, TRANSLATED INTO THE VULGAR TONGUE, BE INDISCRIMINATELY ALLOWED TO EVERY ONE, THE TEMERITY OF MEN WILL CAUSE MORE EVIL THAN GOOD TO ARISE FROM IT, *it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor*, PERMIT THE READING OF THE BIBLE TRANSLATED INTO THE VULGAR TONGUE BY CATHOLIC AUTHORS, TO THOSE PERSONS WHOSE FAITH AND PIETY, THEY APPREHEND, WILL BE AUGMENTED, AND NOT INJURED BY IT; AND THIS PERMISSION THEY MUST HAVE IN WRITING. *But if any one shall have the* PRESUMPTION TO

Punishments for those who have the "*presumption*" to read or sell the Bible without permission.

prædictam facultatem non habenti Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripto vendiderint, vel alio quovis modo concesserint, librorum pretium, in usos pios ab Episcopi convertendum, amittant, aliisque pœnis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem Episcopo arbitrio subjaceant. Regulares verò non nisi facultate à Prælatis suis habitâ, ea legere, aut emere possint.

READ OR POSSESS IT WITHOUT SUCH WRITTEN PERMISSION, *he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall* FORFEIT THE VALUE OF THE BOOKS, *to be applied by the bishop to some pious use; and be subjected by the bishop to* SUCH OTHER PENALTIES *as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence.* But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles without a special license from their superiors.

Regula 5. Libri illi, qui hæreticorum auctorum operâ interdum prodeunt, in quibus nulla aut pauca de suo apponunt, sed aliorum dicta colligunt, cujusmodi sunt Lexica, Concordantiæ, Apophthegmata, Similitudines, Indices, et hujusmodi, si quæ habeant admista, quæ expurgatione indigeant, illis Episcopi et Inquisitores, unà cum Theologorum Catholicorum concilio, sublatis, aut emendatis, permittantur.

Rule 5. "Books of which heretics are the editors, but which contain little or nothing of their own, being mere compilations from others, as lexicons, concordances, apophthegms, similes, indexes, and others of a similar kind, may be allowed by the bishops and inquisitors, *after having made, with the advice of Catholic divines, such corrections and emendations as may be deemed requisite.*

Regula 6. Libri vulgari idiomate de controversiis inter Catholicos et hæreticos nostri temporis disserentes non passim permittantur: sed idem de iis servetur, quod de Bibliis vulgari linguâ scriptis statutum est. Qui verò de ratione benè vivendi, contemplandi, confitendi, ac similibus argumentis, vulgari sermone conscripti sunt, si sanam doctrinam contineant, non est cur prohibeantur; sicut nec sermones populares vulgari linguâ habiti. Quòd si hactenùs in aliquo regno vel Provinciâ aliqui libri sunt prohibiti, quòd nonnulla continerint quæ sine delectu ab omnibus legi non expediat, si eorum auctores Catholici sunt, postquam emendati fuerint, permitti ab Episcopo et Inquisitore poterunt.

Rule 6. "Books of controversy betwixt the Catholics and heretics of the present time, written in the vulgar tongue, are not to be indiscriminately allowed, but are to be subject to the same regulations as Bibles in the vulgar tongue. As to those works in the vulgar tongue, which treat of morality, contemplation, confession, and similar subjects, and which contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine, there is no reason why they should be prohibited; the same may be said also of sermons in the vulgar tongue, designed for the people. And if in any kingdom or province, any books have been hitherto prohibited, as containing things not proper to be read, without selection, by all sorts of persons, they may be allowed by the bishop and inquisitor, after having corrected them, if written by Catholic authors.

Regula 7. Libri qui res lascivas seu obscœnas ex professo tractant, narrant, aut docent, cùm non solùm fidei, sed et morum, qui hujusmodi librorum lectione

Rule 7. "Books professedly treating of lascivious or obscene subjects, or narrating, or teaching them, are utterly prohibited,* since, not only faith but

* We suppose this rule is not intended to apply to obscene and lascivious books intended for the instruction of candidates for the priesthood, or for examination of

Rules of the Index continued. Further restrictions upon the liberty of the press.

facilè corrumpi solent, ratio habenda sit, omninò prohibentur: et qui eos habuerint, severè ab Episcopis puniantur. Antiqui verò ab Ethnicis conscripti, propter sermonis elegantiam et proprietatem permittuntur: nullà tamen ratione pueris prælegendi erunt.

morals, which are readily corrupted by the perusal of them, are to be attended to; and those who possess them shall be severely punished by the bishop. But the works of antiquity, written by the heathens, are permitted to be read, because of the elegance and propriety of the language; though on no account shall they be suffered to be read by young persons.

Regula 8. Libri quorum principale argumentum bonum est, in quibus tamen obiter aliqua inserta sunt, quæ ad hæresim, seu impietatem, divinationem, seu superstitionem spectant, à Catholicis Theologis, inquisitionis generalis auctoritate, expurgati, concedi possunt. Idem judicium sit de prologis, summariis, seu annotationibus quæ à damnatis auctoribus, libris non damnatis, appositæ sunt: sed posthac non nisi emendati excudantur.

Rule 8. "Books, the principal subject of which is good, but in which some things are occasionally introduced tending to heresy and impiety, divination, or superstition, *may be allowed, after they have been corrected by Catholic divines, by the authority of the general inquisition.* The same judgment is also formed of prefaces, summaries, or notes, taken from the condemned authors, and inserted in the works of authors not condemned; but *such works must not be printed in future, until they have been amended.*

Regula 9. Libri omnes et scripta Geomantiæ, Hydromantiæ, Aëromantiæ, Pyromantiæ, Onomantiæ, Chiromantiæ, Necromantiæ, sive in quibus continentur sortilegia, veneficia, auguria, auspicia, incantationes artis magicæ prorsùs rejiciantur. Episcopi verò diligenter provideant, ne astrologiæ judiciariæ libri, tractatus, indices legantur, vel habeantur, qui de futuris contingentibus, successibus, fortuitisve casibus, aut iis actionibus, quæ ab humana voluntate pendent, certi aliquid eventurum affirmare audent. Permittuntur autem judicia, et naturales observationes, quæ navigationis, agriculturæ, sive medicæ artis juvandæ gratiâ conscripta sunt.

Rule 9. "All books and writings of geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, onomancy, chiromancy, and necromancy; or which treat of sorceries, poisons, auguries, auspices, or magical incantations, are utterly rejected. The bishops shall also diligently guard against any persons reading or keeping any books, treatises, or indexes, which treat of judicial astrology, or contain presumptuous predictions of the events of future contingencies, and fortuitous occurrences, or of those actions which depend upon the will of man. But such opinions and observations of natural things as are written in aid of navigation, agriculture, and medicine, are permitted.

Regula 10. In librorum, aliarumve scripturarum impressione servetur, quod in Concilio Lateranensi sub Leone X., Sess. 10, statutum est. Quare, si in alma urbe Roma liber aliquis sit imprimendus, per Vicarium Summi Pontificis et Sacri Palatii Magistrum, vel personas à Sanctissimo Domino nostro de-

Rule 10. "In the printing of books or other writings, the rules shall be observed, which were ordained in the 10th session of the council of Lateran, under Leo X. Therefore, *if any book is to be printed in the city of Rome, it shall first be examined by the Pope's Vicar and the master of*

conscience preparatory to confession. If so, Dens's Theology, their most popular standard work for students, and "the Garden of the Soul," published at New York, 1844, with the approbation of bishop Hughes, must certainly be included in the prohibition. Probably, however, the rule was only intended to apply to works of this description when published by *heretics*.

Punishments of booksellers who violate these rules. Their shops to be examined by inquisitors.

putandas priùs examinetur. In aliis verò locis ad Episcopum, vel alium habentem scientiam libri vel scripturæ imprimendæ, ab eodem Episcopo deputandum, ac Inquisitorem hæreticæ pravitatis ejus civitatis, vel diœcesis, in qua impressio fiet, ejus approbatio et examen pertineat, et per eorum manum propriâ subscriptione gratis et sine dilatione imponendam sub pœnis et censuris in eodem decreto contentis approbetur: hac lege et conditione additâ, ut exemplum libri imprimendi authenticum, et manu auctoris subscriptum, apud examinatorem remaneat; eos verò, qui libellos manuscriptos vulgant, nisi ante examinati probatique fuerint iisdem pœnis subjici debere judicârunt Patres deputati, quibus impressores: et qui eos habuerint et legerint, nisi auctores prodiderint, pro auctoribus habeantur. Ipsa verò hujusmodi librorum probatio in scriptis detur, et in fronte libri vel scripti, vel impressi authenticè appareat, probatioque et examen ac cetera gratias fiant.

Præterea in singulis civitatibus ac diœcesibus, domus vel loci ubi ars impressoria exercetur, et bibliothecæ librorum venialium sæpiùs visitentur à personis ad id deputandis ab Episcopo, sive ejus Vicario, atque etiam ab Inquisitore hæreticæ pravitatis, ut nihil eorum quæ prohibentur, aut imprimatur, aut vendatur, aut habeatur. Omnes verò librarii, et quicumque librorum venditores habeant in suis bibliothecis Indicem librorum venalium, quos habent, cum subscriptione dictarum personarum, nec alios libros habeant, aut vendant aut quacumque ratione tradant, sine licentiâ eorumdem deputandorum, sub pœnâ amissionis librorum, et aliis arbitrio Episcoporum vel Inquisitorum imponendis. Emptores verò lectores, vel impressores, eorumdem arbitrio puniantur. Quòd si aliqui libros quoscumque in aliquam civitatem introducant, teneantur eisdem personis deputandis renunciare: vel si locus publicus mercibus ejusmodi constitutus sit, ministri, *the sacred palace, or other persons chosen by our most holy father for that purpose.* In other places, the examination of any book or manuscript intended to be printed shall be referred to the bishop, or some skilful person whom he shall nominate, and the inquisitor of heretical pravity of the city or diocess in which the impression is executed, who shall gratuitously and without delay affix their approbation to the work in their own handwriting, subject, nevertheless, to the pains and censures contained in the said decree; this law and condition being added, that an authentic copy of the book to be printed, signed by the author himself, shall remain in the hands of the examiner: and it is the judgment of the fathers of the present deputation, that *those persons who publish works in manuscript, before they have been examined and approved, should be subject to the same penalties as those who print them*, and that those who read or possess them should be considered as the authors, if the real authors of such writings do not avow themselves. The approbation given in writing shall be placed at the head of the books, whether printed or in manuscript, that they may appear to be duly authorized; and this examination and approbation, &c., shall be granted gratuitously.

"*Moreover, in every city and diocess, the house or places where the art of printing is exercised, and also the shops of booksellers, shall be frequently visited by persons deputed for that purpose by the bishop or his vicar, conjointly with the inquisitor of heretical pravity, so that nothing that is prohibited may be printed, kept, or sold. Booksellers of every description shall keep in their libraries a catalogue of the books which they have on sale, signed by the said deputies; nor shall they keep or sell, nor in any way dispose of any other books, without permission from the deputies,* UNDER PAIN OF FORFEITING THE BOOKS, AND BEING LIABLE TO SUCH OTHER PENALTIES AS SHALL BE JUDGED PROPER BY THE BISHOP OR INQUISITOR, WHO SHALL ALSO PUNISH THE BUYERS, READERS, OR PRINTERS OF SUCH WORKS. *If any person import foreign books into any city, they shall be obliged to announce them to the deputies; or if this kind of merchandise be exposed to sale in any public*

publici ejus loci prædictis personis significent libros esse adductos. Nemo verò audeat librum, quem ipse vel alius in civitatem introduxit, alicui legendum tradere, vel aliquâ ratione alienare, aut commodare, nisi ostenso priùs libro, et habitâ licentiâ à personis deputandis, aut nisi notoriè constet, librum jam esse omnibus permissum.

Idem quoque servetur ab heredibus et executoribus ultimarum voluntatum, ut libros à defunctis relictos, sive eorum indicem illis personis deputandis offerrant, et ab iis licentiam obtineant, priusquam eis utantur, aut in alias personas quacumque ratione transferant. In his autem omnibus et singulis pœna statuatur vel amissionis librorum, vel alia arbitrio eorumdem Episcoporum, vel Inquisitorum pro qualitate contumaciæ vel delicti.

Circa verò libros, quos Patres deputati examinârunt aut expugnârunt, aut expurgandos tradiderunt, aut certis conditionibus, ut rursus excuderentur, concesserunt, quidquid illos statuisse constiterit, tam bibliopolæ, quàm ceteri observent. Liberum tamen sit Episcopis aut Inquisitoribus generalibus secundùm facultatem quam habent, etiam libros, qui his regulis permitti videntur, prohibere, si hoc in suis regnis, aut provinciis, vel diœcessibus expedire judicaverint. Ceterùm nomina, cum librorum qui à Patribus deputatis purgati sunt, tum eorum quibus illi hanc provinciam dederunt, eorumdem deputatorum Secretarius notario Sacræ universalis Inquisitionis Romæ descripta Sanctissimi Domini nostri jussu tradidit.

Ad extremum verò omnibus fidelibus præcipitur, ne quis audeat contra harum regularum præscriptum, aut hujus indicis prohibitionem libros aliquos legere aut habere. Quòd si quis libros hæreticorum, vel cujusvis auctoris scripta, ob hæresin, ob falsi dogmatis suspicionem damnata atque prohibita, legerit, sive habuerit, statim in excommunicationis sententiam incurrat. Qui verò libros alio nomine interdictos legerit, aut habuerit, præter peccati mortalis reatum, quo afficitur, judicio Episcoporum severè puniatur.

place, the public officers of the place shall signify to the said deputies, that such books have been brought; and NO ONE SHALL PRESUME TO GIVE TO READ, OR LEND, OR SELL, ANY BOOK WHICH HE OR ANY OTHER PERSON HAS BROUGHT INTO THE CITY, UNTIL HE HAS SHOWN IT TO THE DEPUTIES, AND OBTAINED THEIR PERMISSION, *unless it be a work well known to be universally allowed.*

"*Heirs and testamentary executors shall make no use of the books of the deceased, nor in any way transfer them to others, until they have presented a catalogue of them to the deputies, and obtained their licênse, under pain of the confiscation of the books, or* THE INFLICTION OF SUCH OTHER PUNISHMENT *as the bishop or inquisitor shall deem proper, according to the contumacy or quality of the delinquent.*

"*With regard to those books which the fathers of the present deputation shall examine, or correct, or deliver to be corrected, or permit to be reprinted on certain conditions, booksellers and others shall be bound to observe whatever is ordained respecting them. The bishops and general inquisitors shall, nevertheless, be at liberty, according to the power they possess, to prohibit such books as may seem to be permitted by these rules, if they deem it necessary for the good of the kingdom, or province, or diocess. And let the secretary of those fathers, according to the command of our holy father, transmit to the notary of the general inquisitor, the names of the books that have been corrected, as well as of the persons to whom the fathers have granted the power of examination.*

"FINALLY, IT IS ENJOINED ON ALL THE FAITHFUL, THAT NO ONE PRESUME TO KEEP OR READ ANY BOOKS CONTRARY TO THESE RULES, OR PROHIBITED BY THIS INDEX. BUT IF ANY ONE KEEP OR READ ANY BOOKS COMPOSED BY HERETICS, OR THE WRITINGS OF ANY AUTHOR SUSPECTED OF HERESY, OR FALSE DOCTRINE, HE SHALL INSTANTLY INCUR THE SENTENCE OF EXCOMMUNICATION; AND THOSE WHO READ OR KEEP WORKS INTERDICTED ON ANOTHER ACCOUNT, BESIDES THE MORTAL SIN COMMITTED, SHALL BE SEVERELY PUNISHED AT THE WILL OF THE BISHOPS."

§ 15.—The committee appointed at the council of Trent, and under whose supervision the above rules were drawn up, was made permanent, and exists *at the present day* under the style of "the congregation of the index." Under the care of this committee, the original index of prohibited books has ever since been receiving constant additions, and of course, by this time, has grown to a ponderous size. Among the names of authors included in this *index prohibitorius*, are many familiar and dear to the protestant world: Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zwinglius, Melancthon, Beza, Tyndal, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Knox, Coverdale, Bishop Hooper, John Fox, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, Addison, Lord Bacon, George Buchanan, Cave, Claude, Grotius, Sir Matthew Hale, Locke, Milton, Mosheim, Robertson, Saurin, Jeremy Taylor, Young, the author of Night Thoughts, and even Leigh Richmond, the sainted author of that sweet little tract, which has been the means of leading so many souls to Christ, has, for writing "The Dairyman's Daughter," been honored (for it is an honor) by a place in this proscriptive popish index.*

None of the works of these authors are allowed to be read by the blinded and priest-ridden votaries of Rome, according to the above rules of the index, without a special license from the popish bishop; and this can only be obtained by favored individuals under very peculiar circumstances. Bishop Burnet, in the collection of records appended to his history of the Reformation, has preserved a Latin copy of such a license, granted by the Romish Bishop Tonstal, of London, on the 7th of March, 1527, to the celebrated papist, Sir Thomas More, who was about to write against the reformed doctrines, from which the following extracts are translated:—"Forasmuch as the church of God has, of late throughout Germany, been infested by heretics, certain sons of iniquity have joined together, who are endeavoring to bring into our country the ancient damned heresy of Wickliff and of Luther, and are publishing in great abundance their most corrupt writings into our vernacular tongue; and striving with great efforts to corrupt the truth of the Catholic faith by their most pestilential dogmas. And forasmuch as it is greatly to be feared that the Catholic verity may be in danger, unless good and learned men oppose themselves to the malignity of the aforesaid men, &c. . . . And forasmuch as thou, most famous brother, both in our own tongue and in Latin can excel even a Demosthenes," &c. The document then alludes, as an example, to the most illus-

* Beside the *index prohibitorius*, the papists have their *index expurgatorius*—that is, an index of books not entirely prohibited, but in which certain passages are expurgated; and this includes multitudes of passages not only from protestant but from Romish writers, and even from various editions of the works of the Fathers. For a full account of both these indexes, see that valuable, learned, and authentic work, "Mendham's Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, exhibited in an account of the damnatory catalogues, or Indices, both Prohibitory and Expurgatory." London, 1820

Bishop Tonstal's license to Sir Thomas More to read the works of Luther, &c.—*note.*

trious king, Henry VIII., who by his defence of the Sacraments of the Church "had merited the immortal name of the Defender of the faith," and to the writings of Luther, by reading of which Sir Thomas might understand in what lurking places these crooked serpents hide themselves 'quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant;' and after exhorting him to obtain an immortal name by thus defending the church against the heretics, concludes by granting him the license to read the heretical books in the following words: "To that end we grant and concede unto you the power and license of keeping and reading books of this kind."*

May the time never arrive when the free-born sons of Protestant America, before being at liberty to write, and to publish, and to read what they choose, must, like the ignorant and degraded inhab-

* The following is a correct transcript of this curious and ancient document: "Cuthbertus permissione Divina London Episcopus Clarissimo et Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri et amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino et Benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem et damnatum hæresim Wycliffianam et Lutherianam, etiam hæresis Wycliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratem vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi boni et eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant, id quod nulla ratione melius et aptius fieri poterit, quam si in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc insana dogmata simul etiam ipsissima prodeat in lucem.

"Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis quorum perspicacius est judicium recte admoneri et doceri possint. Et quia tu, Frater Clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina, Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, et Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus et ideotis hominibus subdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores; habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præ-clarissimum, illustrissi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentem asserere aggressus, immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorum nænias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionum monstra prodierunt.

"Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusq; anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium Consilia explorata habere, et quid sentiant quove tendant penitus nosse: nam si convellere pares quæ isti se non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam sanctum opus aggredere, quo et Dei Ecclesiæ prosis, et tibi immortale nomen atq; æternam in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Ecclesiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obsecramus, atq; ad illum finem ejusmodi libros et retinendi et legendi facultatem atq; licentiam impertimur et concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 et nostræ Cons. sexto." (*Regist. Tonst., Fol.* 138; *Burnet*, vol. iv., p. 4.)

itants of popish countries,* humbly sue for permission to the despotic priests and inquisitors of Rome!

CHAPTER III.

ORIGINAL SIN AND JUSTIFICATION.

§ 16.—THE FIFTH SESSION was held June 17th, 1546. After several days spent in unprofitable debate upon the subject of *original sin*, in which more use was made of the subtleties of Aquinas and Bonaventura and of the unintelligible dogmas of the schoolmen than of the word of God, a decree was passed, which is hardly worth recording, expressive of the views of Rome on this point, and concluding as usual with the awful anathema on all who presumed even to *think* differently. The following two brief extracts are sufficient, as specimens of the spirit of this decree:—

Si quis parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat, etiam si fuerint à baptizatis parentibus orti, &c., ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis per Jesu Christi Domini nostri gratiam, quæ in Baptismate confertur, reatum originalis peccati remitti negat, &c. Si quis autem contrarium senserit, ANATHEMA SIT.

Whosoever shall affirm, that newborn infants, even though sprung from baptized parents, ought not to be baptized, &c., LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whosoever shall deny that the guilt of original sin is remitted by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, bestowed in baptism, &c. IF ANY ONE THINKS DIFFERENTLY, LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

THE SIXTH SESSION was to have been held July 28th, but the protracted debates on the important subject of justification so long delayed the preparation of the decree that it had to be deferred till the 13th of January, 1547, when a long decree, consisting of sixteen chapters and thirty-three canons, was finally passed. A few of the canons and curses will be sufficient to indicate the doctrine of Rome on this point.

Si quis dixerit, homines justificari vel solâ imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel solâ peccatorum remissione, exclusâ gratiâ, et charitate, quæ in cordibus eorum per Spiritum sanctum diffundatur, atque illis inhæreat; aut etiam gratiam, quâ justificamur, esse tantùm favorem Dei; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that men are justified solely by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, by the remission of sin, to the exclusion of grace and charity, which is shed abroad in their hearts, and inheres in them; or that the grace by which we are justified is only the favor of God; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

* In popish priest-ridden Spain these prohibitions of the index still operate in all their force, and wo be to the man who presumes to sell or to read a book proscribed by these priestly enemies of the freedom of the press. "There is still fixed," says Mr. Bourgoing, "every year, at the church doors, the index, or list of those books, especially foreign, of which the holy office has thought fit to interdict the reading, on pain of excommunication." *Modern State of Spain*, ii., p. 276.

Si quis hominem semel justificatum dixerit ampliùs peccare non posse, neque gratiam amittere, atque ideò eum qui labitur, et peccat, nunquàm verè fuisse justificatum; aut contrà, posse in tota vita peccata omnia, etiam venialia, vitare, nisi ex speciali Dei privilegio, quemadmodùm de beata Virgine tenet Ecclesia; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that a man once justified cannot fall into sin any more, nor lose grace, and therefore that he who falls into sin never was truly justified; or, on the other hand, that he is able, all his life long, to avoid all sins, even such as are venial, and that without a special privilege from God, such as the church believes was granted to the blessed Virgin; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, justitiam acceptam non conservari, atque etiam augeri coram Deo per bona opera; sed opera ipsa fructus solummodò et signa esse justificationis adeptæ, non autem ipsius augendæ causam; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that justification received is not preserved, and even increased, in the sight of God, by good works; but that works are only the fruits and evidences of justification received, and not the causes of its increase: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis in quolibet bono opere justum saltem venialiter peccare dixerit, aut, quod intolerabilius est, mortaliter; atque ideò pœnas æternas mereri; tantumque ob id non damnari, quia Deus ea opera non imputet ad damnationem; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that a righteous man sins in every good work, at least venially; or, which is yet more intolerable, mortaliy; and that he therefore deserves eternal punishment, and only for this reason is not condemned, that God does not impute his works to condemnation; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, eum, qui post Baptismum lapsus est, non posse per Dei gratiam resurgere, aut posse quidem, sed solâ fide amissam justitiam recuperare sine Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, prout sancta Romana, et universalis Ecclesia, à Christo Domino, et ejus Apostolis edocta, hùc usque professa est, servavit, et docuit: ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that he who has fallen after baptism cannot by the grace of God rise again; or that if he can, it is possible for him to recover his lost righteousness by faith only, *without the sacrament of penance*, which the holy Roman and universal church, instructed by Christ the Lord and his Apostles, has to this day professed, kept, and taught; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis post acceptam justificationis gratiam, cuilibet peccatori pœnitenti ita culpam remitti, et reatum æternæ pœnæ deleri dixerit, ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exsolvendæ vel in hoc seculo, vel in futuro in Purgatorio, antequàm ad regna cœlorum aditus patere possit; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that when the grace of justification is received, the offence of the penitent sinner is so forgiven, and the sentence of eternal punishment reversed, that there remains *no temporal punishment to be endured*, before his entrance into the kingdom of heaven, *either in this world, or in the future state, in purgatory;* LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut, ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam, et Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non verè mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in gratia decesserit, consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the good works of a justified man are in such sense the gifts of God, *that they are not also his worthy merits;* or that he, being justified by his good works, which are wrought by him through the grace of God, and the merits of Jesus Christ, of whom he is a living member, *does not really deserve increase of grace, eternal life*, the enjoyment of that eternal life if he dies in a state of grace, and even an increase of glory; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Way in which Popery makes the work of Christ a stepping-stone for human merit.

§ 17.—Thus did the doctors of Trent transform the finished work of our Lord Jesus Christ, into a mere stepping-stone for human merit, and teach men to look rather to their own good works as the foundation of their hope than to the glorious righteousness of the Son of God imputed to the believer, and received by faith; and such has ever been the doctrine of Rome. Still further to "darken counsel," the doctors connected justification with baptism, whether in the case of an infant or an adult. Is an individual distressed on account of sin? If he was baptized in infancy, he is told that he was then justified, and that penance is now the path to peace, the "second plank after shipwreck." If he was not baptized in infancy, as soon as that ordinance is administered he is assured that he is safe. He is not bidden to look to the cross of Christ; nothing is said of the "blood that cleanseth from all sin;" he has been washed in the "laver of regeneration;" the "instrumental cause" of justification, and with this he is to be satisfied. Here is no room for the Apostolic declaration, "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. v., 1): it is shut out altogether.

The effect of these sentiments on the mind, and the influence it is intended they should exert, may be ascertained by a reference to the manner in which they are interwoven with the devotional exercises of Roman Catholics. The following extracts are taken from the "Garden of the Soul." A "Morning Prayer" contains these expressions: "I desire by thy grace *to make satisfaction for my sins* by worthy fruits of penance; and I will willingly accept from thy hands whatever pains, crosses, or sufferings I shall meet with during the remainder of my life, or at my death, as just punishments of my iniquities; begging *that they may be united to the sufferings and death of my Redeemer*, and sanctified by his passion, in which is all my hope for mercy, grace, and salvation." "How very short the time of this life is, which is given us in order to labor for eternity, and to send before us *a stock of good works, on which we may live for eternity.*" The *sick person* is thus instructed, "Beg that God would accept of all your pains and uneasiness, in union with the sufferings of your Saviour Jesus Christ, in deduction of the punishment due to your sins." On these passages no comment is required: their design and tendency are sufficiently apparent.

We add some specimens of the prayers prescribed in the Roman Missal. "Let our fasts, we beseech thee, O Lord, be acceptable to thee, that by atoning for our sins, they may both make us worthy of thy grace, and bring us to the everlasting effects of thy promise." "Receive, O Lord, we beseech thee, the prayers of the faithful, together with these oblations; that by these duties of piety they may obtain eternal life."* "O God, who by innumerable miracles hast honored blessed Nicholas, the bishop; grant, we beseech thee, that *by his merits and intercession* we may be delivered from eternal

* Roman Missal for the use of the Laity, pp. 61, 337.

flames."* "O God, who wast pleased to send blessed Patrick, thy bishop and confessor, to preach thy glory to the Gentiles; grant, that *by his merits and intercession* we may, through thy grace, be enabled to keep thy commandments."† "O God, who hast translated the blessed Dunstan, thy high priest, to thy heavenly kingdom; grant that we, *by his glorious merits*, may pass from hence to never-ending joys."‡ "O God, who grantest us to celebrate the translation of the relics of blessed Thomas, thy martyr and bishop; we humbly beseech thee that, *by his merits and prayers*, we may pass from vice to virtue, and from the prison of this flesh to an eternal kingdom."§

§ 18.—In opposition to these anti-scriptural popish sentiments, it is cheering to turn to the glorious doctrine advocated by Luther, Melancthon, and their noble associates in the work of reformation. There was no doctrine upon which the reformers were more unanimously agreed, than the glorious truth of justification by faith alone through the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ. Says the martyred Tyndal, the early translator of the New Testament, in his "Prologe to the Romayns:" "The somme and hole cause of the writing of this epistle is, to prove that a man is justified by fayth onely; *which proposition whoso denyeth, to him is not onely this Epistle and al that Paul wryteth, but also the hole Scripture so locked up, that he shall never understand it to his soul's health.*" Luther calls this doctrine '*articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*'—the article by which a church stands or falls; he says, "it is the head corner-stone which supports, nay, gives existence and life to the church of God; so that without it the church cannot subsist for an hour."—He calls it the "*only solid rock.*" "This Christian article," he writes, "can never be handled and inculcated enough. If this doctrine fall and perish, the knowledge of every truth in religion will fall and perish with it. On the contrary, if this do but flourish, all good things will also flourish, namely, true religion, the true worship of God, the glory of God, and a right knowledge of everything which it becomes a Christian to know.‖

The following memorable protestation of Luther on this subject, deserves to be written in letters of gold. "I, Martin Luther, an unworthy preacher of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, thus profess, and thus believe; that this article, THAT FAITH ALONE, WITHOUT WORKS, CAN JUSTIFY BEFORE GOD, shall never be overthrown, neither by the Emperor, nor by the Turk, nor by the Tartar, nor by the Pope, with all his cardinals, bishops, sacrificers, monks, nuns, kings,

* Roman Missal for the use of the Laity, p. 527. † Ibid., p. 563. ‡ Ibid., p. 585.

§ Ibid., 614. The late celebrated Romanist, Dr. Milner, said of bishop Poynter, "*that he would give the universe to possess half his merit in the sight of God.*" Laity's Directory, 1829, p. 74. Cramp, 115. There is a striking similarity, or rather identity between the doctrines of the Oxford Puseyites and the Romanists on the article of Justification. For proof of this, and extracts from Puseyite writings, see M'Ilvaine on the Oxford Divinity—*passim.*

‖ Milner's Church history, vol. iv., p. 515. Scott's Continuation of Milner, vol. i., p. 527. Cramp 112.

princes, powers of the world, nor yet by all the devils in hell. This article shall stand fast whether they will or no. This is the true Gospel. Jesus Christ redeemed us from our sins, and he only. This most firm and certain truth is the voice of Scripture, though the world and all the devils rage and roar. If Christ alone take away our sins, we cannot do this with our works; and as it is impossible to embrace Christ but by faith, it is therefore equally impossible to apprehend him by works. If, then, faith must apprehend Christ, before works can follow, the conclusion is irrefragable, that faith alone apprehends him, before and without the consideration of works; and this is our justification and deliverance from sin. Then, and not till then, GOOD WORKS FOLLOW FAITH AS ITS NECESSARY AND INSEPARABLE FRUIT. This is the doctrine I teach; and this the Holy Spirit and the Church of the faithful have delivered. In this will I abide. Amen."*

§ 19.—And it was no wonder that Luther loved this doctrine of justification by faith. It was that blessed passage, "*the just shall live by faith*," that first darted a ray of gospel peace and joy into his mind, when struggling to obtain ease for a wounded conscience by the ceremonies and mummeries of Popery. In 1510, the future reformer was dispatched on a journey to Rome. On his way thither, the poor German monk was entertained at a wealthy convent of the Benedictines, situated on the Po, in Lombardy. This convent enjoyed a revenue of thirty-six thousand ducats; twelve thousand were spent for the table, twelve thousand on the buildings, and twelve thousand to supply the other wants of the monks. The magnificence of the apartments, the richness of the dresses, and the delicacy of the viands, astonished Luther. Marble, silk, and luxury of every kind; what a novel spectacle to the humble brother of the convent of Wittemberg! He was amazed and silent; but Friday came, and what was his surprise! The table of the Benedictines was spread with abundance of meats. Then he found courage to speak out. "The Church," said he, "and the Pope forbid such things." The Benedictines were offended at this rebuke from the unmannerly German. But Luther, having repeated his remark, and perhaps threatened to report their irregularity, some of them thought it easiest to get rid of their troublesome guest. The porter of the convent hinted to him that he incurred danger by his stay. He accordingly took his departure from this epicurean monastery, and pursued his journey to Bologna, where he fell sick. Some have seen in this sickness the effects of poison. It is more probable that the change in his mode of living, disordered the frugal monk of Wittemberg, who had been used to subsist for the most part on dry bread and herrings. This sickness was not "unto death," but for the glory of God. His constitutional sadness and depression returned. What a fate was before him, to perish thus far away from Germany under a scorching sun, in a foreign land! The dis-

* Lives of the Eminent Reformers, p. 98 : Dublin, 1828.

Luther climbing Pilate's stair-case for indulgence. His horror and shame at himself.

tress of mind he had experienced at Erfurth again oppressed him. A sense of his sins disturbed him; and the prospect of the judgment of God filled him with dismay. But in the moment when his terror was at its height that word of Paul, "*The just shall live by Faith*," recurred with power to his mind, and beamed upon his soul like a ray from heaven. Raised and comforted, he rapidly regained health, and again set forth for Rome, expecting to find there a very different manner of life from that of the Lombard convents, and eager to efface, by the contemplation of Roman sanctity, the sad impression left upon his memory by his sojourn on the banks of the Po.

§ 20.—On his arrival at Rome, with the hope one day of obtaining an indulgence promised by the Pope to any one who should ascend on his knees what is called *Pilate's staircase*, the poor Saxon monk was slowly climbing those steps which they told him had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome. But whilst he was going through this meritorious work, he thought he heard a voice like thunder speaking from the depth of his heart: "THE JUST SHALL LIVE BY FAITH." These words, which already on two occasions had struck upon his ear as the voice of an angel of God, resounded instantaneously and powerfully within him. He started up in terror on the steps up which he had been crawling; he was horrified at himself; and, struck with shame for the degradation to which superstition had debased him, he fled from the scene of his folly.

This powerful text had a mysterious influence on the life of Luther. It was a creative word for the reformer and for the reformation. It was by means of that word that God then said: "Let there be light, and there was light." It is frequently necessary that a truth should be repeatedly presented to our minds, in order to produce its due effect. Luther had often studied the Epistle to the Romans, and yet never had justification by faith, as there taught, appeared so clear to him. He now understood that righteousness which alone can stand in the sight of God; he was now partaker of that perfect obedience of Christ which God imputes freely to the sinner as soon as he looks in humility to the God-man crucified. This was the decisive epoch in the inward life of Luther. That faith which had saved him from the fear of death became henceforward the soul of his theology; a stronghold in every danger, giving power to his preaching and strength to his charity, constituting a ground of peace, a motive to service, and a consolation in life and death.*

* Merle D'Aubigné, pp. 54, 55.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SACRAMENTS AND THE DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.—BAPTISM AND CONFIRMATION.

§ 21.—The Seventh Session.—It was resolved by the fathers of Trent at the first general congregation,* after the sixth session of the council, that the subject of the next doctrinal decrees should be the sacraments. Respecting the number of the sacraments, the members were pretty generally agreed. It was held that they were *seven*, viz., baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony. In support of this number, they adduced tradition and the most fanciful analogies. Some of them gravely argued that since seven is a perfect number, since there are seven days in the week, seven excellent virtues, seven deadly sins, seven planets, &c., therefore, as a matter of course, there must be seven sacraments. Such was the boasted wisdom of the united talent and learning of this infallible popish council! Still, it is not astonishing that the fathers resorted to *arguments* like these, in support of *seven* sacraments, since it was impossible to find in the New Testament a single argument for more than two, viz., baptism and the Lord's Supper.†

The doctrinal decree was ready by the 3d of March, 1547, and was promulgated in the seventh session held on that day. A few extracts from it will be sufficient. The decree was divided into three parts. (1) Of the sacraments in general, (2) of baptism, (3) of confirmation. The following are extracts from the first part, the sacraments in general.

Ad consummationem salutaris de justificatione doctrinæ, quæ, in præcedenti proxima Sessione uno omnium Patrum consensu promulgata fuit; consentaneum visum est de sanctissimis Ecclesiæ Sacramentis agere, per quæ omnis vera justitia vel incipit, vel cœpta augetur, vel amissa reparatur. Propterea sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitimè congregata, &c. . . . sanctarum Scripturarum doctrinæ, Apostolicis traditionibus, atque aliorum Conciliorum et Patrum consensui inhærendo, hos præ-

In order to complete the exposition of the wholesome doctrine of justification, published in the last session by the unanimous consent of the fathers, it hath been deemed proper to treat of the holy sacraments of the church, by which all true righteousness is at first imparted, then increased, and afterwards restored, if lost. For which cause the sacred, holy, œcumenical and general council of Trent, lawfully assembled, &c., abiding by the doctrine of the sacred scriptures, the tradition of the apostles, and the uniform con-

* The meetings of the council for debating the various subjects, and for preparing the decrees, were generally called *Congregations*. When the decrees were in readiness, the *Session* was held at which they were authoritatively promulgated and enacted.

† See Father Paul's History of the council of Trent, lib. ii., s. 85.

sentes canones statuendos, et decernendos censuit, &c.

Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia à Jesu Christo, Domino nostro, instituta; aut esse plura vel pauciora quàm septem, videlicet, Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium; aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse verè et propriè Sacramentum; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit Sacramenta novæ legis non esse ad salutem necessaria, sed superflua; et sine eis, aut eorum voto per solam fidem homines à Deo gratiam justificationis adipisci; licèt omnia singulis necessaria non sint; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis non continere gratiam, quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus, obicem non conferre, quasi signa tantùm externa sint acceptæ per fidem gratiæ vel justitiæ, et notæ quædam Christianæ professionis, quibus apud homines discernuntur fideles ab infidelibus; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, in ministris, dùm Sacramenta conficiunt, et conferunt, non requiri INTENTIONEM saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia; ANATHEMA SIT.

sent of other councils, and of the fathers, hath resolved to frame and decree these following canons, &c.

Whoever shall affirm that the sacraments of the new law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, or that they are more or fewer than seven, namely baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony, or that any of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that the sacraments of the new law are *not necessary to salvation*, but superfluous; or that men may obtain the grace of justification by faith only, without these sacraments, although it is granted that they are not all necessary to every individual:* LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that the sacraments of the new law *do not contain the grace which they signify;* or that they *do not confer that grace* on those who place no obstacle in its way; as if they were only the external signs of grace or righteousness received by faith, and marks of Christian profession, whereby the faithful are distinguished from unbelievers: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that grace is *not conferred by these sacraments* of the new law, *by their own power* [*ex opere operato*]; but that faith in the divine promise is all that is necessary to obtain grace: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that when ministers perform and confer a sacrament, it is not necessary that they should at least have the INTENTION to do what the church does: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 22.—This last canon and curse with respect to the doctrine of *intention*, demands a few words of explanation. The doctrine of Popery is that the validity of a sacrament depends upon the *intention* of the officiating priest; so that no man can be sure that he has been duly baptized, unless he can be sure that the priest not only pronounced the formula of the words, but also had the *intention* in his mind to baptize him. So in like manner, no one can be sure that he has received absolution from the priest, or that he has duly received the sacrament of the eucharist, unless he can look into the

* This exception refers, doubtless, to orders and matrimony. The former peculiar to the priesthood, the latter forbidden to them.

heart of the minister and be sure that he had the *intention* duly to administer these rites. Now, as Romanism teaches that these are absolutely necessary to salvation, and the validity of all depends upon the state of the priest's mind, unknown to any but the omniscient God; in what a distressing state of doubt and anxiety must those be who seriously believe these doctrines and attentively reflect upon them! How different, all this, from the gospel plan of immediate access to the mercy seat; not through the medium of a fallible and often corrupt and depraved mortal, but through the Lord Jesus Christ himself, the great Apostle and High Priest of our profession. Popery says, "come to the priest; if he baptize you, if he absolve you, then you may be saved; but if he refuse to do it, then you shall be *damned.* Or if he do it, but without the due *intention of mind* (of which you can never be absolutely sure), then he may utter the formula of baptism, he may pronounce the words of absolution, but *still you shall be damned!* for in the words of the decree, the 'intention' of the priest is essential to the validity of the act, and the act validly performed is necessary to salvation." On the other hand the Scriptures say—and Protestantism re-echoes the blessed invitation—"Come to Christ; for 'he is able to save unto the uttermost, all that come unto God by him!' 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved'—and 'him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.'" In the one system, all is made to depend on the priest, and the sinner is thus held in the chains of mental bondage to a miserable mortal; in the other all is shown to depend on Christ, and the ransomed believer is enabled to say, "I know in whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him, until that day." Such is the slavery of Popery. Such is the freedom of the gospel!

§ 23.—The doctrine of intention also has an important bearing upon the change of the wafer into the body and blood of Christ, and upon what is called the "sacrifice of the mass." For if the priest have not the intention to effect this change, and thus to "create his creator, then it is maintained by Romanists that no change takes place, the wafer does not become God, and the people who worship it are consequently guilty of idolatry. So that no man who worships the *host*, can possibly be sure at the time that he is not guilty of idolatry. The following extract from the Romish Mass Book or Missal (p. 53), will sufficiently explain this remark. The portion of the book from which it is taken is entitled—'De defectibus in celebratione missarum occurrentibus;' that is, respecting defects occurring in the mass.

De defectibus Vini.—Of the defects of the Wine.

Si vinum sit factum penitus acetum, vel penitus putridum, vel de uvis acerbis seu non maturis expressum, vel ei admixtum tantum aquæ, ut vinum sit corruptum, non conficitur sacramentum.

If the wine be quite sour, or putrid, or be made of bitter or unripe grapes: or if so much water be mixed with it, as spoils the wine, no sacrament is made.

Curious extracts from the Romish Missal on defects in the Mass.

Si post consecrationem corporis, aut etiam vini, deprehendatur defectus alterius speciei, altera jam consecrata; tunc si nullo modo materia quæ esset apponenda haberi possit, ad evitandum scandalum procedendum erit.

If after the consecration of the body, or even of the wine, the defect of either kind be discovered, one being consecrated; then, if the matter which should be placed cannot be had, to avoid scandal, he must proceed.

De defectibus Formæ.—The defects in the Form.

Si quis aliquid diminuerit vel immutaret de forma consecrationis corporis et sanguinis, et in ipsa verborum immutatione, verba idem non significarent, non conficeret sacramentum.

If any one shall leave out or change any part of the form of the consecration of the body and blood, and in the change of the words, such words do not signify the same thing, there is no consecration.

De defectibus Ministri.—The defects of the Minister.

Defectus ex parte ministri possunt contingere quoad ea, quæ in ipso requiruntur, hæc autem sunt, imprimis INTENTIO, deinde dispositio animæ, dispositio corporis, dispositio vestimentorum, dispositio in ministerio ipso, quoad ea, quæ in ipso possunt occurrere.

Si quis NON INTENDIT conficere, sed delusarie aliquid agere. Item si aliquæ hostiæ ex oblivione remaneant in altari, vel aliqua pars vini, vel aliqua hostia lateat, cum non intendat consecrare, nisi quas videt; item si quis habeat coram se undecim hostias, et intendat consecrare solum decem, non determinans quas decem intendit, in his casibus non consecrat, quia requiritur intentio, &c., &c.

The defects on the part of the minister, may occur in these things required in him, these are first and especially INTENTION, after that, *disposition* of soul, of body, of vestments, and disposition in the service itself, as to those matters which can occur in it.

If any one INTEND NOT to consecrate, but to counterfeit; also, if any wafers remain forgotten on the altar, or if any part of the wine, or any wafer lie hidden, when he did not intend to consecrate but what he saw; also, if he shall have before him eleven wafers and intended to consecrate but ten only, not determining what ten he meant, in all these cases there is no consecration, because *intention* is required!

In addition to the above extracts from the Missal, the following upon various other defects besides the intention of the minister, are curious, and worth recording:—

Si post consecrationem ceciderit musca vel arnea, vel aliquid ejusmodi in calicem et fiat nausea sacerdoti, extrahat eam et lavet cum vino, finita missa, comburat et combustio ac lotio hujusmodi in sacrarium projiciatur. Si autem non fuerit el nausea, nec ullum periculum timeat, sumat cum sanguine.

Si in hieme sanguis congeletur in calice, involvatur calix in pannis calefactis, si id non proficerit, ponatur in fervente aqua prope altare, dummodo in calicem non intret donec liquefiat.

Si per negligentiam, aliquid de sanguine Christi ceciderit, seu quidem super terram, seu super tabulam *lingua lambatur*, et locus ipse radatur quantum

If after consecration, a gnat, a spider, or any such thing fall into the chalice, let the priest swallow it with the blood, if he can; but if he fear danger and have a loathing, let him take it out, and wash it with wine, and when mass is ended, burn it, and cast it and the washing into holy ground.

If in winter the blood be frozen in the cup, put warm clothes about the cup; if that will not do, let it be put into boiling water near the altar, till it be melted, taking care it does not get into the cup.

If any of the blood of Christ fall on the ground by negligence, it must be *licked up with the tongue*, the place be sufficiently scraped, and the scrapings

The priest must piously swallow his vomit. Priests ridiculing their own mummeries

satis est, et abrasio comburatur : cinis vero in sacrarium recondatur.

Si sacerdos evomet eucharistiam, si species integræ appareant reverenter sumantur, nisi nausea fiat; tunc enim species consecratæ caute separentur, et in aliquo loco sacro reponantur donec corrumpantur, et postea in sacrarium projiciantur; quod si species non appareant comburatur vomitus, et cineres in sacrarium mittantur.

burned : but the ashes must be buried in holy ground.

If the priest *vomit the eucharist*, and the species appear entire, he must *piously swallow it again;* but if a nausea prevent him, then let the consecrated species be cautiously separated, and put by in some holy place till they be corrupted, and after, let them be cast into holy ground; but if the species do not appear, the vomit must be burned and the ashes thrown into holy ground.

How miserably debased must be the soul and intellect of a *rational being*, before he can submit to a religion which enjoins such rules as the above! The votaries of Jupiter, Diana or Juggernaut, would be ashamed of them! Is it possible for the *priests* to believe these disgusting absurdities? *Credat Judæus Apella.*

§ 24.—Now the question naturally arises, when these priests pronounce the words of consecration, do they always *intend* to consecrate, or to transmute the wafer into "the body, blood, soul, and divinity of Christ?" Let the following incident in the life of Luther suffice for a reply. One day, during the visit of the future reformer at Rome, Luther was at table with several distinguished ecclesiastics, to whose society he was introduced in consequence of his character of envoy from the Augustins of Germany. These priests exhibited openly their buffoonery in manners and impious conversation; and did not scruple to give utterance before him to many indecent jokes, doubtless thinking him one like themselves. They related, amongst other things, laughing, and priding themselves upon it, how when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of the Saviour, they pronounced over the bread and wine these sarcastic words: "*Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain*—Panis es et panis manebis; vinum es et vinum manebis." "Then," continued they, "we elevate the pyx, and all the people worship." Luther could scarcely believe his ears. His mind, gifted with much vivacity, and even gaiety, in the society of his friends, was remarkable for gravity when treating of serious things. These Romish mockeries shocked him. "I," says he, "was a serious and pious young monk; such language deeply grieved me. If at Rome they speak thus openly at table, thought I, what, if their actions should correspond with their words, and popes, cardinals, and courtiers should thus say mass. And I, who have so often heard them recite it so devoutly, how, in that case, must I have been deceived!"*

* Merle D'Aubigné, p. 53. That the priests of the nineteenth century in the city of Rome are no better than those of the sixteenth above mentioned, is manifest from the following words of one who was but lately one of their number. "What was my surprise," says Dr. Giustiniani (after becoming sceptical upon some of the doctrines of Popery), "when I made known my thoughts to some priests my intimate friends, to find that they were *rank infidels!* With the Scrip-

§ 24.—The second and third divisions of the decree were upon the subjects of *Baptism* and *Confirmation*. From these it will be sufficient to cite, without remark, the following extracts.

Si quis dixerit, Baptismum liberum esse, hoc est, non necessarium ad salutem; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, parvulos, eò quòd actum credendi non habent, suscepto Baptismo inter fideles computandos non esse, ac propterea, cùm ad annos discretionis pervenirent, esse rebaptizandos; aut præstare omitti eorum Baptisma, quam eos non actu proprio credentes baptizari in sola fide Ecclesiæ; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, Confirmationem baptizatorum otiosam cæremoniam esse, et non potiùs verum et proprium Sacramentum; aut olim nihil aliud fuisse, quàm catechesim quamdam, quâ adolescentiæ proximi fidei suæ rationem coram Ecclesia exponebant; ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, injurios esse Spiritui sancta eos qui sacro Confirmationis chrismati virtutem aliquam tribuunt; ANATHEMA SIT

Whoever shall affirm that baptism is indifferent, that is, *not necessary to salvation;* LET HIM BE ACCURSED

Whoever shall affirm that children are not to be reckoned among the faithful by the reception of baptism, because they do not actually believe; and therefore that they are to be re-baptized when they come to years of discretion; or that, since they cannot personally believe, it is better to omit their baptism, than that they should be baptized only in the faith of the church: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that the confirmation of the baptized is a trifling ceremony, and not a true and proper sacrament; or that formerly it was nothing more than a kind of catechizing; in which young persons explained the reasons of their faith before the church: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm that they offend the Holy Spirit, who attribute any virtue to the said chrism of confirmation: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

By the first of these canons, we perceive that Rome regards baptism as *necessary to salvation*, and pronounces her curse upon all who believe otherwise. By the second, she consigns in a body to damnation (that is, so far as her *good* wishes can operate), at least one of the largest denominations of the great protestant family; and by the third and fourth, that and all the other denominations of Christians belonging to that great family, who are unwilling to believe that "confirmation" is "a true and proper sacrament."

tures they were unacquainted; the doctrines of the church they considered as human fabrications; mocked at and ridiculed things most sacred in the eye of a devoted papist, and laughed at the ignorance of the poor deluded people." (*Papal Rome as it is*, p. 42.

CHAPTER V.

SUSPENSION OF THE COUNCIL IN 1549, AND RESUMPTION UNDER POPE JULIUS III. IN 1551.—DECREE ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

§ 25.—Soon after the session in which the canons just cited were passed, a proposal was made under the pretext of a fever having broken out at Trent to transfer the council to some other place; and through the influence of the legate, De Monte, and others of the ultra-papal party, a vote of the majority was obtained, and a decree passed at the *eighth session*, March 11th, 1547, though not without strong opposition, to remove to Bologna, a city belonging to the Pope, and where the future sessions would be still more exclusively under his influence, than those already past. This step was very offensive to the emperor Charles, who employed all his influence in persuading, as many as possible of the divines still to continue at Trent.

Those who assembled at Bologna were all Italian prelates, and entirely under the direction of the Pope. Being so few in number, and exclusively of one nation, they could hardly presume to act as a *general council*. On April 21st, they met in what was called the *ninth session*, only to adjourn to June 2d. On the latter day they met again, and adjourned to September 14th, when they assembled only to prorogue the council for an indefinite period; and after the lapse of more than two years, the few prelates still remaining at Bologna were informed by the Pope on the 17th of September, 1549, that their services were no longer needed, and consequently they dispersed to their homes.

§ 26.—In less than two months after the suspension of the council, pope Paul III. died, on the 10th of November, 1549. When the cardinals entered into the conclave to choose a successor, they prepared and signed a series of resolutions, which they severally bound themselves by solemn oath to observe in the event of being elected to the Apostolic chair. The resumption of the council, the establishment of such reforms as it might enact, and the reformation of the court of Rome, were included.* It was long before they could agree, so powerful was the influence of party feelings and conflicting interests, producing complicated intrigue, and thereby extending their deliberations to a most inconvenient and wearisome length. At last the choice fell on De Monte, the former legate at Trent, who was publicly installed into his high office, February 23d, 1550, and assumed the name of Julius III.

It affords a striking comment upon the pretended efforts of the ecclesiastics at the council of Trent, to effect a reform in the discipline and morals of the priesthood, that a notoriously immoral man like De Monte should have been elevated to the papacy. In addition to his other vices, he was a notorious sodomite, and bestow-

* Le Plat, vol. iv., p. 156–159.

A hard question to answer — The arrogant bull of pope Julius for the re-assembling of the council

ed a cardinal's hat on a young man named Innocent, *the keeper of his monkey*, of whom he was suspected to be too fond. When the cardinals remonstrated with him on occasion of this promotion, he cooly replied, "*And what merit did you discover in me, that you raised me to the Popedom?*" They could not easily answer such a question,* nor could they any more easily remove the unworthy pope from his ill-deserved elevation.

§ 27.—The Emperor, who was now anxious to unite all the German princes in some plan of religious union, pressed the resumption of the council of Trent upon the new pope, and endeavored to prevail upon him, in his bull for the re-assembling of the council, to use such language as might not disgust the Protestants, and prevent them from coming to Trent. It soon became evident, however, that Julius wished to hinder the Protestants from attending the council, and was determined by this means to prevent the discussions which would result from their appearance there. Instead of showing any moderation in the style and temper of the document, he used expressions that could not but be obnoxious and offensive, even to many Roman Catholics. The pontiff asserted that he possessed the sole power of convening and directing general councils; commanded, "in the plentitude of apostolic authority," the prelates of Europe to repair forthwith to Trent; promised, unless prevented by his age and infirmities, or the pressure of public affairs, to preside in person; and denounced the vengeance of Almighty God, and of the Apostles Peter and Paul, on any who should resist or disobey the decree.† When the bull was presented to the Protestants, it produced exactly the effects that were anticipated. They declared that such arrogant pretensions precluded the hope of conciliation, and that they must retract any promise they had given to submit to the council, since it could not be done without wounding their consciences and offending God.

§ 28.—At length the council was re-opened. The *eleventh session* was held on the 1st of May, 1551, and the *twelfth* on the 1st of September following, but no doctrinal decrees were passed at either.

The *thirteenth session* was held on the 11th of October, and a long decree was issued on the subject of Transubstantiation, consisting of eight chapters and eleven canons and curses. It will be sufficient to quote the following five of the canons and curses.

Si quis negaverit, in sanctissimæ Eucharistiæ Sacramento contineri vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem unà cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ac proindè totum Christum: sed dixerit tantum-	Whoever shall deny, that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there are truly, really, and substantially contained the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with his soul and divinity, and consequently Christ entire;

* Thuan. Hist. des Conclaves, Tom. i., p. 101.

† Wolf. Lect. Memorab., tom. ii., p. 640–644. Wolfius says that a new coinage was issued by Julius III., with this motto—"Gens et regnum, quod mihi non paruerit peribit—*The nation and kingdom which will not obey me, shall perish.*" See also Father Paul's council of Trent, lib. iii., sec. 33.

modò esse in eo ut in signo, vel figurâ, aut virtute; ANATHEMA SIT.

but shall affirm that he is present therein only in a sign or figure, or by his power: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, in sacro-sancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini unà cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius, substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxàt speciebus panis et vini; quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissimè Transubstantiationem appellat; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there remains the substance of the bread and wine, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and shall deny that wonderful and peculiar conversion of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood, the species only of bread and wine remaining, which conversion the Catholic church most fitly terms transubstantiation: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis negaverit, in venerabili Sacramento Eucharistiæ sub unaquaque specie, et sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus, separatione factâ totum Christum contineri; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall deny that Christ entire is contained in the venerable sacrament of the eucharist, under such species, and under every part of each species when they are separated: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, peractâ consecratione, in admirabili Eucharistiæ Sacramento non esse corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed tantùm in usu, dùm sumitur non autem antè vel post, et in hostiss seu particulis consecratis, quæ post communionem reservantur, vel supersunt, non remanere verum corpus Domini; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are not present in the admirable eucharist, as soon as the consecration is performed, but only as it is used and received, and neither before nor after; and that the true body of our Lord does not remain in the hosts or consecrated morsels which are reserved or left after communion; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, in sancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento Christum unigenitum Dei Filium non esse cultu latriæ, etiam externo, adorandum; atque ideò nec festivâ peculiari celebritate venerandum, neque in processionibus, secundùm laudabilem et universalem Ecclesiæ sanctæ ritum et consuetudinem, solemniter circumgestandum, vel non publicè, ut adoretur, populo proponendum, et ejus adoratores esse idoltras; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that Christ the only begotten Son of God, is not to be adored in the holy eucharist with the external signs of that worship which is due to God; and therefore that the eucharist is not to be honored with extraordinary festive celebration, nor solemnly carried about in processions according to the laudable and universal rites and customs of holy church, nor publicly presented to the people for their adoration: and that those who worship the same are idolators; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Enough has already been said in former portions of this work, relative to the monstrous absurdity of Transubstantiation proclaimed in the preceding canons. Upon such an insult to common sense and reason, it cannot be necessary longer to enlarge. In this place, therefore, no further remark will be offered on this most concontradictory and absurd of all the doctrines of Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

ON PENANCE, AURICULAR CONFESSION, SATISFACTION, AND EXTREME UNCTION—TO THE SECOND SUSPENSION IN APRIL, 1552.

§ 29.—THE *fourteenth session* of the council was held November 25th, 1551, and issued its decrees on penance and extreme unction. The decree on penance contained nine explanatory chapters, and fifteen canons and curses. Penance is said to consist of three parts, *contrition*, *confession*, and *satisfaction*. The following extracts from the canons will sufficiently explain the faith of Romanists on the subject of penance.

Of penance in general.

Si quis dixerit, in Catholica Ecclesia Pœnitentiam non esse verè et propriè Sacramentum pro fidelibus, quoties post baptismum in peccata labuntur ipsi Deo reconciliandis, à Christo Domino nostro institutum; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm that penance, as used in the Catholic church is not truly and properly a sacrament, instituted by Christ our Lord, for the benefit of the faithful, to reconcile them to God, as often as they shall fall into sin after baptism: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis Sacramenta confundens, ipsum Baptismum, Pœnitentiæ Sacramentum esse dixerit, quasi hæc duo Sacramenta distincta non sint, atque ideò Pœnitentiam non rectè secundum post naufragium tabulam appellari: ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever, confounding the sacraments, shall affirm that baptism itself is a penance, as if those two sacraments were not distinct, and penance were not rightly called a "*second plank after shipwreck*:" LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, verba illa Domini Salvatoris: Accipite Spiritum sanctum: quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis: et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt: non esse intelligenda de potestate remittendi et retinendi peccata in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, sicut Ecclesia Catholica ab initio semper intellexit; detorserit autem, contra institutionem hujus Sacramenti, ad auctoritatem prædicandi Evangelium; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm that the words of the Lord our Saviour, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained;" are not to be understood of the power of forgiving and retaining sins in the sacrament of penance, as the Catholic church has always from the very first understood them; but shall restrict them to the authority of preaching the gospel, in opposition to the institution of this sacrament: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis negaverit, ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri tres actus in pœnitente, quasi materiam Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, videlicit, Contritionem, Confessionem, et Satisfactionem, quæ tres Pœnitentiæ partes dicuntur; aut dixerit, duas tantùm esse Pœnitentiæ partes, terrores scilicit incussos conscientiæ, agnito peccato, et fidem conceptam ex Evangelio, vel ab-

Whoever shall deny, that in order to the full and perfect forgiveness of sins, three acts are required of the penitent, constituting as it were the matter of the sacrament of penance, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, which are called the three parts of penance; or shall affirm that there are only two parts of penance, namely, terrors wherewith the conscience is smitten by the

solutione, quà credit quis sibi per Christum remissa peccata: ANATHEMA SIT.

sense of sin, and faith, produced by the gospel, or by absolution, whereby the person believes that his sins are forgiven him through Christ: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Of secret or auricular confession to the priest.

Si quis negaverit, Confessionem Sacramentalem vel institutam, vel ad salutem necessariam esse jure divino, aut dixerit, modum secretè confitendi soli sacerdoti, quem Ecclesia Catholica ab initio semper observavit et observat, alienum esse ab institutione et mandato Christi, et inventum esse humanum; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever *shall deny that sacramental confession* was instituted by divine command, or that it *is necessary to salvation;* or shall affirm that the practice of *secretly confessing to the priest alone*, as it has been ever observed from the beginning by the Catholic church, and is still observed, is foreign to the institution and command of Christ, and is a human invention: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, in Sacramento Pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino, confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur, etiam occulta, &c.; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that in order to obtain forgiveness of sins in the sacrament of penance, it is not by divine command necessary to confess all and every mortal sin which occurs to the memory after due and diligent premeditation—including *secret offences*, &c.: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, Confessionem omnium peccatorum qualem Ecclesia servat, esse impossibilem, et traditionem humanam, à piis abolendam; aut ad eam non teneri omnes et singulos utriusque sexûs Christi fideles, juxta magni Concilii Lateranensis constitutionem, semel in anno, et ob id suadendum esse Christi fidelibus, et non confiteantur tempore Quadragesimæ; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm that the confession of every sin, according to the custom of the church, is impossible, and merely a human tradition, which the pious should reject; or *that all Christians, of both sexes, are not bound to observe the same once a year*, according to the constitution of the great Council of Lateran; and therefore, that the faithful in Christ are to be persuaded not to confess in Lent: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit Absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotes non esse actum judicialem, sed nudum ministerium pronuntiandi et declarandi remissa esse peccata confitenti; modò tantùm credat se esse absolutum; aut sacerdos non seriò, sed joco absolvat; aut dixerit non requiri Confessionem pœnitentis, ut sacerdos eum absolvere possit; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm that the priest's sacramental absolution is not a judicial act, but only a ministry, to pronounce and declare that the sins of the party confessing are forgiven, so that he believes himself to be absolved, even though the priest should not absolve seriously, but in jest; or shall affirm that the confession of the penitent is not necessary in order to obtain absolution from the priest: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 30.—Before quoting from the canons of *satisfaction* in the same decree, it is necessary to pause here, for the purpose of briefly showing the indecency, the bigotry, and tyranny of the above laws of the Roman Catholic church relative to auricular confession.

Let it be remembered that this decree enjoins upon all of "both sexes," the females as well as males, to confess in the ear of the

priest alone, closeted with him in the closest secresy, not only every sinful or unholy act, but every impure thought that has passed through the heart; and that it is the duty of the priest to question and to cross-question their penitents in every variety of form, relative to their violations in thought, word, or deed, of each of the commandments of the decalogue. The reason for this particularity in confession, is given in the fifth chapter of the decree in the following words:—"For it is plain that the priests cannot sustain the office of judge, if the cause be unknown to them, nor inflict equitable punishments, if sins are only confessed in general, and not minutely and individually described. For this reason it follows that penitents are bound to rehearse in confession all mortal sins, of which, after diligent examination of themselves, they are conscious, even though they be of the most secret kind," &c.

In the various Romish books of devotion, such as the "Path to Paradise," "Garden of the Soul," &c., there are directions to penitents how to prepare themselves before going to confession for this scrutinizing examination. The following few questions, from the direction for the examination of conscience, in the "Garden of the Soul," are cited at random, as characteristic specimens of the confessional enquiries on the subjects to which they refer.

"Have you by word or deed denied your religion, or *gone to the churches or meetings of heretics*, so as to join in any way, with them in their worship? or to give scandal? How often? Have you blasphemed God or his saints? How often? Have you broke the days of abstinence commanded by the church, or eaten more than one meal on fasting days? or been accessary to others so doing? How often? Have you neglected to confess your sins once a year; or to receive the blessed sacraments at Easter? Have you presumed to receive the blessed sacrament after having broken your fast? Have you committed anything that you judged or doubted to be a mortal sin, though perhaps it was not so? How often? Or have you exposed yourself to the evident danger of mortal sin? How often? And of what sin? Have you *entertained with pleasure the thoughts* of saying or doing anything which it would be a sin to say or do? *How often?* Have you *had the desire* or design of committing any sin? *Of what sin? How often!*"

§ 31.—The disgusting *indecency* of auricular confession, and its necessarily corrupting influence, both to priest and penitent, must be evident to all, when the nature of the subjects is considered upon which the priests are bound to examine their female penitents relative to violations of the laws of chastity. I have now lying before me the edition of the "Garden of the Soul," printed in 1844, at New York, and as we are informed on the title page, "with the approbation of the Right Reverend Dr. Hughes, Bishop of New York." On pages 213 and 214 of that popular Roman Catholic book of devotion, I find the following questions IN ENGLISH, for the

Questions on the seventh commandment from the "Garden of the Soul," approved by Bishop Hughes

examination of conscience on the *sixth** commandment. They are transcribed *verbatim* et *literatim*, with the omission of portions of two of the queries, which are calculated to suggest modes of pollution and crime, that a pure minded person would never think of. I had thought at first, of translating these questions into Latin, and throwing them into a note; but they are printed IN PLAIN ENGLISH, in a popular book of devotion, issued under the auspices of the most celebrated Romish Bishop in America, and to be found in the hands of almost every Roman Catholic; and it is nothing but right that Protestants, and especially those who send their daughters to Roman Catholic seminaries, should know the kind of queries that will be proposed by the priests, in the secret confessional, to their wives and their daughters, in case they should be induced to embrace the religion of Rome. I must be excused for omitting the most indecent portions of the two vilest questions in the filthy list. I dared not pollute my page with them. The work in which they are found, can be procured at any Roman Catholic book-store. The following are the questions:

"Have you been guilty of fornication, or adultery, or incest, or any sin against nature, either with a person of the same sex, or with any other creature? How often? Or have you designed or attempted any such sin, or sought to induce others to it? How often? Have you been guilty of self-pollution? Or of immodest touches of yourself? How often? Have you touched others or permitted yourself to be touched by others immodestly? Or given or taken wanton kisses or embraces, or any such liberties? How often? Have you looked at immodest objects with pleasure or danger? Read immodest books or songs to yourselves or others? Kept indecent pictures? Willingly given ear to, or taken pleasure in hearing loose discourse, &c.? Or sought to see or hear anything that was immodest? How often? Have you exposed yourself to wanton company? Or played at any indecent play? Or frequented masquerades, balls, comedies, &c., with danger to your chastity? How often? Have you been guilty of any immodest discourses, wanton stories, jests, or songs, or words of double meaning? How often? And before how many? And were the persons before whom you spoke or sung married or single? For all this you are obliged to confess by reason of the evil thoughts these things are apt to create in the hearers. Have you abused the marriage bed by * * * * * * * * * * *. Or by any pollutions? Or been guilty of any irregularity, in order * * * * * * * * * * *. How often? Have you without a just cause refused the marriage debt? And what sin may have followed from it? How often? Have you debauched any person that was innocent before? Have you forced any person, or deluded any one by de-

* This is properly the *seventh* commandment,—"Thou shalt not commit adultery." It is called the *sixth* in the Garden of the Soul and other popish books, on account of their omission of the second, which forbids the worship of images or idols. They make up the number ten, by dividing the tenth into two.

Auricular confession at Rome in the words of an eye-witness. Instance of assault to a young lady.

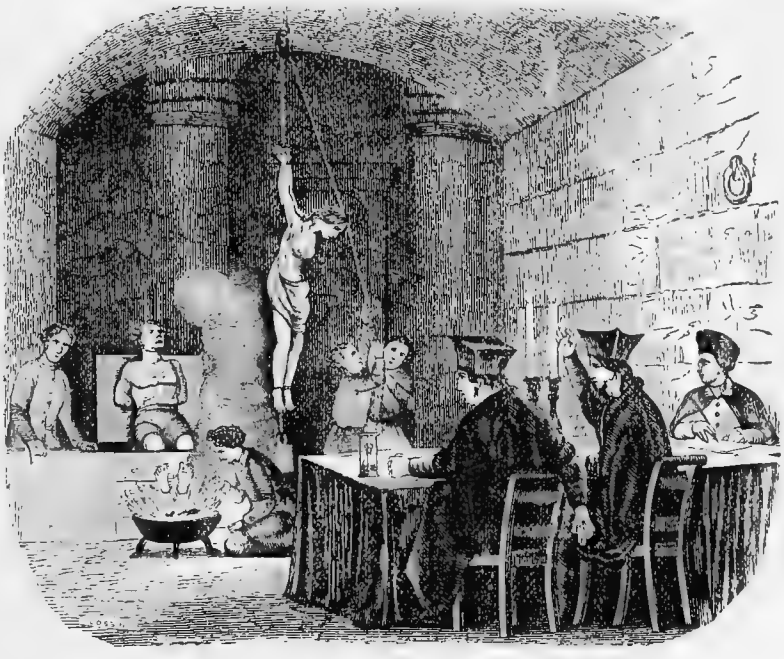
ceitful promises, &c.? Or designed or desired so to do? How often? You are obliged to make satisfaction for the injury you have done. Have you taught any one evil which he knew not before? Or carried any one to lewd houses, &c.? How often?"

§ 32.—It will be a sufficient commentary on the above questions to cite two brief extracts from the work of the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani, who was recently himself a Romish priest in the city of Rome itself—the very "seat of the Beast"—and who is therefore perfectly acquainted with the practical operation of secret auricular confession. The first is in reference to a young lady of about seventeen years old, in the family where the Doctor was boarding. "One day the mother told her daughter to prepare to go with her to-morrow to confess and to commune. The mother unfortunately, feeling unwell the next morning, the young lady had to go by herself; when she returned, her eyes showed that she had wept, and her countenance indicated that something unusual had happened. The mother, as a matter of course, inquired the cause, but she wept bitterly, and said she was ashamed to tell it. Then the mother insisted; so the daughter told her that the parish priest to whom she constantly confessed, asked her questions this time which she could not repeat without a blush. She, however, repeated some of them, which were of the most licentious and corrupting tendency, which were better suited to the lowest sink of debauchery than the confessional. Then he gave her some instructions, which decency forbids me to repeat; gave her absolution, and told her before she communed, she must come into his house, which was contiguous to the church; the unsuspecting young creature did as the father confessor told her. The rest, the reader can imagine. The parents furious, would immediately have gone to the archbishop, and laid before him the complaint; but I advised them to let it be as it was, because they would injure the character of their daughter more than the priest. All the punishment he would have received, is a suspension for a month or two, and then be placed in another parish, or even remain where he is. With such brutal acts, the history of the confessional is full." (*Papal Rome as it is*, pp. 83, 84.)

§ 33.—The other extract from the work of Dr. Giustiniani (p. 188), refers to the manner of confessing sick penitents in their bed-chambers, in the city of Rome, where he long resided. In that city, he says, "you will see the indisposed fair penitent remain in her bed, and the Franciscan friar leaving his sandals before the door of her bed-chamber, as an indication that he is performing some ecclesiastical act, then none, not even the husband can enter the chamber of his wife, until the Franciscan friar has finished his business and leaves the chamber; then the husband with reverence ready waiting at the door, kisses the hand of the father Franciscan for his kindness for having administered spiritual comfort to his wife, and very often he gives him a dollar to say a mass for his indisposed spouse." (*See Engraving.*)

"But why," continues the doctor, "shall I speak of the moral cor-

Auricular Confession in a Church.



Tortures of the Inquisition.—Pulley, and Roasting the Feet.

ruption of Popery in Rome? it is everywhere the same; it appears differently, but never changes its character. In America, where female virtue is the characteristic of the nation, it is under the control of the papal priest. If a Roman Catholic lady, the wife of a free American, should choose to have the priest in her bed-room, she has only to pretend to be indisposed and asking for the spiritual father, the confessor, no other person, not even the husband, dare enter. In Rome it would be at the risk of his life; in America at the risk of being excommunicated, and deprived of all spiritual privileges of the church, and even excluded from heaven."

§ 34.—The *bigotry* and *tyranny* of the popish canons of Trent relative to confession are no less evident than their indecency. In one of the canons above cited, this sacramental confession to a priest is declared to be *necessary to salvation*, and a bitter curse is pronounced not only on him who neglects to confess, but on all who deny that this auricular confession is necessary to salvation.

In protestant lands we can smile at the anathemas of an apostate church. We feel that they are but a breath of empty air, and we treat them with that contempt they deserve. Let those lands but once become popish, and be reduced to the situation of oppressed and priest-ridden Italy or Spain, and the people must obey these decrees, and treat them with the respect they challenge, or *endure the consequences*. What those consequences are at "Rome in the nineteenth century," we learn from a forcible and accurate writer. "If every true-born Italian, man, woman and child, within the Pope's dominions, does not confess and receive the communion at least once a year, before Easter, his name is posted up in the parish church; if he still refrain, he is exhorted, entreated, and otherwise tormented; and if he persist in his contumacy, he is excommunicated, which is a very good joke to us, but none at all to an Italian, since it involves the loss of civil rights, and perhaps of liberty and property. Every Italian must at this time confess and receive the communion."—"A friend of ours, who has lived a great deal in foreign countries, and there imbibed very heterodox notions, and who has never to us made any secret of his confirmed unbelief of Catholicism, went to-day to confession with the strongest repugnance. 'What can I do?' he said. 'If I neglect it, I am reprimanded by the parish priest; if I delay it, my name is posted up in the parish church; if I persist in my contumacy, the arm of the church will overtake me, and my rank and fortune only serve to make me more obnoxious to its power. If I choose to make myself a martyr to infidelity, as the saints of old did to religion, and to suffer the extremity of punishment in the loss of property and personal rights, what is to become of my wife and family? The same ruin would overtake them, though they are Catholics; for I am obliged not only to conceal my true belief, and profess what I despise, but I must bring up my children in their abominable idolatries and superstition; or, if I teach them the truth, make them either hypocrites or beggars.'"*

* Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 262; vol. iii., 160.

§ 35.—*Of Satisfaction.*—On this third part of penance, it will be sufficient to quote the three following canons:—

Si quis dixerit, totam pœnam simul cum culpa remitti semper à Deo, satisfactionemque pœnitentium non esse aliam quam fidem, quâ apprehendunt Christum pro eis satisfecisse; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the entire punishment is always remitted by God, together with the fault, and therefore that penitents need no other satisfaction than faith, whereby they apprehend Christ, who has made satisfaction for them: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, pro peccatis, quoad pœnam temporalem, minimè Deo per Christi merita satisfieri pœnis ab eo inflictis, et patienter toleratis, vel à sacerdote injunctis, sed neque sponte susceptis, ut jejuniis, orationibus, elecmosynis, vel aliis etiam pietatis operibus, atque ideò optimam pœnitentiam esse tantùm novam vitam; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that we can by no means make satisfaction to God for our sins, through the merits of Christ, as far as the temporal penalty is concerned, either by punishments inflicted on us by him, and patiently borne, or enjoined by the priest, though not undertaken of our own accord, such as fastings, prayers, alms, or other works of piety; and therefore that the best penance is nothing more than a new life: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, satisfactiones, quibus pœnitentes per Christum Jesum peccata redimunt, non esse cultus Dei, sed traditiones hominum, doctrinam de gratia, et verum Dei cultum, atque ipsum beneficium mortis Christi obscurantes; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the satisfactions by which penitents *redeem themselves* from sin through Christ Jesus, are no part of the service of God, but, on the contrary, human traditions, which obscure the doctrine of grace, and the true worship of God, and the benefits of the death of Christ; LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Thus is it that the Romish anti-Christ fights against "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," and pronounces a curse upon all who trust entirely for salvation to Christ, and believe and rejoice in the most precious assurance of the word of God—"THE BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST HIS SON CLEANSETH US FROM ALL SINS."

§ 36.—The reader, acquainted chiefly with his bible, who has never become familiar with the *pious* frauds and crafty devices of Popery, upon reading the foregoing decree upon penance, satisfaction, &c., naturally inquires, "How do they reconcile these unscriptural notions with the word of God? I have read my bible from beginning to end, and have found nothing from Genesis to Revelations about *doing penance*—where do they get this doctrine?"

In reply to this natural inquiry I answer—"They do it by falsifying and corrupting God's word, by substituting in their Rhemish or Douay version, the words, "*do penance*" for "*repent*," in those passages where the original uses μετανοεω, a word which every Greek scholar knows refers to an operation of the *mind* (νους) from which the word is derived, with the preposition μετα denoting change. Two or three instances of this fraudulent translation will be subjoined. Thus, Matt. iii., 2: "*Do penance*, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Luke xvii. 3: "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him; and if he *do penance*, forgive him." Acts viii., 22.

Doing penance. Flagrant falsification of God's Word, in the popish Bordeaux testament—(*note.*)

Peter to Simon Magus: "*Do penance* therefore, from this thy wickedness."

In every one of these instances, it is scarcely necessary to say the Protestant version renders the term *repent*, as the meaning of the Greek word undoubtedly requires. They even carry this mistranslation into the Old Testament, for instance, Job xiii., 6. "Therefore I reprehend myself and *do penance* in dust and ashes." Protestant: "Wherefore I abhor *myself*, and repent in dust and ashes."

Ezek. xviii., 21: "If the wicked *do penance* for all the sins which he hath committed," &c. Protestant: "But if the wicked will turn," &c.*

* *The Bordeaux Testament.*—The falsification of God's Holy Word, by substituting "do penance" for "repent" is not the most flagrant instance of the corruption of the Sacred Scriptures of which the votaries and advocates of Popery have been guilty. Soon after the expulsion of the Huguenots from France in 1685, in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the papists, perceiving that they could not prevent the scriptures from being read, resolved to force the sacred volume itself into their service, by the most audacious corruptions and interpolations. An edition of the New Testament was published, *so translated, that a Roman Catholic might find in it explicit statements of the peculiar dogmas of his church.* The book was printed at Bordeaux, in 1686. It was entitled, "The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated from Latin into French, by the divines of Louvain:" and the attestation of the popish archbishop of Bordeaux was prefixed to it, assuring the reader that it was "carefully revised and corrected." Two doctors in divinity of the university of the same place also recommended it as useful to all those, who, *with permission of their superiors*, might read it. A few quotations will show the manner in which the work was executed, and the object which the translators had in view.

In the summary of the "contents" of Matthew xxvi,, Mark xiv., and Luke xxii., it is said that those chapters contain the account of the "institution of the mass!" Acts xiii., 2, ("as they ministered to the Lord and fasted") is thus rendered—"*as they offered to the Lord the sacrifice of the mass*, and fasted," &c. In Acts xi., 30, and other places, where our English version has the word "elders," this edition has "*priests.*"

A practice that has proved very productive of gain to the priesthood, is made scriptural in the following manner: "And his father and mother went every year *in pilgrimage* to Jerusalem," Luke ii., 41. "Beloved, thou actest as a true believer in all that thou doest towards the brethren, and towards the *pilgrims.*" 3 John, 5.

Tradition is thus introduced:—"Ye keep my commandments, as I left them with you *by tradition*," 1 Cor. xi., 2. "The faith which has been once given to the saints *by tradition.*" Jude 5.

That the Roman Catholic might be able to prove that marriage is *a sacrament*, he was furnished with these renderings:—"To those who are joined together *in the sacrament of marriage*, I command," &c. 1 Cor. vii., 10. "Do not join yourselves *in the sacrament of marriage* with unbelievers." 2 Cor. vi., 14.

1 Cor. ix., 5, is so directly opposed to the constrained *celibacy of the clergy*, that we can scarcely wonder at finding an addition to the text; it stands thus—"Have we not power to lead about a sister, *a woman to serve us in the gospel, and to remember us with her goods*, as the other apostles," &c.

In support of *human merit*, the translation of Heb. xiii., 16, may be quoted—"We *obtain merit toward God* by such sacrifices."

Purgatory could not be introduced but by a direct interpolation: "He himself shall be saved, yet in all cases as by *the fire of purgatory.*" 1 Cor. iii., 15.

Many other passages might be noticed. "Him only shalt thou serve *with latria*," i. e., with the worship specially and solely due to God: this addition was

The idea which the common people among Papists entertain of *doing penance*, is well illustrated by a reply once made by an intelligent Spaniard to a friend of mine, a clergyman of New York. "It means," said he, "to eat no breakfast—very little dinner—no tea; not to lie in bed, but on the floor, and (suiting the action to the word) whip yourself! whip yourself!! whip yourself!!!"*

Of Extreme Unction.

§ 37.—This also is regarded as a sacrament by the Romish church. It consists in the anointing, by the priest, of a person supposed to be at the point of death with the sacred oil upon the eyes, the ears, the nostrils, the mouth, and the hands. The unction is applied to all the parts above mentioned. At each anointing the priest says, "*By this holy unction, and through his great mercy, may God indulge thee whatever sins thou hast committed by sight*"—"*smell*"—"*touch*," &c. This is called the "form" of the sacrament. At this time the priest has the power of absolving the dying person from all sins, even from those which in the seventh chapter of the decree on penance are reserved to the decision of the Supreme

evidently made to prevent the text being urged against the invocation of the saints; Luke iv., 8. "Many of those who believed, came *to confess and declare their sins*." Acts xix., 18. "After *a procession* of seven days round it." Heb. xi., 30. "Beware, lest being led away with others, *by the error of the wicked heretics*," &c. 2 Pet. iii., 17. "There is some sin which is not *mortal*, but *venial*." 1 John v., 17. "And round about the throne there were twenty-four thrones, and on the thrones twenty-four *priests* seated, all clothed with *albs*." Rev. iv., 4. The *alb*, it will be recollected, is part of the official attire of a Roman Catholic priest.

But the most flagrant interpolation occurs in 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some will separate themselves from the *Roman faith*, giving themselves up to spirits of error, and to doctrines *taught by devils*. Speaking false things through hypocrisy, having also the conscience cauterised. *Condemning the sacrament of marriage, the abstinence from meats*, which God hath created for the faithful, and for those who have known the truth, to receive them with thanksgiving."

"Such," says Rev. J. M. Cramp, now president of the Baptist college in Montreal, to whom I am indebted for this important fact—"such was the Bordeaux New Testament. Whether it was actually translated by the divines of Louvain is doubtful. This is certain, however, that it was printed by the royal and university printer, and sanctioned by dignitaries of the Romish church. It is proper to add, that the Roman Catholics were soon convinced of the folly of their conduct, in thus tampering with the inspired volume. To avoid the just odium brought on their cause by this wicked measure, they have endeavored to destroy the whole edition. In consequence, the book is now excessively scarce."

I am not aware that a single copy of the *Bordeaux Testament* is to be found in the United States. Four copies, however, are known to be in existence in Great Britain. One is in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham; another is possessed by the Duke of Devonshire; a third is in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth; and the fourth was a few years ago in the possession of the late Duke of Sussex, by whom President Cramp was permitted to visit his valuable library, and to make the extracts from the Bordeaux Testament, cited in the above note. (*See Cramp's History of the Council of Trent*, page 67, &c.)

* See Defence of Protestant Scriptures, by the present author, page 52.

Pontiff. However the man may have lived during life, let him on his dying bed confess to a priest, receive absolution and extreme unction, and he is sure of his passport to Heaven. Awful delusion! thus to put the priest in the stead of Christ, and teach the poor dying sinner to trust in a few drops of oil from the fingers, and a few words of absolution from the lips of a miserable mortal, instead of directing him to Christ that "rock of ages," who is the only "sure foundation" of a sinner's hope, and bidding him trust alone in that Almighty Saviour, who is "able to save unto the uttermost all that come unto God by him." "All will confess," says Mr. Cramp, "the vast importance of right views and feelings in the prospect of death. Perilous as is deception or delusion in things spiritual at any time, the danger is immeasurably increased when the last change is fast approaching, and the final destiny is about to be sealed for ever. It is then that the church of Rome "lays the flattering unction to the soul." The dying man sends for the priest, and makes confession; absolution is promptly bestowed: the eucharist is administered; and lastly, the sacred chrism is applied. These are the credentials of pardon, the passports to heaven. No attempt is made to investigate the state of the heart, detect false hopes, bring the character to the infallible standard: nothing is said of the atonement of Christ and the sanctifying influences of the Spirit. Without repentance, without faith, without holiness, the departing soul feels happy and secure, and is not undeceived till eternity discloses its dreadful realities—and then it is too late. It is not affirmed, indeed, that the description is universally applicable; but that, with regard to a large majority of instances, it is a fair statement of facts, cannot, alas, be questioned."*

It will be sufficient to quote the following two canons with the curses upon all who cannot believe that these drops of oil "confer grace" or "forgive sin," and who prefer, therefore, to trust for salvation solely to the infinite merits, the perfect righteousness, and the one-atoning sacrifice of the Son of God.

Si quis dixerit, Extremam Unctionem non esse verè et propriè Sacramentum à Christo Domino nostro institutum, et à beato Jacobo Apostolo promulgatum: sed ritum tantùm acceptum à Patribus, aut figmentum humanum: ANATHEMA SIT.

Si quis dixerit, sacram infirmorum Unctionem non conferre gratiam; nec remittere peccata, nec alleviare infirmos: sed jam cessasse, quasi olim tantùm fuerit gratia curationum; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm that extreme unction is not truly and properly a sacrament, instituted by Christ our Lord, and published by the blessed Apostle James, but only a ceremony received from the fathers, or a human invention: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Whoever shall affirm, that *the sacred unction of the sick does not confer grace, nor forgive sin*, nor relieve the sick: but that its power has ceased, as if the gift of healing existed only in past ages: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 38.—No doctrinal decrees were passed at the *fifteenth* and *sixteenth sessions*, the latter of which was held on the 28th of April

* Cramp's council of Trent, p. 214.

Second suspension of the council in 1552. Re-opens, after a ten years interval, in 1562

1552. On that day a hasty decree was passed, adjourning the council for two years, in consequence of the alarm excited by the successes of the protestant prince, duke Maurice of Saxony, who was at war with the emperor Charles, and moving with his victorious forces in the direction of Trent. No sooner was this decree passed for a second suspension, than the council-hall was quickly vacated, and the fathers hastened to the asylum of their homes.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE SEVENTEENTH TO THE TWENTY-FIFTH AND CLOSING SESSION.—DENIAL OF THE CUP TO THE LAITY. THE MASS. SACRAMENTS OF ORDERS AND MATRIMONY. PURGATORY. INDULGENCES, RELICS, &C.

§ 39.—THOUGH the council had adjourned for but *two* years, nearly *ten* years elapsed, from various causes, before it was re-opened. During this interval, after the death of pope Julius III., which took place March 23d, 1555, three other pontiffs successively occupied the papal throne, Marcellus, cardinal of Santa Croce, one of the former legates at Trent, who died after the very brief reign of twenty-one days, Paul IV., a most bloody persecutor and promoter of the Inquisition, and Pius IV., who was chosen on Christmas day, 1559.

At length the council was re-opened on Sunday, January 18th, 1562, and the first session under pope Pius IV., or *seventeenth* from the commencement, was held. After mass and a sermon, the bull of convocation was read. Four other bulls or briefs were also produced: the first contained the Pope's instructions to the legates; in the second and third *he gave them authority to grant licenses* to the prelates and divines to read heretical books, and to receive privately into communion with the Romish church any persons who might abjure their heresies; by the fourth he regulated the order of precedence among the fathers, some childish disputes having already arisen among them on that account.

§ 40.—The *eighteenth* session was held February 26, when the principal subject of consideration was the subject of *prohibited books*. A brief from pope Pius was read, authorising the council to prepare a catalogue of prohibited books. This document adverted in a lugubrious strain to the wide dissemination of heretical books, and the importance of interfering to avert this evil. A committee, or congregation was subsequently appointed to prepare this

index prohibitorius,* the result of whose labors has already been mentioned, in connection with the doings of the fourth session of the council, and their restrictions upon the liberty of the press. The reason of the Pope sending directions relative to this subject was a fear lest it should appear that the council was superior to the Pope, by the proposed revision of an index prohibitorius previously prepared by pope Paul IV. The doings of the council were in fact almost entirely under papal control, so much so that M. Lanssac, the French ambassador, in a letter written the day after his arrival to De Lisle, the French ambassador at Rome, expressed his fear that little advantage would be derived from the assembly, unless the Pope would suffer the deliberations and votes of the fathers to be entirely free, and no more "*send the Holy Spirit in a travelling bag from Rome to Trent?*"†

§ 41.—The *nineteenth* session was held, May 14th, and the *twentieth*, June 4th, but no doctrinal decree was passed at either. At these sessions the most determined opposition to all proposals of reform was made by the papal legates, and the party under their influence. A memorial was presented to the legates by the imperial ambassadors, containing the Emperor's wishes with regard to reformation. It included among others the following demands: that the Pope should reform *himself* and his court, that no more scandalous dispensations should be given, that the ancient canons against simony should be renewed, that the number of human precepts in things spiritual should be lessened, and prelatical constitutions no longer placed on a level with the divine commands, that the breviaries and missals should be purified, that prayers faithfully translated into the vernacular tongues, should be interspersed in the services of the church, that means should be devised for the restoration of the clergy and the monastic orders to primitive purity, and that it should be considered whether the clergy might not be permitted to marry, and the cup be granted to the laity. The legates were alarmed, and exasperated at this memorial; they quickly perceived how dangerous it would be to suffer its introduction to the council, and persuaded the ambassadors to wait till they had negotiated with the Emperor. Delphino was at the imperial court: he assured Ferdinand, that if he persisted in requiring the memorial to be presented, a dissolution of the council would be the consequence. The Emperor yielded, and that important document was suppressed.‡

§ 42.—*Refusing the cup to the laity.*—Discussions ensued upon the question of withholding the cup in the sacrament from the laity. The denial of the cup had been predetermined at Rome, and, of course, all the influence of the legates and their party, and especially of Lainez,‖ the second general of the Jesuits, who was

* Father Paul Sarpi, lib. vi., c. 5. Pallavicini, lib. xv., s. 19.
† Le Plat, vol. v., p. 169. Cramp, 250.
‡ Father Paul, lib. vi., sect. 28; Pallavicini, lib. xvii., cap. 1.
‖ *Lainez.* This famous successor of Loyala, the founder of the Jesuits, was

a member of the council, was employed to effect this object. They alleged that should this point be conceded to the laity they would lose all their reverence for the holy sacraments, and that the difference between the laity and the holy clergy would be so narrowed down, as to be almost destroyed. On the other hand, the ambassadors of the Emperor and of France, and the envoy from Bavaria, contended strongly for conceding the cup to the laity. The imperial ambassadors presented a memorial on the state of Bohemia, alleging that ever since the council of Constance the practice of communion in both kinds had been maintained with great tenacity by the Bohemians, and that a refusal on the part of the council to concede this point, would probably cause them to take refuge with the Lutherans. But all was of no avail. A decree was prepared, and on the 16th of July, 1562, it was passed in the *twenty-first session*. The following two canons embody the substance of the decree.

Si quis dixerit, sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam non justis causis et rationibus adductam fuisse, ut Laicos, atque etiam Clericos, non conficientes, sub panis tantummodò specie communicaret, aut in eo errasse; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the holy Catholic church had not just grounds and reasons for restricting the laity and non-officiating clergy to communion in the species of bread only, or that she hath erred therein: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis negaverit, totum, et integrum Christum omnium gratiarum fontem et auctorem sub una panis specie sumi, quia ut quidam falsò asserunt, non secundùm ipsius Christi institutionem sub utraque specie sumatur; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall deny that Christ, whole and entire, the fountain and author of every grace, is received under the one species of bread; because, as some falsely affirm, he is not then received according to his own institution, in both kinds: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 43.—*Of the sacrifice of the Mass.*—The decree on this subject was passed at the *twenty-second session*, held September 17th, 1562. It consisted of eight chapters and nine canons, and taught that in the eucharist, a true propitiatory sacrifice was offered up for sin, in the same way as when Christ offered up himself as a sacrifice on the cross. Five of the canons were as follows:—

Si quis dixerit, in Missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud, quàm nobis Christum ad manducandum dari; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that *a true and proper sacrifice* is not offered to God in the mass; or that the offering is nothing else than giving Christ to us, to eat: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse Apostolos sacerdotes;

Whoever shall affirm, that by those words, "Do this for a commemoration of me," Christ did not appoint his apos-

a prominent member of the council, and distinguished himself by his advocacy of all the measures calculated to establish and enlarge the authority of the Holy See. He delivered a celebrated speech on the sovereign jurisdiction of the Pope, which is reported at some length by Father Paul, and copied by Dr. Campbell in his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, Lect. xx.

The Mass to be performed in Latin. Awful perversion of Christ's sacrifice in the Romish Mass.

aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi, aliique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum; ANATHEMA SIT.

tles priests, or did not ordain that they and other priests should offer his body and blood: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, Missæ sacrificium tantùm esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in Cruce peracti non autem propitiatorium; vel soli prodesse sumenti; neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus offerri debere; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the sacrifice of the mass is only a service of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice made on the cross, and not *a propitiatory offering*; or that it only benefits him who receives it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, blasphemiam irrogari sanctissimo Christi sacrificio in Cruce peracto, per Missæ sacrificium, aut illi per hoc derogari; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that the most holy sacrifice of Christ, made on the cross, is blasphemed by the sacrifice of the mass; or that the latter derogates from the glory of the former: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, imposturam esse, Missa celebrare in honorem sanctorum, et pro illorum intercessione apud Deum obtinenda, sicut Ecclesia intendit; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that to celebrate masses in *honor of the saints, and in order to obtain their intercession with God*, according to the intention of the church is an imposture: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 44.—By the same decree they enjoined the performance of the Mass *in the Latin language*, and pronounced a curse upon all who should "declare that it should be celebrated in the vernacular language only." How contrary all this to the declaration of St. Paul, "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." (1 Cor. xiv., 19.)

What an awful perversion of the glorious sacrifice of Christ on the cross is presented in these canons on the Mass! At the cost of incurring the impotent curse pronounced in the fourth of them, I assert that by this doctrine the holy sacrifice of Christ is blasphemed, and the cross of Christ made of none effect. How utterly opposed is this doctrine of Christ being offered up as often as the sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated, to the whole tenor of the New Testament, and especially to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Doubtless the omniscient and Holy Spirit foresaw this feature of the Romish Apostasy, and (as it would appear with the special design of meeting this exigency), inspired the apostle Paul to write as follows:—"For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us. NOR YET THAT HE SHOULD OFFER HIMSELF OFTEN, as the high priest entereth into the holy place every year with the blood of others; for then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world; but now ONCE in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And as it is appointed unto men *once* to die, and after that the judgment; so Christ was ONCE OFFERED to

bear the sins of many. . . . . For by ONE OFFERING he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. ix., 24–28; x., 14.) Is it any wonder that popish priests are so bitterly envenomed against the circulation of God's holy word without note or comment, since its plain and unequivocal declarations are so diametrically opposed to their doctrines?—"Christ is not offered up in sacrifice, so often as the ancient Jewish high priests offered the sacrifice under the ceremonial law, that is, once every year," says the apostle Paul, writing under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. "There you are wrong, Paul," reply the priests of Rome; "for we have the power given unto us of 'creating our Creator,' and offering him up for the sins of the world; and instead of not being offered up so often as once every year, he is offered up hundreds of times every month, whenever the sacrifice of the Mass is celebrated; and whoever shall affirm (whether Paul or any one else) that Christ is not offered up as *often* as this, even every time the Mass is celebrated, LET HIM BE ACCURSED. Thus does apostate Rome, in consistency with her true character, maintain throughout all her distinctive doctrines her title to the name of ANTI-CHRIST.

§ 45.—The *twenty-third session* was held on the 15th of July, 1563, and the subject of the decree passed was *the sacrament of orders.* The doctrine of Rome on this subject is too well known to render it necessary to transcribe the decree. It taught that the peculiar excellence and glory of the priesthood was "the power given to consecrate, offer, and minister Christ's body and blood, and also to remit and to retain sins;" that there are "seven orders of ministers," viz., "priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers and porters;" that "orders is one of the seven sacraments of the holy church;" that in ordination, "grace is conferred;" that bishops have "succeeded to the place of the apostles" and "hold a distinguished rank in this hierarchal order;" that "they are placed there by the Holy Spirit to rule the church of God;" that they are "superior to presbyters," "ordain the ministers of the church," &c., and that all who "presumptuously undertake and assume the offices of the ministry" by any other authority than that of these popish bishops "are not to be accounted ministers of the church, but THIEVES AND ROBBERS."* The decree consists of four

* *Thieves and Robbers.*—It is well known that on this subject the views of the Puseyites are identical with those of Rome. All of them believe, and some of them do not scruple to affirm that the holiest and the best of the ministers of the various protestant churches—our Doddridges, and Bunyans, and Paysons, and Fullers, and Halls—are nothing more than thieves and robbers, because they have entered into the Christian ministry some other way than through the boasted but pretended lineal apostolical succession. The following anecdote of a well known and distinguished living member of this community of "thieves and robbers," conveys a decided rebuke of these arrogant assumptions:—

The ministry that cuts.—When the venerable Lyman Beecher was a young man, and returning on a certain occasion to his native town in Connecticut, he fell into conversation by the road-side with an old neighbor, a high churchman, who had been mowing. "Mr. Beecher," said the farmer, "I should like to ask you a ques-

chapters, from which the above sentences are quoted, and closes with eight canons, embodying the same doctrine and pronouncing upon all who refuse implicitly to receive the dicta of Rome, the usual awful malediction—ANATHEMA SIT—LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

§ 46.—The *twenty-fourth session* was held on the 11th of November, 1563, and the subject of the decree was, *the sacrament of matrimony*. After an allusion to the "ravings" of the "impious men" of those times (evidently referring to Luther, Calvin, and their associates) the decree proceeds as follows:—

Therefore this holy and universal council, desiring to prevent such rashness, hath determined to destroy the infamous heresies and errors of the before-named schismatics, lest many more should be affected by their destructive contagion; for which cause the following anathemas are decreed against these heretics and their errors.

Then follow twelve canons, with the usual curses annexed on this subject, of which it will be sufficient to transcribe four:—

Si quis dixerit, eos tantùm consanguinitatis et affinitatis gradus, qui Levitico exprimuntur, posse impedire matrimonium contrahendum, et dirimere contractum; nec posse Ecclesiam in nonnullis illorum dispensare, aut constituere ut plures impediant, et dirimant; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that *only those degrees of consanguinity or affinity which are mentioned in the book of Leviticus* can hinder or annul the marriage contract; and *that the church has no power to dispense with some of them*, or to constitute additional hindrances or reasons for annulling the contract: LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solemnem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi; ANATHEMA SIT.

Whoever shall affirm, that a marriage solemnized but not consummated is not *annulled if one of the parties enters into a religious order:* LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

Si quis dixerit, Clericos in sacris Ordinibus constitutos, vel Regulares, castitatem solemniter professos, posse matrimonium contrahere, contractumque validum esse, non obstante lege ecclesiasticâ; vel voto; et oppositum nil aliud esse, quàm damnare matrimonium, posseque omnes contrahere matrimonium, qui non sentiunt se castitatis, etiam si eam voverint, habere donum; ANATHEMA SIT: cùm Deus id rectè pe-

Whoever shall affirm, *that persons in holy orders*, or regulars, who may have made a solemn profession of chastity, *may contract marriage*, and that the contract is valid, notwithstanding any ecclesiastical law or vow; and that to maintain the contrary is nothing less than to condemn marriage; and that all persons may marry who feel that though they should make a vow of chastity, they have not the gift thereof; LET

tion. Our clergy say that you are not ordained, and have no right to preach. I should be glad to know what you think about it." "Suppose," replied Dr. Beecher, "you had in the neighborhood a blacksmith who said he could prove that he belonged to a regular line of blacksmiths which had come down all the way from St. Peter, but he made scythes that would not cut; and you had another blacksmith, who said he could not see what descent from Peter had to do with making scythes that would cut. Where would you go to get your scythes?" "Why to the man who made scythes to cut, certainly," replied the farmer. "Well," said Dr. Beecher, "*that ministry which cuts, is the ministry which Christ has authorized to preach.*" In a recent conversation on the same subject, Dr. Beecher gave his opinions by relating this circumstance.

tentibus non deneget, nec patiatur non deneget, nec patiatur nos supra id quod possumus, tentari.

Si quis dixerit, statum conjugalem anteponendum esse statui virginitatis, vel cælibatus, et non esse melius ac beatius manere in virginitate aut cælibatu, quàm jungi matrimonio; ANATHEMA SIT.

HIM BE ACCURSED—for God does not deny his gifts to those who ask aright, neither does he suffer us to be tempted above that we are able.

Whoever shall affirm, that the conjugal state is to be preferred to a life of virginity or celibacy, and that it is not better and more conducive to happiness to remain in virginity or celibacy than to be married, LET HIM BE ACCURSED.

By the first of these canons, Popery makes good its claim to the character of anti-Christ by claiming the power to abrogate the laws of God; by the second, it encourages persons to break the most inviolable of all obligations and contracts upon condition (by entering a monastery or nunnery) of becoming one of the slaves of Rome; by the third, it forbids marriage to the clergy, and thus makes good its claim to another mark of anti-Christ, "forbidding to marry;" and by the fourth it places an undeserved stigma upon that state which God himself established, which Jesus honored by his presence and a wonderful miracle, and which St. Paul, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit pronounced "HONORABLE IN ALL."

§ 47.—The council had resolved on the 9th of December for the twenty-fifth session, intending, if possible, to make it the closing session. All parties, legates and prelates, the ambassadors and the Pope, were now anxious to bring the council to a close. The subjects of Purgatory, Indulgences, Feasts, Saints, Images, and Relics remained yet to be discussed, and it was resolved, that instead of lengthy decrees, with all the formality of chapters and canons, brief statements only of the doctrine of the church should be published on these subjects. While discussing these matters on the night of the first of December, news arrived that pope Pius was alarmingly ill, and that his life was considered to be in danger. The fathers were hastily convened, and a resolution passed to celebrate the closing session of the council, as soon as the necessary documents could be prepared, instead of waiting for the ninth instant, the day originally appointed. Accordingly, on December 3, 1563, and the following day (for there was too much business to be dispatched at one sitting) *the twenty-fifth and last session* was held. Purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the use of images were the subjects of the first day's decision. On the second day, indulgences, the choice of meats and drinks, and the observance of feasts were the subjects of consideration. The following extracts from the statements promulgated by the council on these subjects, will be sufficient to show the doctrine of Popery on the topics to which they relate:—

On Purgatory.—"Since the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Spirit, through the sacred writing and the ancient tradition of the fathers, hath taught in holy councils, and lastly in this œcumenical council, that *there is a purgatory* and *that the souls detained there are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the mass;* this holy council commands all bishops

diligently to endeavor that the wholesome doctrine of purgatory, delivered to us by venerable fathers and holy councils, be believed and held by Christ's faithful, and everywhere taught and preached. . . . . Let the bishops take care that the suffrages of the living faithful, masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety, which the faithful have been accustomed to perform for departed believers, be piously and religiously rendered, according to the institutes of the church; and whatever services are *due to the dead, through the endowments of deceased persons*, or in any other way, let them not be performed slightly, but diligently and carefully, by the priests and ministers of the church, and all others to whom the duty belongs."

On Indulgences.—"Since the power of granting indulgences has been bestowed by Christ upon his church, and this power, divinely given, has been used from the earliest antiquity, *the holy council teaches and enjoins that the use of indulgences*, so salutary to Christian people, and approved by the authority of venerable councils, *be retained* by the church; and it ANATHEMATIZES those who assert that they are useless, or deny that the church has the power of granting them," &c.

On choice of Meats and Drinks, Fasts and Feast-days.—"Moreover, the holy council exhorts all pastors, and beseeches them by the most holy coming of our Lord and Saviour, that as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, they assiduously recommend to all the faithful the observance of all the institutions of the holy Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches, and of the decrees of this and other œcumenical councils; and that they use all diligence to promote obedience to all their commands, and especially to those which relate to the mortification of the flesh, as the choice of meats and fasts; as also to those which tend to the increase of piety, and the devout and religious celebration of feast-days; admonishing the people to obey those who are set over them—for they who hear them, shall hear God, the rewarder—but they who despise them, shall feel that God is the avenger."

On the Invocation of Saints.—"The holy council commands all bishops, and others who have the care and charge of teaching, that according to the practice of the Catholic and apostolic church, received from the first beginning of the Christian religion, the consent of venerable fathers, and the decrees of holy councils, they labor with diligent assiduity to instruct the faithful concerning the invocation and intercession of the saints, the honor due to relics, and the lawful use of images; teaching them that the saints, who reign together with Christ, offer their prayers to God for men—*that it is a good and useful thing suppliantly to invoke them, and to flee to their prayers, help, and assistance*, because of the benefits bestowed by God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour; and that those are men of impious sentiments who deny that the saints, who enjoy eternal happiness in heaven, are to be invoked—or who affirm that they do not pray for men, or to beseech them to pray for us is idolatry, or that it is contrary to the word of God, and opposed to the honor of Jesus Christ, the one Mediator between God and man, or that it is foolish to supplicate, verbally or mentally, those who reign in heaven."

On the reverence due to the Relics of the Saints.—"Let them teach also, that the holy bodies of the holy martyrs and others living with Christ, whose bodies were living members of Christ and temples of the Holy Spirit, and will be by him raised to eternal life and glorified, are to be venerated by the faithful, since by them God bestows many benefits upon men. So that they are to be wholly condemned, as the church has long before condemned them, and now repeats the sentence, who affirm that veneration and honor are not due to the relics of the saints, or that it is a useless thing that the faithful should honor these and other sacred monuments, and that the memorials of the saints are in vain frequented, to obtain their help and assistance."

Worship of images. Pagan and popish idolaters. The curse upon all who dare to *think* differently.

On the reverence due to Images of Christ, the Virgin, and other Saints.—"Moreover, let them teach that the images of Christ, of the Virgin, mother of God, and of other saints, are to be had and retained, especially in churches, and due honor and veneration rendered to them. Not that it is believed that any divinity or power resides in them, on account of which they are to be worshipped, or that any benefit is to be sought from them, or any confidence placed in images, as was formerly by the Gentiles, who fixed their hope in idols. But the honor with which they are regarded is referred to those who are represented by them; so that we adore Christ, and venerate the saints, whose likenesses these images bear, when we *kiss them*, and *uncover our heads* in their presence, and *prostrate ourselves*. All which has been sanctioned by the decrees of councils, against the impugners of images, especially the second council of Nice."

In reference to this last article it is worthy of remark, that the worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu, Gaudama, and other heathen idolators, make precisely the same defence as the Romanists, when accused of worshipping images, viz: that they do not worship the *images* when they kiss them and prostrate themselves before them, but the divinities, "whose likenesses these images bear." The divine command is, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, *thou shalt not* BOW DOWN *thyself to them* nor serve them," (Exod. xx., 4, 5), and the Romanist who in the words of the above decree, "*prostrates*" himself before an image (let him say what he will) is just as much an idolator as the Burman worshipper of Gaudama, or the Hindoo worshipper of Juggernaut. On this subject I have an interesting letter from a distinguished missionary from Burmah, which I shall present in a future chapter.

After thus establishing the doctrine of Rome, on these gross perversions of the word of God, the council proceeds to add, in its usual style of bitter malediction against all who shall dare to think for themselves,

Si quis autem his decretis contraria docuit, aut senserit; ANATHEMA SIT.	Whoever shall teach or *think* in opposition to these decrees; **LET HIM BE ACCURSED.**

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE COUNCIL.—ACCLAMATIONS OF THE FATHERS, AND POPE PIUS'S CREED.

§ 48.—*Decree of Confirmation.*—After the foregoing decrees had been enacted, the council passed the following decree of confirmation, in which it will be seen that, in accordance with the invariable policy of the Romish church, in countries where they have sufficient influence, the council invokes the secular arm, and exhorts all princes to enforce these decrees. Such is the unrepealed doctrine of Rome, in this decree of her last general council on the duty of the civil magistrate to enforce upon the people the dogmas of Popery.

"So great has been the calamity of these times, and the inveterate malice of the heretics, that no explanations of our faith have been given, however clear, nor any decrees passed, however express, which, influenced by the enemy of mankind, they have not defiled by some error. For which cause the holy council has *taken particular care to condemn and anathematize the principal errors of the heretics of our age*, and to deliver and teach the true and Catholic doctrine; this has been done—*the council has condemned, anathematized, and defined.* But since so many bishops, called from different provinces of the Christian world, could be no longer absent from their churches without great loss and universal peril to the flock—and no hope remained that the heretics would come hither any more, after having been so often invited and so long waited for, and having received the pledge of safety, according to their desire; and therefore it was necessary to put an end to this holy council; it now remains *that all princes be exhorted in the Lord, as they now are, not to permit its decrees to be corrupted or violated by the heretics, but to ensure their devout reception and faithful observance, by them and all others.* But if any difficulty should arise in regard to their reception, or any circumstances occur, which indeed are not to be feared, that should render necessary any further explanation or definition; the holy council trusts, that in addition to the remedies already appointed, the blessed Roman pontiff will provide for the exigency, either by summoning certain individuals from those provinces in which the difficulty shall arise, to whom the management of the business may be confided, or by the celebration of a general council, if it be judged necessary, or by some fitter method, adapted to the necessities of the provinces, and calculated to promote the glory of God, and the good of the church."

§ 49.—*Acclamations of the fathers.*—Before separating, a kind of closing recitative service was held, conducted by the cardinal of Lorraine, to express the assent and solemn confirmation of the fathers, of all that had been done. At this service a responsive dialogue or declaration was uttered, called the acclamations of the fathers, 'acclamationes patrum,' and as it is of itself a curious performance, and a most striking illustration of the spirit of Popery, it is here subjoined.

Domine Deus, Sanctissimum Patrem diutissime Ecclesiæ tuæ conserva, multos annos.	O Lord God! long preserve the most Holy Father of thy church for many years.
Cardinal. Beatissimorum Summorum	*Cardinal.* To the souls of the blessed

Acclamations of the fathers at the close of the council. The last words were curses

Pontificum animabus Pauli III. et Julii III. quorum auctoritate hoc sacrum generale Concilium inchoatum est, pax à Domino, et æterna gloria, atque felicitas in luce sanctorum.

Responsio patrum. Memoria in benedictione sit.

Card. Caroli V. Imperatoris et Serenissimorum Regum, qui hoc universale Concilium promoverunt et protexerunt, memoria in benedictione sit.

Resp. Amen, Amen.

pontiffs Paul III. and Julius III., by whose authority this holy general council was begun, peace from the Lord, eternal glory and felicity in the light of the saints.

Answer of the fathers. May their memory be blessed.

Card. May the memory be blessed of the emperor Charles V., and the most serene kings who have promoted and protected this universal council.

Ans. Amen, Amen.

After similar acclamations, in praise of the emperor Ferdinand, the Pope, legates, reverend cardinals, illustrious orators, &c. the Cardinal proceeded as follows:—

Card. Sacro-sancta œcumenica Tridentina Synodus: ejus fidem confiteamur, ejus decreta semper servemus.

Resp. Semper confiteamur, semper servemus.

Card. Omnes ita credimus: omnes id ipsum sentimus: omnes consentientes et amplectentes subscribimus. Hæc est fides beati Petri, et Apostolorum: hæc est fides Patrum: hæc est fides Orthodoxorum.

Resp. Ita credimus; ita sentimus; ita subscribimus.

Card. His decretis inhærentes, digni reddamur misericordiis et gratiâ primi, et magni supremi Sacerdotis Jesu Christi, Dei intercedente simul inviolatâ Dominâ nostrâ sanctâ Deiparâ, et omnibus Sanctis.

Resp. Fiat, fiat, Amen, Amen.

Card. ANATHEMA CUNCTIS HÆRETICIS.

Resp. ANATHEMA, ANATHEMA.

Card. The most holy and œcumenical council of Trent—may we ever confess its faith, ever observe its decrees.

Ans. Ever may we confess, ever observe them.

C. Thus we all believe: we are all of the same mind; with hearty assent we all subscribe. This is the faith of the blessed Peter and the Apostles; this is the faith of the fathers; this is the faith of the orthodox.

Ans. Thus we believe; thus we think; thus we subscribe.

C. Abiding by these decrees, may we be found worthy of the mercy of the chief and great high priest, Jesus Christ our God, by *the intercession of our holy Lady, the Mother of God, ever a virgin, and all the saints.*

Ans. Be it so, be it so: Amen, Amen.

C. ACCURSED BE ALL HERETICS.

Ans. ACCURSED, ACCURSED.

Thus this famous council closed, with a bitter curse upon its lips, solemnly repeated in full chorus, in the most emphatic form, against all who should dare to think for themselves, or refuse implicitly to receive their dogmas. And be it remembered, THIS IS THE LAST GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE ROMISH CHURCH, and that al. its acts and decrees are just as binding now upon every papist as they were at the moment when they were proclaimed to the world. Again did this popish council, at the moment of its separation in its very last words vindicate the claim of Popery to the character of anti-Christ, for Christ has said, "*Love your enemies,* BLESS AND CURSE NOT;" but anti-Christ says, "*Accursed be all heretics,* ANATHEMA, ANATHEMA! ACCURSED!! ACCURSED!!!"

Summary of the doctrines of Trent in pope Pius's creed.

§ 50.—*Pope Pius's creed.*—On January 26th, 1564, pope Pius IV. published the bull of confirmation of the acts and decrees of the council, enjoining the prelates of the church, whenever necessary and practicable, *to call in the aid of the secular arm* to enforce the decisions of the council upon all. In December of the same year, the Pope issued *a brief summary of the doctrinal decisions of the council, in the form of a creed, usually called, after himself,* "POPE PIUS'S CREED." It was immediately received throughout the universal church: and since that time, has ever been considered in every part of the world, as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic faith. Non-catholics, on their admission into the Catholic church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, without restriction or qualification. On account of the authority and importance of this creed of pope Pius, it will be given in the original and a translation. It is expressed in the following terms:

Ego N. firma fide credo et profiteor omnia et singula, quæ continentur in symbolo fidei, quo S. Romana ecclesia utitur, viz. :—

1. Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, factorem cœli et terræ, visibilium omnium, et invisibilium; et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia sæcula; Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine; Deum verum de Deo vero; genitum, non factum; consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines, et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis, et incarnatus et de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine, et homo factus est; crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus, et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die secundum scripturas: et ascendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris; et iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos, et mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis: et in Spiritum Sanctum Dominum, et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit; qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur, et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per prophetas: et unam sanctam Catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum, et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi sæculi. Amen.

I, N., believe and profess, with a firm faith, all and every one of the things which are contained in the symbol of faith, which is used in the holy Roman church, viz. :—

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God; born of the Father before all worlds; God of God; Light of Light; true God of true God; begotten, not made; consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made; who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, aud was made man; was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried, and rose again the third day, according to the scriptures, and ascended into heaven; sits at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end; and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son; who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified, who spoke by the prophets: and one holy catholic and apostolic church. I confess one baptism for the remission of sins; and I expect the resurrection "*of the dead*" and the life of the world. Amen.

2. Apostolicas et ecclesiasticas traditiones, reliquasque ejusdem ecclesiæ observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto, et amplector.

I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical *traditions*, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church.

Creed of pope Pius IV., continued.

3. Item sacram scripturam juxta eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum scripturarum, admitto; nec eam unquam, nisi juxta unaninem consensum patrum accipiam, et interpretabor.

I also admit the sacred scriptures *according to the sense which the holy mother church has held*, and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise, than *according to the unanimous consent* of the fathers.

4. Profiteor quoque septem esse vere et proprie sacramenta novæ legis, a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, atque ad salutem humani generis, licet non omnia singulis necessaria, scilicet baptismum, confirmationem, eucharistiam, pœnitentiam, extremam unctionem, ordinem et matrimonium; illaque gratiam conferre; et ex his baptismum, confirmationem et ordinem, sine sacrilegio reiterari non posse.

I profess also, that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of mankind, though all are not necessary for every one: viz., baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony, and that they *confer grace;* and of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege.

5. Receptos quoque et approbatos ecclesiæ catholicæ ritus, in supra-dictorum omnium sacramentorum solemni administratione recipio, et admitto.

I also receive and admit the ceremonies of the Catholic church, received and approved in the solemn administration of all the above said sacraments.

6. Omnia et singula, quæ de peccato originali, et de justificatione in sacro-sancta Tridentina Synodo definita et declarata fuerunt, amplector et recipio.

I receive and embrace all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy council of Trent, concerning original sin and justification.

7. Profiteor pariter in Missa offerri Deo verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis, et defunctis; atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiæ sacramento esse vere, realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi; fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem: quam conversionem catholica ecclesia transubstantiationem appellat.

I profess, likewise, that *in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice* for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially the *body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ;* and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic church calls *transubstantiation.*

8. Fateor etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum, verumque sacramentum sumi.

I confess also, that under either kind alone, whole and entire Christ, and a true sacrament is received.

9. Constanter teneo purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari.

I constantly hold that there is a *purgatory*, and that the souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

10. Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes, venerandos atque invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atque eorum reliquias esse venerandas.

Likewise, that *the saints* reigning together with Christ, are to be honored and *invocated*, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their *relics* are to be venerated.

11. Firmissime assero, imagines Christi, ac Deiparæ semper virginis, necnon aliorum sanctorum, habendas et retinendas esse, atque eis debitum honorem ac venerationem impertiendam.

I most firmly assert, that the *images* of Christ and of the mother of God, ever virgin, and also of the other saints, are to be had and retained; and that due honor and veneration are to be given them.

12. Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem a

I also affirm, that the power of *indul-*

This creed binding upon all. According to it, Leighton, Baxter, Payson, &c., are now all in Hell.

Christo in ecclesia relictam fuisse; illarumque usum Christiano populo maxime salutarem esse affirmo.

13. Sanctam Catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco; Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri, Apostolorum Principis, successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario veram obedientiam spondeo, ac juro.

14. Cætera item omnia a sacris canonibus, et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacro-sancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascumque ab ecclesia damnatas, rejectas, et anathematizatas, ego pariter damno, rejicio, et anathematizos.

15. Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsenti sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spiritum constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel illis quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri, et prædicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem N. spondeo, voveo, ac juro. Sic me Deus adjùvet, et hæc sancta Dei evangelia."

gences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolical Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman bishop, the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

I also profess and undoubtedly receive all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and GENERAL COUNCILS, and particularly by the holy council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the church.

This true catholic faith, OUT OF WHICH NONE CAN BE SAVED, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, vow and swear most constantly to hold and profess the same whole and entire, with God's assistance, to the end of my life: and to procure, as far as lies in my power, that the same shall be held, taught, and preached by all who are under me, or are entrusted to my care, by virtue of my office. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God.

§ 51.—The above creed is binding at the present day upon every Romanist, whether priest or layman, and to it, every Romish priest now living has solemnly expressed his adherence. By this creed, it is expressly declared that *out of the Romish church none can be saved*, and that of course all who have died out of it are now SUFFERING THE TORMENTS OF HELL! The seraphic Leighton, the godly Baxter, with Howe, and Hooker, and Charnock, and Flavel, and Owen, and the long list of worthies, their compeers of the olden time, in England and on the continent of Europe; the angelic Payson, the heavenly minded Nevins, and the holy and truly catholic Milnor,* the self-sacrificing missionaries, Carey, and Ward, and Morrison, and Boardman, and Henry Martin, and Ann Judson, and Harriet Newell—all, all of them, according to the solemnly professed creed of the Romanist, are even now SUFFERING IN THE FIRES OF HELL! Is it possible for anti-Christian bigotry to go beyond this?

Besides this, be it remembered that he who professes this creed,

* Since page 68 was stereotyped, on which the name of this estimable clergyman and devoted Christian was before mentioned, he has been called to enter into his rest. He departed this life, and exchanged, without doubt, the toils and sorrows of earth for the joys and the rest of Heaven, on the 8th of April, 1845. For many years previous to his death he had been the honored, revered, and successful Rector of St. George's Episcopal Church, New York.

solemnly declares that he receives "ALL THINGS *delivered, defined and declared by the* GENERAL COUNCILS." This, of course, includes the decrees of the third and fourth council of Lateran on the duty of extirpating heretics* and all the rest of the unscriptural and anti-Christian decrees of these councils, which have been related in the present work. Then let it be remembered that this is *the present faith* of every intelligent Romanist, and solemnly sworn to by every Romish priest.

With the history and decrees of the council of Trent we might appropriately close our labors, as this was the *last general council* of the Romish church, and from that time to the present, Popery has undergone but little change. In this council her doctrines became permanently fixed, and in its decrees all her anti-scriptural inventions were embodied. Since then her influence has been gradually declining, with occasional fitful efforts to regain her long-lost power. Wherever she could secure the aid of the secular arm, she has not failed to harass, and imprison, and burn the heretics who have opposed her; and she has still reeled on in succeeding centuries, "drunk with the blood of the saints." A few sketches of the most famous of the persecutions of Popery, and a brief summary of the most important events in the history of the popedom since the Trentine period, will bring our labors to a close.

* For these decrees, see above, pp. 302, 320.

BOOK VIII.

POPERY DRUNK WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS.

PERSECUTIONS OF POPERY TO THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, A. D 1685.

CHAPTER I.

PERSECUTION PROVED FROM DECREES OF GENERAL COUNCILS AND WRITINGS OF CELEBRATED DIVINES TO BE AN ESSENTIAL DOCTRINE OF POPERY.

§ 1.—Among the scriptural marks of the predicted Romish Apostasy, the Babylonish Harlot of the Apocalypse, is the following:—"And I saw the woman DRUNKEN WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS, and WITH THE BLOOD OF THE MARTYRS OF JESUS (Rev. xvii., 6). The whole history of Popery is a commentary upon the truthfulness of this description. That history is written in lines of blood. Compared with the butcheries of holy men and women by the papal anti-Christ, the persecutions of the pagan emperors of the first three centuries sink into comparative insignificance. For not a tithe of the blood of martyrs was shed by Paganism, that has been poured forth by Popery; and the persecutors of pagan Rome, never dreamed of the thousand ingenious contrivances of torture, which, the malignity of popish inquisitors succeeded in inventing, when in the language of Pollock, they

> * * * * * * * sat and planned
> Deliberately, and with most musing pains,
> How, to extremest thrill of agony,
> The flesh, and blood, and souls of holy men,
> Her victims might be wrought.

From the birth of Popery in 606, to the present time, it is estimated by careful and credible historians, that more than FIFTY MILLIONS of the human family, have been slaughtered for the crime of heresy by popish persecutors, an average of more than *forty thou-*

Immense numbers of the martyred victims of popish bigotry and cruelty.

sand religious murders for every year of the existence of Popery. Of course the average number of victims yearly, was vastly greater, during those gloomy ages when Popery was in her glory and reigned Despot of the World; and it has been much less since the power of the popes has diminished to tyrannize over the nations, and to compel the princes of the earth, by the terrors of excommunication. interdiction, and deposition, to butcher their heretical subjects.*

The reader of the foregoing pages need not again be told, that the right to persecute heretics, and to put them to death for the sake of their opinions, has been claimed and exercised for centuries by the Romish church. "The duty of putting heretics to death," says Professor Gaussen, of Geneva, "is among the infallible and irrevocable decrees of its general councils, like those of the Mass and Purgatory; and when Luther dared to say, 'that it was against the will of the Holy Spirit, to burn with fire men convicted of error,' the court of Rome, in its bull *Exsurge*, placed this opinion among the number of the forty-one propositions for which it condemned Luther, and ordered, under severe penalties, that he should be seized and sent to the Pope."†

§ 2.—According to the faith of Romanists, there can be no higher legislative authority than a pope and general council, and whatever is decreed by such a council, with the concurrence of the Pope, becomes a legitimate doctrine and article of faith. Accordingly, as we have seen, every priest, in the words of the creed of pope Pius, solemnly swears, on the holy evangelists, to hold and teach *all that the sacred canons, and general councils* have delivered, declared, and defined. Of course they are bound to receive all the laws enacted by the general councils of Lateran, Basil, Constance, &c., enjoining the extermination of heretics.

Innumerable *provincial* and *national* councils have issued the most cruel and bloody laws of outlawry and extermination against the Waldenses and other heretics; such as the councils of Oxford, Toledo, Avignon, Tours, Lavaur, Albi, Narbonne, Beziers, Tolosa, &c.‡ But as papists will assert that these possess no authority to establish a *doctrine* of the church (though they must be admitted to

* "No computation can reach the numbers who have been put to death, in different ways, on account of their maintaining the profession of the Gospel, and opposing the corruptions of the Church of Rome. A MILLION of poor Waldenses perished in France; NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND orthodox Christians were slain in less than thirty years after the institution of the order of the Jesuits. The Duke of Alva boasted of having put to death in the Netherlands, THIRTY-SIX THOUSAND by the hand of the common executioner during the space of a few years. The Inquisition destroyed, by various tortures, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND within thirty years. These are a few specimens, and but a few, of those which history has recorded; but the total amount will never be known till the earth shall disclose her blood, and no more cover her slain" (Scott's Church History).

† See an able discourse of Professor Gaussen, of Geneva, to the Theological students at the opening of the course in October, 1843, entitled "Popery an argument for the Truth, by its fulfilment of Scripture Prophecies."

‡ See Edgar, 218, 219, with citations of original authorities.

General councils which have enjoined the slaughter and extirpation of heretics.

be illustrations of its *spirit*), I shall pass over these, and simply remind the reader, once more, of the *general* councils that have sanctioned by their decrees the punishment of death for heresy. Six at least of these highest judicial assemblies of the Romish church, with the Pope at their head, have authoritatively and solemnly enjoined the persecution and extermination of heretics.

These comprehended (1) the *second* general council of Lateran, who in the year 1139, in the twenty-third canon, excommunicated and condemned the heretics, commanded the civil powers to suppress, them, and included their protectors and defenders in the same curse with themselves.*

(2.) The *third* general council of Lateran, in 1179, under pope Alexander III., issued a still fiercer manifesto against the heretics. An extract from this bloody decree has already been given in English on page 302. It will be sufficient, in this place, to throw into a note a corresponding extract from the original Latin of the same decree.†

(3.) The *fourth* general council of Lateran in 1215, under the inhuman pope Innocent III., exceeded in ferocity all that had preceded it. A copious extract from the decree of this council, both in the original and in English, has already been given on pages 332, 333.

(4.) The *sixteenth* general council held at Constance in 1414, we have already seen carrying these bloody principles into execution in the inhuman *religious* murder of Huss and Jerome. Not content with this act of horrible treachery and barbarity, the Pope and the council proceeded, previous to its dissolution in 1418, to a solemn sanction of the inhuman decrees of Lateran. The holy and infallible assembly, in its forty-fifth session, presented a shocking scene of blasphemy and barbarity. Pope Martin, presiding in the sacred synod and clothed with all its authority, addressed the bishops and inquisitors of heretical pravity, on whom he bestowed his apostolic benediction. The eradication of error and the establishment of Catholicism, Martin represented as the chief care of himself and the council. His *Holiness* in his pontifical politeness, characterized Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome, as pestilent and deceitful hierarchs, who, excited with truculent rage, infested the Christian fold, and made the sheep putrify with the filth of falsehood. The partisans of heresy through Bohemia, Moravia, and other kingdoms, he described as actuated with the pride of Lucifer, the fury of wolves, and the deceitfulness of demons. The Pontiff

* Eos qui religiositatis speciem simulantes, tanquam hæreticos ab ecclesia Dei pellimus, et damnamus, et per potestates exteras coerceri præcipimus. Defensores quoque ipsorum ejusdem damnationis vinculo innodamus. (*Bin.* 8, 596.)

† Eos et defensores eorum et receptores anathemati decernimus subjacere. Sub anathemate prohibemus, ne quis eos in domibus, vel in terra sua tenere vel fovere, vel negotiationem cum eis exercere præsumat. Confiscentur eorum bona et liberum sit principibus hujusmodi homines subjicere servituti. (*Labb.* 13, 530. *Bin.* 8, 662.)

Sanctioning murder in the name of the God of mercy. Plenary indulgence for the murderers.

then, supported by the council, proceeded, for the glory of God, the stability of Romanism, and the preservation of Christianity, to excommunicate these advocates of error, with their pestilent patrons and protectors, and *to consign them to the secular arm and the severest vengeance. He commanded kings to punish them according to the Lateran council.* The above mentioned inhuman enactments of the Lateran, therefore, were to be brought into requisition against the Bohemians and Moravians, and they were to be despoiled of all property, Christian burial, and even of the consolations of humanity.*

(5.) The council of Sienna, in 1423, which was afterward continued at Basil, published persecuting enactments of a similar kind. The holy synod assembled in the Holy Ghost, and representing the universal church, acknowledged the spread of heresy in different parts of the world through the remissness of the inquisitors, and to the offence of God, the injury of Catholicism, and the perdition of souls. The sacred convention then commanded the inquisitors, in every place, to extirpate every heresy, especially those of Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome. Princes were admonished by the mercy of God to exterminate error, if they would escape divine vengeance. The holy fathers and the viceroy of heaven conspired, in this manner, to sanction murder in the name of the God of mercy: and granted *plenary indulgences* to all who should banish those sons of heterodoxy or provide arms for their destruction.† These enactments were published every sabbath, while the bells were rung and the candles lighted and extinguished.

(6.) The *fifth* general council of the Lateran, in 1514, enacted laws, marked, if possible, with augmented barbarity. Dissembling Christians of every kind and nation, heretics polluted with any contamination of error were, by this infallible gang of ruffians, dismissed from the assembly of the faithful, and consigned to the inquisition, that the convicted might undergo due punishment, and the relapsed suffer without any hope of pardon.‡

* Hæresiarchæ, Luciferina superbia et rabie lupina evecti, dæmonum fraudibus illusi. Oves Christi Catholicas hæresiarchæ ipsi successive infecerunt, et in stercore mendaciorum fecerunt putrescere. Credentes et adhærentes eisdem, tanquam hæreticos indicetis et velut hæreticos seculari Curiæ relinquatis. (*Bin.* 8, 1120.) Secundum tenorem Lateranensis Concilii expellant, nec eosdem domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatia cum Christi fidelibus habere permittant. (*Bin.* 8, 1121. *Crab.* 2, 1166.)

† Volens hæc sancta synodus remedium adhibere, statuit et mandat omnibus et singulis inquisitoribus hæreticæ pravitatis, ut solicite intendant inquisitioni et extirpationi hæresium quarumcumque. Omnes Christianæ religionis principes ac dominos tam ecclesiasticos quam sæculares hortatur, invitat, et monet per viscera misericordiæ Dei, ad extirpationem tanti per ecclesiam prædamnati erroris omni celeritate, si Divinam ultionem et pœnas juris evitare voluerunt. (*Labb.* 17, 97, 98. *Bruy.* 4, 72.) It is proper here to remark, that some Romish authors deny the claim of the council of Sienna and Basil to be a general council. Others, however, admit it.

‡ Omnes ficti Christiani, ac de fide male sentientes, cujuscumque generis aut nationis fuerint, necnon hæretici seu aliqua hæresis labe polluti, a Christi fide-

Persecution of heretics advocated by popish divines. St. Aquinas, Cardinal Bellarmine

"The principle of persecution, therefore," justly remarks the learned Edgar, "being sanctioned, not only by theologians, popes, and provincial synods, but also by general councils, IS A NECESSARY AND INTEGRAL PART OF ROMANISM. The Romish communion has, by its representatives, declared its right to compel men to renounce heterodoxy and embrace Catholicism, and to consign the obstinate to the civil power to be banished, tortured, or killed."*

§ 3.—The same persecuting principles have been advocated by individual Romish divines in various ages. It will be sufficient to quote proofs of this remark from *Saint* Aquinas in the thirteenth century, Bellarmine of the sixteenth, and Peter Dens who wrote in the eighteenth, but is studied and followed by popish colleges and seminaries of the nineteenth.

The persecuting doctrine is frequently avowed in the writings of St. Aquinas, the angelic doctor, as he is called by Romanists. "Heretics," says he, "are to be compelled by corporeal punishments, that they may adhere to the faith."† In other places, St. Aquinas unequivocally asserts, that "heretics may not only be excommunicated, but *justly killed*," and that "the church consigns such to the secular judges *to be exterminated from the world by death*."‡ But the most remarkable illustration of the spirit of Popery on this subject, is the labored argument of a celebrated Cardinal, enforcing the duty of thus putting heretics to death.

Cardinal Bellarmine§ is the great champion of Romanism, and expounder of its doctrines. He was the nephew of pope Marcellus, and is acknowledged to be a standard writer with Romanists. In the 21st and 22d chapters of the third book of his work, entitled "De Laicis" (concerning the laity), he enters into a regular argument to prove that the church has the right, and should exercise it, of punishing heretics with death. The following extracts are so conclusive as to the faith of Romanists on this point, that we give them in the original, as well as in the translation. The titles of the chapters are Bellarmine's as well as what follows.

lium cœtu penitus eliminentur, et quocumque loco expellantur, ac debita animadversione puniantur, statuimus. (*Crabb.* 3, 646. *Bin.* 2, 112. *Labb.* 19, 844.)

* See Edgar, chapter vi., *passim.*

† Hæretici sunt etiam corporaliter compellandi. (*Aquinas* 2, 42.) And again, Hæretici sunt compellandi ut fidem teneant. (*Aquin.* 2, 10.)

‡ Hæretici possunt non solum excommunicari sed et juste occidi. . . . . Ecclesia relinquit eum judici sæculari mundo exterminandum per mortem. (*Aquinas* 2, 11; 3, 48.)

§ *Cardinal Bellarmine.*—This celebrated popish casuist and divine was born in Tuscany, in 1542. He was raised to the dignity of Cardinal in 1599, as a reward for his writings and services on behalf of Popery; and from 1605 to the year of his death, 1621, he resided at Rome, in constant attendance upon the person of the popes, and under their patronage, industriously employing his pen for the defence of the Roman Catholic faith. After his death, on account of the valuable services he had rendered the Romish church by his writings, he was very near being placed in the calendar of saints. Out of seventeen cardinals, we are informed by a Romish historian, that ten voted for his canonization. (*Dupin*, cent. xvii., book 5.)

Bellarmine's argument proving that the church has a right to punish Heretics with death.

Chapter XXI. That heretics, condemned by the church, may be punished with temporal penalties and even with death. 'Posse hæreticos ab ecclesia damnatos temporalibus pœnis etiam morte mulctari.'

Nos igitur breviter ostendemus hæreticos incorrigibiles ac præsertim relapsos, posse ac debere ab ecclesia rejici, et a secularibus potestatibus temporalibus pœnis atque ipsa etiam morte mulctari.

Primo probatur scripturis. Probatur *secundo* sententiis et legibus imperatorum, quas ecclesia semper probavit. Probatur *tertio* legibus ecclesiæ. Probatur *quarto* testimoniis Patrum. Probatur *ultimo* ratione naturali. *Primo* hæretici excommunicari jure possunt, ut omnes fatentur, ergo et occidi. Probatur consequentia quia excommunicatio est major pœna, quam mors temporalis.

Secundo experientia docet non esse aliud remedium, nam ecclesia paulatim progressa est et omnia remedia experta; primo solum excommunicabat deinde addidit mulctam pecuniariam; tam exilium, ultimo coacta est ad mortem venire: mittere illos in locum suum.

Tertio, falsarii omnium judicio merentur mortem; at hæretici falsarii sunt verbi Dei.

Quarto, gravius est non servare fidem hominem Deo, quam feminam viro; sed hoc morte punitur, cur non illud.

Quinto, tres causæ sunt propter quas ratio docet homines occidendos esse; prima causa est ne mali bonis noceant; secunda est, ut paucorum supplicio multi corrigantur. Multi enim quos impunitas faciebat torpentes supplicia proposita excitant; et nos quotidie idem videmus fieri in locis ubi viget Inquisitio.

Denique hæreticis obstinatis beneficium est quod de hac vita tollantur; nam quo diutius vivunt eo plures errores excogitant, plures pervertunt, et majorem sibi damnationem acquirunt.

"We will briefly show that the church has the *power and ought* to cast off incorrigible heretics, especially those who have relapsed, and that the secular power ought to inflict on such, temporal punishments, and even death itself.

1st. This may be proved from the Scripture. 2d. It is proved from the opinions and laws of the Emperors, *which the church has always approved.* 3d. *It is proved by the laws of the church.* 4th. It is proved by the testimony of the fathers. Lastly. It is proved from natural reason. For *first:* It is owned by all, that heretics may of right be excommunicated—of course they may be put to death. This consequence is proved because excommunication is a greater punishment than temporal death.

Secondly. Experience proves that there is no other remedy; for the church has step by step tried all remedies—ffrst,—excommunication alone; then pecuniary penalties; afterward banishment; *and lastly has been forced to put them to death; to send them to their own place.*

Thirdly. All allow that forgery deserves death; but heretics are guilty of forgery of the word of God.

Fourthly. A breach of faith by man toward God, is a greater sin, than of a wife with her husband. But a woman's unfaithfulness is punished with death; why not a heretic's?

Fifthly. There are three grounds on which reason shows that heretics should be put to death: the 1st is, lest the wicked should injure the righteous—2d, that by the punishment of a *few, many* may be reformed. FOR MANY WHO WERE MADE TORPID BY IMPUNITY, ARE ROUSED BY THE FEAR OF PUNISHMENT; AND THIS WE DAILY SEE IS THE RESULT WHERE THE INQUISITION FLOURISHES.

Finally, It is a benefit to obstinate heretics to remove them from this life; for the longer they live the more errors they invent, the more persons they mislead: and the greater damnation do they treasure up to themselves.

In the next chapter Bellarmine proceeds to reply to the objections of Luther and others, against the burning of heretics. We tran-

scribe the replies of the popish casuist to the first, second, thirteenth and eighteenth arguments against the burning of heretics.* The chapter is entitled as follows :

Chapter XXII. Objections answered. '*Solvuntur objectiones.*'

Superest argumenta Lutheri atque aliorum hæreticorum diluere. Argumentum, *primum*, ab experientia totius ecclesiæ : '*Ecclesia*,' inquit Lutherus, '*ab initio sui usque huc nullum combussit hæreticum*, ergo non videtur esse voluntas Spiritus ut comburantur.'

Respondeo, argumentum hoc optimè, probat, non sententiam, sed imperitiam, vel impudentiam Lutheri : nam cum infiniti propemodum, vel combusti, vel aliter necati fuerint, aut id ignoravit Lutherus, et tunc imperitus est, aut non ignoravit, et impudens, ac mendax esse convincitur : nam quod hæretici sint sæpe ab ecclesia combusti, ostendi potest, si adducamus puaca exempla de multis.

Argumentum *secundum ;* experientia testatur non profici terroribus. Respondeo, experientia est in contrarium ; nam Donatistæ, Manichaei, et Albigenses armis profligati, et extincti sunt.

Argumentum *decimum tertium :* Dominus attribuit ecclesiæ gladium spiritus, quod est verbum dei non autem gladium ferri ; immo Petro volenti gladio ferreo ipsum defendere, ait : 'Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam,' Joan 18. Respondeo ecclesia sicut habet Principes Ecclesiasticos, et seculares, qui sunt quasi duo ecclesiæ brachia, ita quos habet gladios, spiritualem, et materialem, et ideo, quando manus dextera gladio spirituali non potuit hæreticum convertere, invocat auxilium brachii sin-

"It remains to answer the objections of Luther and other heretics. Argument 1st. *From* the history of the church at large. '*The church*,' says Luther, '*from the beginning, even to this time, has never burned a heretic.*† Therefore it does not seem to be the mind of the Holy Spirit, that they should be burned !'

I reply that this argument proves not the sentiment, but the ignorance, or impudence of Luther ; FOR AS ALMOST AN INFINITE NUMBER WERE EITHER BURNED OR OTHERWISE PUT TO DEATH, Luther either did not know it, and was therefore *ignorant ;* or if he knew it, he is convicted of impudence and falsehood—for *that heretics were often burned* BY THE CHURCH *may be proved by adducing a few from many examples.*

Argument 2d. '*Experience shows that terror is not useful.*' I reply, EXPERIENCE PROVES THE CONTRARY—FOR THE DONATISTS, MANICHEANS, AND ALBIGENSES WERE ROUTED, AND ANNIHILATED BY ARMS.

Argument 13th. 'The Lord attributes to the church "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God ;" but not the material sword, nay, He said to Peter, who wished to defend him with a material sword, "put up thy sword into the scabbard."' John 18th. I answer ; As the church has ecclesiastical and secular princes, who are her two arms ; so she has two swords, the spiritual and material ; and therefore when her right hand is unable to convert a heretic with the sword of the Spirit, she invokes the

* The whole of this labored argument of the great popish divine, to prove the lawfulness and expediency of the burning of heretics, is well worthy of examination and study, by all who would understand what genuine Popery is. In the edition of Bellarmine's works (Six vols., fol. 1610), which I have consulted in the celebrated *Van Ess* library of the New York Theological Seminary, it occupied ten folio columns of Vol. II., p. 555, &c., besides the 20th chapter, of four columns, proving that the books of heretics ought to be destroyed.

† If Luther ever made this assertion ascribed to him by Bellarmine, his meaning must have been that the *true church* of God had never burned a heretic, not that the anti-Christian Popes, councils, and secular powers of the Romish church had not burned heretics, for in the sense of the Romish church, all history testifies to the truth of Bellarmine's remark, that "an infinite number' of heretics were "either burned, or otherwise put to death," and that too (in the words of Bellarmine), "BY THE CHURCH.'

istri, ut gladio ferreo hæreticos coerceat.

Argumentum *decimum octavum:* Nunquam Apostoli brachium seculare contra hæreticos invocaverunt. Respondet S. Augustinus in epist. 50. et alibi, Apostolos id non fecisse, quia nullus tunc erat Christianus Princeps, quem invocarent. At postquam tempore Constantini. . . . . Ecclesia auxilium secularis brachii imploravit.

aid of the left hand, and *coerces heretics with the material sword.*

Argument 18th. "The Apostles never invoked the secular arm against heretics." Answer (according to St. Augustine, in letter 50 and elsewhere). "*The Apostles did it not, because there was no Christian Prince whom they could call on for aid. But afterwards in Constantine's time. . . . . the church called in the aid of the secular arm.*"

Now if, as Romanists *in protestant countries* sometimes assert, the Romish is not a persecuting church; could it be possible that one of the very highest dignitaries of that church, a Cardinal, the nephew of one pope, and the special favorite and confidant of others, could have penned, without rebuke, such an infamous and labored argument in support of the burning of heretics, as that from which the foregoing extracts are made.

§ 4.—Some people suppose that, with the lapse of ages, the character of persecuting Rome has changed. No such thing. Popery is unchangeable, and so her ablest advocates declare. Says Charles Butler, in the work he wrote in reply to Southey's book of the church,—"It is most true that the Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be UNCHANGEABLE; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, *such it is now* and SUCH IT EVER WILL BE."*

But supposing Romanists admitted a possibility of change in their doctrines, still there is abundant evidence in point of fact, from the writings of recent popish divines, that their doctrine remains the same, relative to the duty, whenever, and wherever they possess the power of extirpating heretics by death. It would be easy to cite a multitude of proofs of this assertion from various writers, but a single author will be sufficient. It is from the theology of Peter Dens, the celebrated doctor of Louvain. It was written, or rather the first volume was printed in 1758, and was adopted by the popish clergy in Dublin, in the year 1808, "who unanimously agreed that this book was the best work, and the safest guide in Theology for the Irish clergy."† A single extract will be sufficient. After stating that heretics are deservedly visited with the penalties of exile, imprisonment, &c., the popish Doctor inquires,

An hæretici recte puniuntur morte? Respondet S. Thomas affirmative: quia falsarii pecuniæ vel alii rempublicam turbantes justè morte puniuntur: ergo etiam hæretici qui sunt falsarii fidei et ut experientia docet rempublicam graviter perturbant. . . . Confirmatur ex eo quod Deus in veteri lege jusserit oc-

Are heretics *rightly punished* with DEATH? St. Thomas answers IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. Because forgers of money or other disturbers of the state are justly punished with death; therefore also heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and as experience shows, greatly disturb the state. . . . This is con-

* Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church.

† Edgar's Variations, p. 243.

The persecuting doctrine taught in the Rhemish Testament, &c. Bloody queen Mary

cidi falsos Prophetas. . . . Idem probatur ex condemnatione articulii 14, Joan. Huss in Concilio Constantiensi. (*Dens*, 2, 88, 89.)

firmed by the command of God under the old law, that the false prophets should be killed. . . . The same is proved by the condemnation—by the fourteenth article—of John Huss in the council of Constance.

The same horrid doctrine is taught in the Extravagants or Constitutions and other authorized writings of a large number of the popes, the *Directorium Inquisitorium*, or Directory for Inquisitors, the notes to the Rhemish Testament,* &c., &c., but the point is already established upon sufficient authority, and further testimony is unnecessary. Without undertaking to give a complete account of the persecutions of Popery, we shall present a few additional sketches of the manner in which the persecuting principles of Rome have in various ages been carried out in the tortures, massacres, burnings, and other barbarities inflicted upon those whom she chose to stigmatize with the name of heretics.

CHAPTER II.

SUFFERINGS OF THE ENGLISH PROTESTANTS UNDER BLOODY QUEEN MARY.—THE BURNING OF LATIMER, RIDLEY, CRANMER, &C.

§ 5.—It would be improper entirely to omit, and yet it is not necessary minutely to describe the well known cruel burnings of the English protestants, during the reign of the bigoted and hard-hearted woman, whose name has been appropriately handed down to posterity as BLOODY QUEEN MARY.† And it seems proper to

* In the Rhemish translation of the New Testament for the English Romanists, the following note is appended to the words of our Lord—Luke ix., 55—when he rebuked two of his disciples for their desire to destroy those who refused to receive him: "Not justice, nor all rigorous punishment of sinners, is here forbidden; nor Elias's fact reprehended; nor the Church, nor Christian princes, blamed for putting heretics to death; but that none of these should be done for desire of our particular revenge, or without discretion, and in regard of their amendment and example to others. Therefore, St. Peter used his power upon Ananias and Sapphira, when he struck them both down to death *for defrauding the Church!*" Hebrews x., 29, is, in like manner, applied to all whom the Church of Rome calls heretics.

† Full information on these persecutions may be obtained from that well known and authentic work, "Fox's Book of Martyrs," "Southey's Book of the Church," &c. I would especially recommend the valuable abridgment of Fox's work, accompanied with remarks in her own beautiful and impressive style, by Mrs. Tonna, better known as Charlotte Elizabeth, a lady, who, by her genius, piety, and genuine Protestantism, as exhibited in the numerous productions of her pen, has laid un-

commence these few sketches of persecutions of Popery, with the recital of the sufferings of the Marian martyrs, as they all occurred during the interval that elapsed between the second adjournment and resumption of the council of Trent already described.

During her brief reign of five years, according to the lowest calculations, TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT PERSONS WERE BURNED ALIVE, by her order, for the crime of heresy, and among them were the wealthy and the poor, the priest and the layman, the merchant and the farmer, the blind and the lame, the helpless female and the new-born babe. The persecutions did not commence in the first year of her reign. She was proclaimed Queen on the 17th of July, 1553, and it was not till the commencement of 1555 that the venerable John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution, sealed the truth with his blood by being burnt alive at Smithfield. He suffered on the 4th of February, 1555. The number of heretics burnt alive in England, in 1555, was seventy-one; in 1556, eighty-nine; in 1557, eighty-eight; and in 1558, forty. The number of the victims would have been largely swelled, had not death relieved the world of the presence and tyranny of this popish monster in the shape of a woman, on the 17th of November, 1558.

The names of Rogers, and Saunders, and Hooper; of Taylor, and Bradford, and Philpot; of Latimer, and Ridley, and Cranmer; and of their martyred associates, have become familiar as household words to their protestant descendants of England and America; and the oft-repeated story of their painful but triumphant deaths, amidst the torturing fires of martyrdom, continues to preach loudly and eloquently of the cruelty and bigotry of Rome. Our limits will allow but a brief sketch of the martyrdom of the three last-mentioned of the nine worthies whose names have been cited above.

§ 6.—Bishops Latimer and Ridley were two of the ablest as well as holiest of the martyrs whose blood was offered as a sacrifice upon the altar of popish bigotry during the reign of Mary.

HUGH LATIMER was born about 1472, and was now, therefore, upwards of fourscore years old. He had been a prominent man, in the reign of the licentious Henry VIII., the father of queen Mary, and was appointed by him to the bishopric of Worcester. It is related of Latimer, as an instance of his faithfulness, that on new year's day, when, according to the prevailing custom, the eminent men of the land presented the King with a new year's gift, his gift consisted of a copy of the New Testament, with the passage marked, and the leaf turned down to the words, "WHOREMONGERS AND ADULTERERS GOD WILL JUDGE." Those acquainted with the history of the adulterous Henry VIII. need not be told how applicable was the reproof to his character.

der deep obligation the whole protestant world. I know of no uninspired writer, either of the past or present time, who so happily combines entertainment with instruction as this gifted lady. Her "English Martyrology" and "Siege of Derry" ought to be read by every protestant youth in the world.

Degradation of Ridley from the priestly office. Reasons of this ceremony.

When this faithful and venerable man was apprehended by order of the bloody Mary, he said to the officer, "My friend, you are a welcome messenger to me;" and in passing through Smithfield, where so many of the martyrs of Jesus had been burned alive, he remarked, "Smithfield hath long groaned for me." He suffered a long and cruel imprisonment in the Tower previous to his martyrdom. One day, when suffering from the severe frost and denied the comfort of a fire, the aged sufferer pleasantly remarked to his keeper, that if he were not taken better care of, he should certainly escape out of his enemies' hands, meaning that he should perish with cold and hardship, and thus escape the burning intended for him by his enemies.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY was born in the year 1500, had been chaplain to the pious youth, king Edward VI., the predecessor of Mary, and had been appointed by him bishop of London. Upon the accession of Mary, he was soon seized and committed to the Tower, where he and Latimer continued during the winter of 1553 and 1554, and were afterwards removed to Oxford, and lodged in a common prison. In the year 1555, a commission was issued to several popish bishops to proceed against these two holy men. Full accounts are given by Fox of the various disputations they held with the martyrs. It is sufficient here to remark, that neither threats nor promises could shake their constancy, and that in every interview they came off triumphant over all the arguments of their popish opponents, by whom they were condemned to be degraded, and delivered up to the secular power.

§ 7.—The reason why the church of Rome always performed this ceremony of *degradation* upon ecclesiastics before delivering them up to the secular arm to be burnt, was because she was too watchful over the immunities of the privileged order of priests, to deliver them up to temporal jurisdiction, till stripped of the sacerdotal character, and *degraded* to the situation of laymen. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, performed this ceremony on Ridley on the 15th of October. Brooks repeated on this occasion his fruitless attempts to shake the constancy of the martyr, and to induce him to acknowledge the authority of the Pope; but Ridley only renewed his faithful testimony concerning "the usurped authority of the Romish anti-Christ;" and declared, "the Lord being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood." Ridley continued so faithfully to reason upon the true character of the Pope, that the Bishop threatened to employ the gag, a weapon of frequent use in those days, when the faithful testimony of the martyrs could be in no other way prevented.

The bishop of Gloucester then remarked, that seeing he would not receive the Queen's mercy, they must go on to degrade him from the dignity of priesthood; saying moreover, "we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you, committing you to the secular power; you know what doth follow."

"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you," was the reply; "I am well content to abide the same with all my heart." Brooks desired him to put off his cap and put upon him the surplice: he answered, "I will not." "But you must." "I will not." "You must; therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you." "Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will." "Will you not put it upon you?" "No, that I will not." "It shall be put upon you by some one or other." "Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his Master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us, his servants?"

The surplice was then forcibly put on him, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass: during which he vehemently inveighed against the Romish bishop, calling him anti-Christ, and the apparel foolish and abominable. This made Dr. Brooks very angry: he bade him hold his peace, for that he did but rail. The Christian martyr replied, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings whatsoever happened unto him for it. When they came to the place where he should hold the chalice and wafer-cake, they bade him take them into his hands: he replied, "They shall not come into my hands; and if they do, they shall fall to the ground for me." An attendant was obliged to hold them fast in his hands while Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, appertaining to that part of the performance. Next they placed a book in his hand, while Brooks recited the passage, "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At these words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, and looking up toward heaven, said, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" The massing garments being taken off one by one, till the surplice only was left, they proceeded to the last step of the degradation, by deposing him from the lowest office of the priesthood."

§ 8.—On the following day, October 16th, 1555, Latimer and Ridley were brought to the stake, which was prepared in a hollow, near Baliol college, on the north side of the city of Oxford. The venerable Latimer being stripped for the stake, appeared in a shroud prepared for the occasion; and now, says Fox, "a remarkable change was observed in his appearance; for whereas he had hitherto seemed a withered, decrepit, and even a deformed old man, he now stood perfectly upright, a straight and comely person. Ridley was disposed to remain in his trousers; but on his brother observing that it would occasion him more pain, and that the article of dress would do some poor man good, he yielded to the latter plea, and saying, "Be it, in the name of God," delivered it to his brother. Then, being stripped to his shirt, he stood upon a stone by the stake, and holding up his hand, said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death: I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon

Ceremony of the Degradation of a Priest previous to Martyrdom

Burning of Latimer and Ridley, at Oxford.

Dying remark of the venerable Latimer. Ridley's horrible and protracted torment by his slow burning

this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies." The smith now brought a chain, and passed it round the bodies of the two martyrs, as they quietly stood on either side of the stake: while he was hammering the staple into the wood, Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shaking it, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." This being done, Shipside brought him some gunpowder in a bag to tie round his neck; which he received as sent of God, to be a means of shortening his torment; at the same time inquiring whether he had any for his brother, meaning Latimer, and hastening him to give it immediately, lest it might come too late; which was done. A lighted faggot was then brought, and laid down at his feet, on which Latimer turned and addressed him in those memorable and prophetic words, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man: "WE SHALL THIS DAY LIGHT SUCH A CANDLE, BY GOD'S GRACE, IN ENGLAND, AS, I TRUST, SHALL NEVER BE PUT OUT."

The flames rose; and Ridley in a wonderfully loud voice exclaimed in Latin, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," often repeating in English, "Lord, receive my spirit!" Latimer on the other side as vehemently crying out, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" and welcoming, as it were, the flame, he embraced it, bathed his hands in it, stroked his venerable face with them, and soon died, seemingly with little pain, or none. So ended this old and blessed servant of God, his laborious works, and fruitful life, by an easy and quiet death in the midst of the fire, into which he cheerfully entered for Christ's sake. But it pleased the Lord to glorify himself otherwise in Ridley: his torments were terrible, and protracted to an extent that it sickens the heart to contemplate. The fire had been made so ill, by heaping a great quantity of heavy faggots very high about him, above the lighter combustibles, that the solid wood kept down the flame, causing it to rage intensely beneath, without ascending. The martyr finding his lower extremities only burning, requested those about him, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him; which his poor brother Shipside hearing, and in the anguish of his spirit not rightly understanding, he heaped more faggots on the pile, hoping so to hasten the conflagration, which of course was further repressed by it, and became more vehement beneath, burning to a cinder all the nether parts of the sufferer, without approaching the vitals. In this horrible state, he continued to leap up and down under the wood, praying them to let the fire come, and repeatedly exclaiming, "I cannot burn," writhing in the torture, as he turned from side to side, the bystanders saw even his shirt unconsumed, clean, and unscorched by the flame, while his legs were totally burnt off. In such extremity his heart was still fixed, trusting in his God, and ejaculating frequently, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" intermingling it with entreaties, "Let the fire come unto me—I cannot burn." At last one of the bill-men with his weapon mercifully pulled away the faggots from above, so giving the flame power to rise; which the sufferer no

sooner saw, than with an eager effort he wrenched his mutilated body to that side, to meet the welcome deliverance. The flame now touched the gunpowder, and he was seen to stir no more; but after burning awhile on the other side, he fell over the chain at the feet of Latimer's corpse.

> Such are thy tender mercies, tyrant Rome!
> The rack, the faggot, or the hated creed—
> Fearless amidst thy folds *fierce wolves* may roam,
> Whilst *stainless sheep* upon thine altars bleed.

§ 9.—Let the Christian reader now draw nigh and contemplate this painful scene—the venerable form of the holy Latimer, with his snowy locks whitened by the frosts of eighty-three winters, dressed in his shroud, directing his eyes upward to heaven for strength as the torturing flames gather and wrap themselves around his aged and quivering limbs, and yet amidst his tortures praying for his tormentors—the stately and noble form of his companion Ridley, chained to the same stake, with his feet and legs actually burning to a cinder, till they fall from his tortured body; before death, the welcome deliverer, has done his work—then let him contemplate the cowled priest of Rome, with cross in hand, insulting the dying agonies of the martyrs, and rejoicing in their protracted and excruciating torments—and remember that this, stripped of disguise or concealment—THIS IS POPERY—"DRUNK WITH THE BLOOD OF THE SAINTS AND OF THE MARTYRS OF JESUS."

Well does that gifted authoress, Mrs. Tonna, exclaim, after citing the description of the horrible tortures inflicted upon these two holy men, "Wo unto us, if, with these examples before us, we shrink not from touching, even the outermost fringe of that harlot's polluted garments! There is that mingled with the dust of Oxford which will rise up in the judgment, a terrible witness against those who, while trampling on the ashes of the martyrs, shall dare to suggest any, even the slightest measure of approximation to the apostate church—*any recognition of her, otherwise than as* THE DEEPLY ACCURSED ENEMY OF CHRIST AND HIS SAINTS."*

§ 10.—THOMAS CRANMER was born in 1489, and had been appointed by Henry VIII. archbishop of Canterbury. During the brief reign of the youthful Edward VI., Cranmer (though not entirely free from the contamination of the doctrine of Rome, the right to persecute for conscience sake) was one of the principal agents in advancing the reformation in England. Upon the accession of bloody Mary, he was soon marked out as a conspicuous victim for papal fury. His closing days are clouded, as were those of Jerome of Prague, by his signature to a written recantation, obtained from him by his enemies, by the means of the prospect they held out to him of life and comfort, after nearly three years of cruel and rigorous imprisonment: yet, like the Bohemian reformer, he

* English Martyrology, by Charlotte Elizabeth, vol. ii., p. 55.

Cranmer in St. Mary's church. His mournful demeanor and copious tears.

bitterly repented this act of natural weakness, and showed the sincerity of that repentance, by his extraordinary courage and constancy, amidst the fires of martyrdom. After Cranmer had signed this document, he soon found reason to suspect that his popish enemies would still not be satisfied without his blood; and in the estimation of some, this circumstance may, perhaps, tend to cast a shade of doubt over his dying protestations. No one, however, who will carefully consider the circumstances of the last few hours of his life (which we shall now proceed to narrate), can reasonably doubt that his penitence for this act of pardonable weakness was sincere, and that the same Jesus who cast a look of love, and melted the heart of Peter, who had denied him, sustained the dying Cranmer by his presence and his smiles, and welcomed the ransomed spirit of the departed martyr to the abodes of the blessed.

§ 11.—It is generally thought that Cranmer was not informed of the determination to put him to death, till the morning when he was to suffer. About nine A. M., of the 21st of March, 1556, he was taken to St. Mary's church, Oxford, to listen to a sermon by Doctor Cole, preached at the church instead of at the place of execution, on account of its being a very rainy day.

A Romanist who was present, and who expressed the opinion "that the former life and wretched end of Cranmer deserved a greater misery, if greater had been possible," was yet, in spite of his heart-hardening opinions, touched with compassion at beholding him in a bare and ragged gown, and ill-favoredly clothed with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men. "I think," said he, "there was none that pitied not his case, and bewailed not his fortune, and feared not his own chance, to see so noble a prelate, so grave a counsellor, of so long-continued honor, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life." When he had ascended the stage, he knelt and prayed, weeping so profusely, that many, even of the papists, were moved to tears.

While Cole was preaching the sermon, in which he endeavored to make the best apology possible for the act of the Queen in consigning Cranmer to the flames, the venerable martyr himself seemed overwhelmed with the weight of sorrow and penitence. "With what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon," says good John Fox, in his own simple and beautiful style, "the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare: one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down from his fatherly face. Those which were present testify that they never saw, in any child, more tears than burst out from him at that time. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears, in an old man

His courageous and unexpected dying testimony to the truth. Renounces his extorted recantation

of so reverend dignity." Withal he ever retained "a quiet and grave behavior." In this hour of utter humiliation and severe repentance, he possessed his soul in patience. Never had his mind been more clear and collected, never had his heart been so strong. After the sermon, Cole exhorted Cranmer to testify before the people the sincerity of his conversion and repentance, that all men might understand he was "a Catholic indeed."

§ 12.—"I will do it," replied Cranmer, "and that with a good will." He then rose from his knees, and, putting off his cap, said, "Good Christian people, my dearly-beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But among all the rest, there is one which grieveth my conscience most of all, whereof you shall hear more in its proper place." He then knelt down, and offered up a touching and fervent prayer, speaking of himself as "a most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner." Rising from his knees, he proceeded to address the assembled multitude, giving them many pious and godly exhortations, before touching upon the point which all were anxiously expecting to hear—whether he was about to die in the Romish or the protestant faith.

At length he said: "And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell (and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up); I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without any color of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past." He then repeated the Apostles' creed, and declared his belief in every article of the true Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, his Apostles, and prophets, and in the New and Old Testament. "And now," he continued, "I come to *the great thing which troubleth my conscience* more than anything that ever I said or did in my whole life, and that is, the setting abroad of *writings contrary to the truth;* which now HERE I RENOUNCE AND REFUSE as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart." Hitherto, with consummate skill, the martyr had avoided a single word which could indicate to his popish persecutors the unexpected blow they were about to receive. Up to this time, probably, the multitude of Romanists had expected him to confirm his recantation, and supposed that the writings to which he had just referred and which he now renounced were those which he had published in opposition to the doctrines of Rome. This illusion was dissipated, when, in the next sentence, he spoke of those writings as—"*written for fear of death*, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills and papers as I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue.

Cranmer's Renunciation of his Recantation in St. Mary's Church, Oxford

Martyrdom of Cranmer.—"The hand that hath sinned, that hand shall first suffer."

Rage of the papists at Cranmer's noble confession. His unflinching constancy in the flames.

"And," proceeded Cranmer, "forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for may I come to the fire, it shall be first burnt!" He had time to add, "*As for the Pope, I refuse him as anti-Christ;* and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, when the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face."

§ 13.—At this unexpected and noble confession, Cole and the rest of the popish priests, monks and laymen, were too much astonished to interrupt him, or he would not have been suffered to proceed so far. At length, an uproar was raised which prevented him from proceeding; Cole foaming with rage, cried from the pulpit—"Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away," and the priests and friars rushed upon him, and tore him from the stage, on which he was standing.

Cranmer was quickly hurried to the stake, prepared on the spot where Latimer and Ridley had suffered five months before. The venerable martyr had now overcome the weakness of his nature; and, after a short prayer, put off his clothes with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, and stood upright in his shirt, which came down to his feet. His feet were bare; his head, when both his caps were off, appeared perfectly bald, but his beard was long and thick, and his countenance so venerable, that it moved even his enemies to compassion. Two Spanish friars, who had been chiefly instrumental in obtaining his recantation, continued to exhort him; till, perceiving that their efforts were vain, one of them said, 'Let us leave him, for the devil is with him!' Ely, who was afterward president of St. John's, still continued urging him to repentance. Cranmer replied, he repented his recantation; and in the spirit of charity offered his hand to Ely, as to others, when he bade him farewell; but the obdurate bigot drew back, and reproved those who had accepted such a farewell, telling them it was not lawful to act thus with one who had relapsed into heresy. Once more he called upon him to stand to his recantation. Cranmer stretched forth his right arm, and replied, "THIS IS THE HAND THAT WROTE IT, AND THEREFORE IT SHALL SUFFER PUNISHMENT FIRST." True to this purpose, as soon as the flame arose, he held his hand out to meet it, and retained it there steadfastly, so that all the people saw it sensibly burning before the fire reached any other part of his body; and often he repeated with a loud and firm voice, "THIS HAND HATH OFFENDED! THIS UNWORTHY RIGHT HAND."

Never did martyr endure the fire with more invincible resolution; no cry was heard from him, save the exclamation of the protomartyr Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" He stood immoveable as the stake to which he was bound, his countenance raised, looking to heaven, and anticipating that rest into which he

was about to enter; and thus, "in the greatness of the flame," he yielded up his spirit. The fire did its work soon, . . . and his heart was found unconsumed amid the ashes.

The pile is lit—the flames ascend;
Yet peace is in the martyr's face;
And unseen visitants attend
That chief of England's priestly race;
Mightier in peril's darkest hour,
Than when enthroned in rank and power

Steadfast he stood in that fierce flame,
As standing in his own high hall:
He said, as sadness o'er him came,
Remembrance of his mournful fall—
Stretching it to the burning brand—
"FIRST PERISH THIS UNWORTHY HAND!"

Thy foul and cruel deed, O Rome!
Was vain; that blazing funeral pyre
Where Cranmer died, did soon become
To England as a beacon fire;
And he hath left a glorious name,
Victorious over Rome and flame.

"Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution," says Dr. Southey, "this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Romish cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his elevation with almost unexampled meekness. It effectually disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs proceeded not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom; but from vainglory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here: Cranmer had retracted; and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands; and tens of thousands had witnessed how, when that agony was past, he stood calm and immoveable amid the flames; a patient and willing holocaust; triumphant, not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear and weakness, as well as death."*

§ 14.—For upwards of two years and a half from the martyrdom of Cranmer, a mysterious providence permitted the papists of England to glut their bigot rage in the slaughter of the lambs and the sheep of Christ's fold who refused to subscribe to the doctrines of Rome. At length the time of deliverance approached. The last of these bloody sacrifices to the popish Moloch was made on the 10th of November, only one week previous to the death of queen Mary, in the burning alive of three men and two women at

* Southey's Book of the Church, chap. xiv.

The last burning in the reign of bloody Mary. Joy of the people at her death. Elizabeth and the Pope.

Canterbury, for denying transubstantiation and the worship of images. The names of this last company of victims who brought up "the noble army of martyrs" of the Marian persecution, were John Corneford, John Hurst, Christopher Brown, Alice Snoth, and Catharine Tinley. The last was an aged and helpless woman, whose years and debility, one would have thought, might awaken pity even in the breast of a savage. But popish bigotry knows no pity; and the feeble and withered body of the aged saint was consumed to ashes in the torturing flames.

From the burning pile of this last company of martyrs, the prayer arose from the lips of the sufferers that their blood might be the last that should be thus shed, in England, for the truth; and God heard that prayer. One week after, on the 17th of November, the merciless bigot-queen was called before a higher tribunal to give an account of the innocent blood that she had poured out like water during her brief but terrible reign. Mary died in the morning. Before night the bells of all the churches in London were rung for the accession of Elizabeth, and amidst the lamentations of popish bigots that some of their victims had escaped, a shout of rapture went up from the hearts of the people that the work of blood was done; and bonfires and illuminations testified the general joy that the reign of terror and of Rome was over.

§ 15.—Great was the sorrow and disappointment of that bloody persecutor and promoter of the Inquisition, pope Paul IV., at hearing of the death of his "faithful daughter," Mary, and the accession of her protestant sister Elizabeth to the throne of England. In answer to the ambassador sent to the court of Rome, in common with the other European courts, the Pope replied in a haughty style, "*That England was held in fee of the apostolic See. . . . that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent; for which, in reason, she deserved no favor at his hands; yet, if she would* RENOUNCE HER PRETENSIONS, *and refer herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection towards her, and do everything for her that he could* CONSISTENTLY WITH THE DIGNITY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE!"*

Elizabeth treated these *kind* proposals of his Holiness with just the attention they merited, and a few years afterward was excommunicated and *deposed* by pope Pius V., and her *subjects absolved from their allegiance* and forbidden to obey her, under penalty of the same anathema!! This important instrument of papal vengeance renews all the obsolete pretensions of Hildebrand and Boniface, and is especially valuable as an exhibition of the feelings of approbation and regard on the part of the anti-Christian popes of Rome toward that bloody persecutor of God's saints, queen Mary; and their bitter hatred toward her sister Elizabeth, who had put an end to those scenes of horror and of blood.

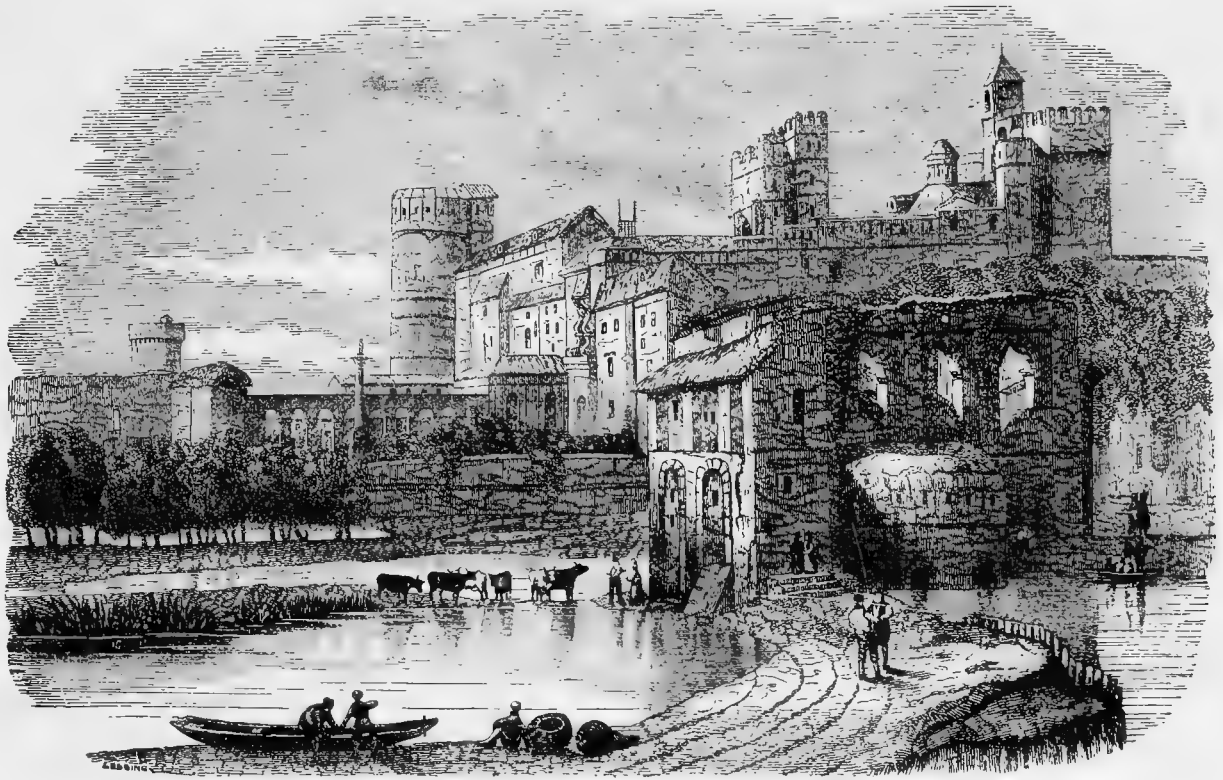
The original bull, in Latin, may be found in the collection of

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii., p. 580.

Copy of the bull of pope Pius, excommunicating and deposing queen Elizabeth.

records at the end of Burnet's History of the Reformation. The following is a translation of the most important part:

Excommunication and deposition of queen Elizabeth of England. "PIUS, &c., FOR A FUTURE MEMORIAL OF THE MATTER. He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in Heaven and on Earth, committed one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, to Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and to Peter's successor the Bishop of Rome, to be governed in fullness of power. HIM ALONE HE MADE PRINCE OVER ALL PEOPLE, AND ALL KINGDOMS, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant and build, &c. . . . But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, that there is now no place left in the whole world, which they have not essayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines. Amongst others, Elizabeth, the *pretended* Queen of England, a slave of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping-hand, with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all men have found a refuge; this very woman having seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of the Supreme Head of the church in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the same kingdom into miserable destruction, which was then newly reduced to the faith, and to good order. For having by strong hand, inhibited the exercise of THE TRUE RELIGION, WHICH MARY THE LAWFUL QUEEN, OF FAMOUS MEMORY, HAD, BY THE HELP OF THIS SEE, RESTORED, after it had been formerly overthrown by King Henry VIII., a revolter therefrom, and following and embracing the errors of heretics, she hath removed the royal council, consisting of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men, being heretics; hath oppressed the embracers of the Roman faith, hath placed impious preachers, ministers of iniquity, and abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, distinction of meats, a single life, and the rites and ceremonies; hath commanded books to be read in the whole realm, containing manifest heresy, &c. . . . She hath not only contemned the godly requests and admonitions of princes, concerning her healing, and conversion, but also hath not so much as permitted the Nuncios of this See to cross the seas into England, &c. . . . We do, therefore, out of the fulness of our Apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being *a heretic*, and *a favorer of heretics*, and her adherence in the matter aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And, moreover, we do declare her *to be deprived of her* PRETENDED TITLE *to the kingdom aforesaid*, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever: and also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all others which have in any sort sworn unto her, to be *for ever absolved from any such oath*, and all manner of duty, of dominion, allegiance, and obedience; as we also do, by the authority of these presents, ABSOLVE THEM, AND DO DEPRIVE THE SAME ELIZABETH OF HER PRETENDED TITLE TO THE KINGDOM, and all other things aforesaid. And we do command and interdict all and every



Prison of the Inquisition, at Cordova, Spain.

one of the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, *that they presume not to obey her*, or her admonitions, mandates, and laws; and those who shall do the contrary, we do innodate with the like sentence of ANATHEMA.*

"*Given at St. Peter's at Rome, in the year* 1569, *and the* 5*th of our pontificate.*"

CHAPTER III.

THE INQUISITION.—SEIZURE OF THE VICTIMS.—MODES OF TORTURE, AND CELEBRATION OF THE AUTO DA FÈ.

§16.—Of all the inventions of popish cruelty the *Holy* Inquisition is the masterpiece. We have already referred to its establishment by *Saint* Dominic, in the thirteenth century. For the history of this destructive engine of papal cruelty, we must refer to any, or all of the authentic works of Llorente, Puigblanch, Limborch, Stockdale, Geddes, Dellon, and other historians of the Inquisition. All that we shall undertake will be a brief description of the treatment, tortures, and burnings of the unfortunate beings who writhed under its iron rod of oppression. The adjoining engraving represents an exterior view of one of the gloomy prisons of the Inquisition in that country, which, more than any other, has been oppressed and crushed by this horrid tribunal, unhappy Spain. It is copied from a drawing taken on the spot by David Roberts, Esq.

It was impossible for even Satan himself to conceive a more horrible contrivance of torture and blood, than this so called Holy

* The following is the original of the closing extract of this bull, deposing Elizabeth from her throne. We should hardly have believed that the mad pretensions of Hildebrand were thus revived by the Pope near the end of the sixteenth century, and half a century subsequent to the glorious reformation, were not the original documents at hand, and the fact beyond the shadow of a doubt:—"Declaramus de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, et Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi Corporis unitate præcisos: Quin etiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni et quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam; Et item proceres, subditos et populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium authoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenso jure Regni, aliiisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus Universis et singulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis et aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: Qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus."—*Burnet's Reformation*, vol. iv., p. 99.

Inquisition. There it was (in the words of Pollock), that the Babylonish harlot of the Apocalypse,

* * * * * "With horrid relish drank the blood
Of God's peculiar children—and was drunk;
And in her drunkenness dreamed of doing good.
The supplicating hand of innocence,
That made the tiger mild, and in his wrath
The lion pause—the groans of suffering most
Severe were naught to her: she laughed at groans;
No music pleased her more; and no repast
So sweet to her as blood of men redeemed
By blood of Christ. Ambition's self, though mad
And nursed on human gore, with her compared
Was merciful. Nor did she always rage;
She had some hours of meditation, set
Apart, wherein she to her *study* went;
The INQUISITION model most complete
Of perfect wickedness, where deeds were done,
Deeds! let them ne'er be named,—and sat and planned
Deliberately, and with most musing pains,
How, to extremest thrill of agony,
The flesh, and blood, and souls of holy men,
Her victims might be wrought; and when she saw
New tortures of her laboring fancy born,
She leaped for joy, and made great haste to try
Their force,—well pleased to hear a deeper groan."

§ 17.—The victims of the Inquisition were generally apprehended by the officers of the tribunal called *familiars*, who were dispersed in large numbers over Spain, and other lands where the "*Holy office*" was established. In the dead of the night, perhaps, a carriage drives up, and a knock is heard at the door. An inquiry is made from the window, by some member of the family rising from his bed; 'who is there?' The reply is the terrible words, '*The Holy Inquisition.*' Perhaps the inquirer has an only child, a beloved and cherished daughter; and almost frozen with terror, he hears the words, '*Deliver up your daughter to the Holy Inquisition,*'—or it may be—Deliver up your wife, your father, your brother, your son. No matter who is demanded, not a question must be asked. Not a murmur must escape his lips, on pain of a like terrible fate with the destined victim. The trembling prisoner is led out, perhaps totally ignorant of his crime or accuser, and immured within those horrid walls, through which no sigh of agony or shriek of anguish can reach the ear of tender and sympathizing friends.

The next day the family go in mourning; they bewail the lost one as dead; consigned not to a peaceful sepulchre, but to a living tomb; and strive to conceal even the tears which natural affection prompts, lest the next terrible summons should be for them. In the gloomy cell to which the victim is consigned, the most awful and mysterious silence must be preserved. Lest any of its internal secrets might be disclosed, no sounds were permitted to be heard throughout the dismal apartments of the Inquisition. The poor

A poor heretic whipped to death for coughing in the Inquisition. Torture of pulley and ropes.

prisoner was not allowed to bewail his fate, or, in an audible voice, to offer up his prayers to Him who is the refuge of the oppressed; nay, even to cough was to be guilty of a crime, which was immediately punished. Limborch tells us of a poor afflicted victim who was, on one occasion, heard to cough; the jailors of the Inquisition instantly repaired to his cell and warned him to forbear, as the slightest noise was not tolerated in that house. The prisoner replied that it was not in his power to forbear; a second time they admonished him to desist; and when again, the poor man, unable to refrain from coughing, had repeated the offence, they stripped him naked, and cruelly beat him. This increased his cough, for which they beat him so often, that at last he died through the pain and anguish of the stripes which he had received.

§ 18.—The commonest modes of torture to force the victims to confess or to accuse themselves, were, *dislocation*, by means of pulley, rope and weights; *roasting the soles of the feet;* and *suffocation by water*, with the torment of tightened ropes. These tortures were inflicted in a sad and gloomy apartment called the "Hall of Torture," generally situated far underground in order that the shrieks of anguish generally forced from the miserable sufferers, might not interrupt the death-like silence that reigned through the rest of the building.

(1.) *Dislocation by the pulley, ropes, and weights.* In this kind of torture, according to Puigblanch,* a pulley was fixed to the roof of the Hall, and a strong cord passed through it. The culprit, whether male or female, was then seized and stripped, his arms forced behind his back, a cord fastened first above his elbows, then above his wrists, shackles put on his feet, and weights, generally of one hundred pounds, attached to his ancles. The poor victim, entirely naked, with the exception of a cloth around the loins, was then raised by the cord and pulley, and in this position was coolly admonished by the cruel inquisitors to reveal all he knew. If his replies were unsatisfactory, sometimes stripes would be inflicted upon his, or her naked body, while in this dreadfully painful situation—the arms bent behind and upwards, and the weight of the body, with the heavy irons attached, wrenching the very bones from their sockets. If the confessions were still unsatisfactory, the rope was suddenly loosened and the victim let fall to within a foot or two of the ground; thus most fearfully dislocating the arms and shoulders, and causing the most indescribable agony. This dreadful process was sometimes repeated again and again, till (oh horrible!) the poor mangled victim, with his dislocated bones, dangling on the ropes, as it were by his loose flesh, fainting from excessive pain, was hurried to his miserable dungeon, and thrown upon the cold damp ground, where the surgeon was permitted to attend him, to set

* See "Inquisition Unmasked, a historical and philosophical account of that tremendous tribunal, by D. Antonio Puigblanch." Translated from the Spanish. 2 vols.; London, 1816.

his dislocated bones and patch up his poor tortured frame, only to prepare him for a renewal of these horrors, unless in the interval he should choose to avoid them either by renouncing his faith, or by accusing himself of what he might be entirely innocent.

(2.) *Roasting the soles of the feet.*—In this torture the prisoner, whether male or female, stripped as before, was placed in the stocks; the soles of the feet were well greased with lard, and a blazing fire of coals in a chafing dish placed close to them, by the heat of which the soles of the sufferer's feet became perfectly roasted. When the violence of the anguish forced the poor tortured victim to shriek with agony, an attendant was commanded to interpose a board between the victim's feet and the fire, and he was commanded to confess or to recant; but if he refused to obey the command of the inquisitor, the board was again removed and the cruel torture repeated till the soles of the sufferer's feet were actually burnt away to the bone, and the poor victim, if he ever escaped from these horrid dungeons of torture and misery, was perhaps made a cripple for life. The two forms of torture above described are represented in the adjoining illustration.

(3.) The torture of *tightened ropes and suffocation by water* was performed in the following manner. The victim, frequently a female, was tied to a wooden horse, or hollow bench, so tightly by cords that they sometimes cut through the flesh of the arms, thighs and legs to the very bone. In this situation, she was obliged to swallow seven pints of water slowly dropped into her mouth on a piece of silk or linen, which was thus sometimes forced down her throat, and produced all the horrid sensations of drowning. Thus secured, vain are all her fearful struggles to escape from the cords that bind her—every motion only forces the cords further and further through the quivering and bleeding flesh.

Heretics who were supposed incapable of surviving the infliction of the horrid tortures above described, were subjected to other contrivances for inflicting pain, with less danger of life. Among these lesser tortures was one called the *torture of the canes.* A hard piece of cane was inserted between each of the fingers, which were then bound together with a cord, and subjected to the action of a screw. Another of these was *the torture of the die,* in which the prisoner was extended on the ground, and two pieces of iron, shaped like a die, but concave on one side, were placed on the heel of his right foot, then bound on fast with a rope which was pulled tight with a screw. Both of these kinds of torture occasioned the sufferer the most intolerable pain, but with little or no danger of life.

§ 19.—Not unfrequently death ensued from the severe tortures of the holy office. "A young lady, who was incarcerated in the dungeon of the Inquisition at the same time with the celebrated Donna Jane Bohorques, will supply an instance of this kind. This victim of inquisitorial brutality endured the torture till all the members of her body were rent asunder by the infernal machinery of

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A young lady tortured to death. Reflections on such an act of Inquisitorial cruelty

the holy office. An interval of some days succeeded, till she began, notwithstanding such inhumanity, to recover. She was then taken back to the infliction of similar barbarity. Small cords were twisted round her naked arms, legs and thighs, till they cut through the flesh to the bone; and blood, in copious torrents, streamed from the lacerated veins. Eight days after, she died of her wounds, and was translated from the dungeons of the Inquisition to the glory of heaven."*

Ah, who can conceive the tale of unutterable anguish that is included in a single instance of inquisitorial malignity and cruelty—such, perhaps, as that just related! A *lady*—a *young lady*—perhaps the only daughter of doating parents, as dear to them, reader, as your daughter to you, or mine to me—brought up, perhaps, in the lap of luxury and refinement—living amid the smiles and caresses of doating friends, and dreaming of no danger nigh. In an unguarded moment a sentence has escaped her, disrespectful to the idolatry of Rome. Perhaps she has dared to say, she trusts for salvation, not in Mary and the saints, but in CHRIST ALONE. That sentence has been heard by a spy of the Holy office. She retires to sleep at night; at the midnight hour the carriage of the Inquisition stops before the door, and the lovely, the tender, the delicate female, upon whom the wind has never before been suffered to blow roughly, is dragged away to the damp and gloomy cell of the horrible Inquisition.

Look at her, as she kneels prostrate in her gloomy dungeon, and implores succor from on high! See that tear of natural anguish that trickles down her cheeks, as she thinks of the agony of a doating father, of a tender mother, perhaps of a frantic betrothed one, who yet dare not give utterance to their anguish for fear of a similar fate. She is summoned before the tribunal of the men of blood. She is darkly told of suspicions, of informations, but she knows neither their author nor their subject. She is commanded to confess, without knowing her accusation, and is silent. The rough and hardened popish executioners are summoned, and her maiden modesty is outraged by her clothes being rudely torn from her person by cruel and bloody men. The command is given, the horrid torture is applied. The piercing cords are bound around her tender limbs, till they cut through the quivering flesh, and, fainting, she is borne back to her gloomy dungeon. No father's hand is there in that gloomy dungeon to wipe away those tears, no mother's hand to stanch and to bind up those bleeding wounds. She flies to the throne of grace for help (where else can she?) and she feels that Jesus is with her. In a few days, she is carried, all pale, enfeebled and emaciated, before her iron-hearted judges.

She is again examined, and the horrible process of outrage and torture is repeated. She is carried back to her dungeon, to breathe her sighs to the cold stone walls, to linger alone, and suffer-

* Moreri, 6, 7. Limborch, 323. Edgar, 230.

ing for a few days, and then her ransomed spirit quits the tortured body, and wings its way to Heaven. Her mourning friends know not of her death, for no news is suffered to transpire beyond those gloomy walls. But there is ONE who knows, ONE who sees, and in his book are recorded all the groans and sighs of that poor sufferer, to be brought forth in fearful reckoning against her murderers in another day.

When the mind has formed an accurate and vivid conception of a single case like this, then let it be remembered that it is but one of thousands and tens of thousands of equally barbarous instances of popish persecution, cruelty and torture; and that for ages, in lands that groaned under the iron rod of Popery, these horrors were of daily occurrence.

O merciful and compassionate God! what deeds of cruelty and blood have been perpetrated upon thy suffering children, in the name of HIM whose very heart is tenderness, and whose very name is LOVE!

§ 20.—The next scene in this melancholy tragedy is the *auto da fé*. This horrid and tremendous spectacle is always represented on the Sabbath day. The term auto da fé (*act of faith*) is applied to the great burning of heretics, when large numbers of these tortured and lacerated beings are led forth from their gloomy cells, and marched in procession to the place of burning, dressed according to the fate that awaits them on that terrible day. The victims who walk in the procession wear the san benito, the coroza, the rope around the neck, and carry in their hand a yellow wax candle. The *san benito* is a penitential garment or tunic of yellow cloth reaching down to the knees, and on it is painted the picture of the person who wears it, burning in the flames, with figures of dragons and devils in the act of fanning the flames. This costume indicates that the wearer is to be burnt alive as an incorrigible heretic. If the person is only to do penance, then the san benito has on it a cross, and no paintings or flames. If an impenitent is converted just before being led out, then the san benito is painted with the flames downward; this is called "fuego repolto," and it indicates that the wearer is not to be burnt alive, but to have the favor of being strangled before the fire is applied to the pile. Formerly these garments were hung up in the churches as eternal monuments of disgrace to their wearers, and as the trophies of the Inquisition. The *coroza* is a pasteboard cap, three feet high, and ending in a point. On it are likewise painted crosses, flames, and devils. In Spanish America it was customary to add long twisted tails to the corozas. Some of the victims have gags in their mouths, of which a number is kept in reserve in case the victims, as they march along in public, should become outrageous, insult the tribunal, or attempt to reveal any secrets.

The prisoners who are to be roasted alive have a Jesuit on each side continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies, and if any one attempts to offer one word in defence of the doctrines for

Gagging of heretics. Outrageous hypocrisy of the Inquisition, in their pretence of mercy.

which he is going to suffer death, his mouth is instantly gagged. "This I saw done to a prisoner, says Dr. Geddes, in his account of the Inquisition in Portugal, "presently after he came out of the gates of the Inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body to worship any being but Him that created it.'"

§ 21.—When the procession arrives at the place where a large scaffolding has been erected for their reception, prayers are offered up, strange to tell, at a throne of mercy, and a sermon is preached, consisting of impious praises of the Inquisition, and bitter invectives against all heretics; after which a priest ascends a desk, and recites the final sentence. This is done in the following words, wherein the reader will find nothing but a shocking mixture of blasphemy, ferociousness, and hypocrisy.

"We, the inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious N——, lord archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy, N——, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother, the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging with the holy gospels lying before us, so that our judgment may be in the sight of God, and our eyes may behold what is just in all matters, &c. &c.

"We do therefore, by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare, and sentence thee (the prisoner), of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic; and to be delivered and left by us as such to the secular arm; and we, by this our sentence, do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court as a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic; and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court, *but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence as not to touch thy blood, nor to put thy life in any sort of danger.*"

Well may Dr. Geddes inquire, in reference to this hypocritical mockery of God and man, "Is there in all history an instance of so gross and confident a mockery of God, and the world, as this of the inquisitors beseeching the civil magistrate not to put the heretics they have condemned and delivered to them, to death? For were they in earnest when they made this solemn petition to the secular magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the Inquisition, and deliver them to those magistrates in coats painted over with flames? Why do they teach that heretics, above all other malefactors, ought to be punished with death? And why do they never resent the secular magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition as never to fail to burn all the heretics that are delivered to them by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why *in Rome, where the supreme civil*, as well as *ecclesiastical authority* are lodged in the

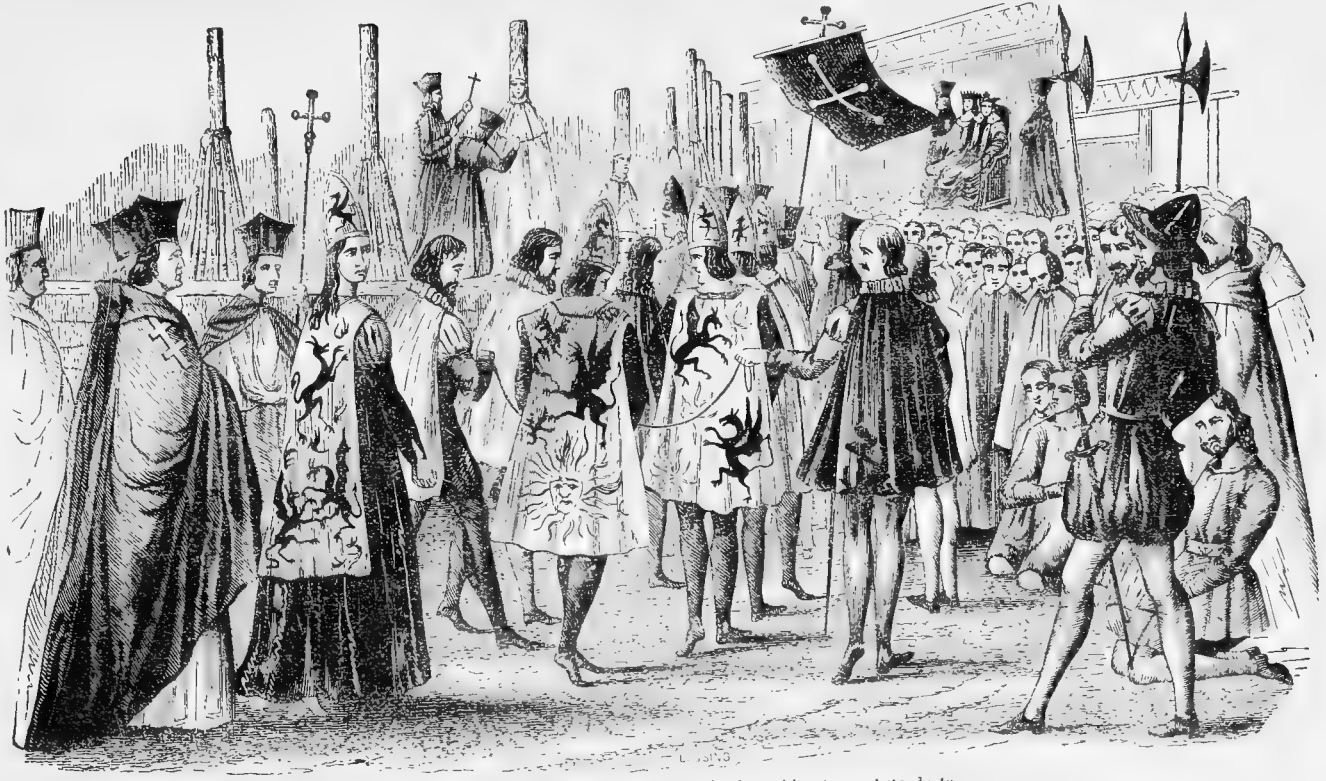
same person, is this petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted ?"*

§ 22.—If the prisoner, on being asked, says that he will die in the Catholic faith, he has the privilege of being strangled first, and then burnt; but if in the Protestant or any other faith different from the Catholic, he must be roasted alive; and, at parting with him, his ghostly *comforters*, the Jesuits, tell him, "that they leave him to the devil, who is standing at his elbow to receive his soul and carry it to the flames of hell, as soon as the spirit leaves his body." When all is ready, fire is applied to the immense pile, and the suffering martyrs, who have been securely fastened to their stakes, are roasted alive; the living flesh of the lower extremities being often burnt and crisped by the action of the flames, driven hither and thither by the wind before the vital parts are touched; and while the poor sufferers are writhing in inconceivable agony, the joy of the vast multitude, inflamed by popish bigotry and cruelty, causes the air to resound with shouts of exultation and delight. Says Dr. Geddes, in a description of one of these *auto da fès*, of which he was a horrified spectator: "The victims were chained to stakes, at the height of about four feet from the ground. A quantity of furze that lay round the bottom of the stakes was set on fire; by a current of wind it was in some cases prevented from reaching above the lowest extremities of the body. Some were thus kept in torture for an hour or two, and were actually roasted, not burnt to death. "This spectacle," says he, "is beheld by people of both sexes, and all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with. And that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy is the effect of a natural cruelty that is in this people's disposition, and not the spirit of their religion, he may rest assured, that all public malefactors, except heretics, have their violent death nowhere more tenderly lamented, than amongst the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their death that appears inhuman or cruel."†

It was not uncommon for the popish kings and queens of Spain to witness these wholesale burnings of heretics from a magnificent stage and canopy erected for the purpose, and it was represented by the Jesuit priests as an act highly meritorious in the king to supply a faggot for the pile upon which the heretics were to be consumed. Among other instances of this kind, king Charles II., in an *auto da fè*, supplied a faggot, the sticks of which were gilded, adorned by flowers, and tied up with ribands, and was honored by being the first faggot placed upon the pile of burning. In 1559, king Philip, the popish husband of bloody queen Mary of England, was witnessing one of these cruel scenes, when a protestant nobleman named Don Carlos de Seso, while he was being conducted to the

* Geddes' tracts on Popery. View of the court of Inquisition in Portugal, p. 446. Limborch, vol. ii., p. 289.

† Cited in Limborch, vol. ii., p. 301



Procession of Heretics condemned by the Inquisition to an Auto da fe.

stake, called out to the King for mercy in these words: "And canst thou, oh king, witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do not deserve it." "No," replied the iron-hearted bigoted monarch, "I would myself *carry wood to burn my own son*, were he such a wretch as thou." Thus is it that popish bigotry can stifle the strongest and tenderest instincts of our nature, turn human beings into monsters, and inspire joy and delight at witnessing the writhing agonies and hearing the piercing shrieks of even *tender and delicate women*, as their living bodies are being roasted amidst the fires of the *auto da fè*.

CHAPTER IV.

INHUMAN PERSECUTIONS OF THE WALDENSES.

§ 23.—We have already given an account of the popish crusade against the Waldenses of the south of France, and the horrible cruelties and massacres inflicted on them by the bloody Montfort and the Pope's legate, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. (Book v., chap. 7, 8.) Nothing more than a very brief sketch can now be added of the barbarities of a similar kind, which at various intervals were endured by this pious and interesting people during the five centuries which followed from the commencement of the crusade of pope Innocent.

In spite of all the efforts of the popes and their bigoted adherents to extirpate from the earth these pious people, they continued to increase in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in various countries of Europe, but especially in the valleys of Piedmont, where, shut in by the lofty and snow-capped mountains around them, they were in some degree sheltered from their popish persecutors.

About the year 1400, a violent outrage was committed upon the Waldenses who inhabited the valley of Pragela, in Piedmont, by the Catholic party resident in that neighborhood. The attack, which seems to have been of the most furious kind, was made toward the end of the month of December, when the mountains are covered with snow, and thereby rendered so difficult of access, that the peaceable inhabitants of the valleys were wholly unapprised that any such attempt was meditated; and the persecutors were in actual possession of their caves, ere the former seem to have been apprised of any hostile designs against them. In this pitiable plight they had recourse to the only alternative which remained for saving their lives—they fled to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, with their wives and children, the unhappy mothers carrying the cradle in one hand, and in the other leading such of their offspring

as were able to walk. Their inhuman invaders, whose feet were swift to shed blood, pursued them in their flight, until night came on, and slew great numbers of them, before they could reach the mountains. Those that escaped, were, however, reserved to experience a fate not more enviable. Overtaken by the shades of night, they wandered up and down the mountains, covered with snow, destitute of the means of shelter from the inclemencies of the weather, or of supporting themselves under it by any of the comforts which Providence has destined for that purpose: benumbed with cold, they fell an easy prey to the severity of the climate, and when the night had passed away, there were found in their cradles, or lying upon the snow, *fourscore of their infants, deprived of life*, many of the mothers also lying dead by their sides, and others just upon the point of expiring.

§ 24.—Nearly a century later, in consequence of the ferocious bull of pope Innocent VIII., already cited (page 425), a most barbarous persecution was carried on against the Waldenses in the valleys of Loyse and Frassiniere. Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, was appointed legate of the Pope to carry his bull into execution, and was no sooner vested with his commission, than calling to his aid the lieutenant of the province of Dauphiny, and a body of troops, they marched at once to the villages inhabited by the heretics. The inhabitants, apprised of their approach, fled into the *caves* at the tops of the mountains, carrying with them their children, and whatever valuables they had, as well as what was thought necessary for their support and nourishment. The lieutenant finding the inhabitants all fled, and that not an individual appeared with whom he could converse, at length discovered their retreats, and causing quantities of wood to be placed at their entrances, ordered it to be set on fire. The consequence was, that *four hundred children were suffocated in their cradles*, or in the arms of their dead mothers, while multitudes, to avoid dying by suffocation, or being burnt to death, precipitated themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they were dashed in pieces; or if any escaped death by the fall, they were immediately slaughtered by the brutal soldiery. "It is held as unquestionably true," says Perrin, "amongst the Waldenses dwelling in the adjacent valleys, that more than three thousand persons, men and women, belonging to the valley of Loyse, perished on this occasion. And, indeed, they were wholly exterminated, for that valley was afterwards peopled with new inhabitants, not one family of the Waldenses having subsequently resided in it; which proves beyond dispute, that all the inhabitants, and of both sexes, died at that time."*

§ 25.—In the year 1545, a large tract of country at the south of France, inhabited chiefly by the Waldenses, was overrun and most cruelly desolated by the popish barbarians, under the command of a violent bigot, named baron Oppede. A copious account of this per-

* Perrin's History of the Waldenses, book ii., chap. 3.

secution is given by a candid Romish contemporary historian, Thuanus, in the history of his own times. As a specimen of the cruelties perpetrated upon the heretics at this time, we can only extract the description of the taking of a single town, Cabrieres. "They had surrendered to the papists, upon a promise of having their lives spared; but when the garrison was admitted they were all seized, they who lay hid in the dungeon of the castle, or thought themselves secured by the sacredness of the church; and being dragged out from thence into a hollow meadow were put to death, without regard to age or the assurances given: the number of the slain, within and without the town, amounted to eight hundred: the women, by the command of Oppede, were *thrust into a barn filled with straw, and fire being set to it, when they endeavored to leap out of the window, they were pushed back by poles and pikes, and were thus miserably suffocated and consumed in the flames.*"*

§ 26.—About the year 1560, during the suspension of the council of Trent, a most violent and bloody persecution was carried on against the Waldenses of Calabria at the south of Italy, by direction of that brutal tyrant, pope Pius IV. Two monks were sent from Rome, armed with power to reduce the Calabrian heretics to obedience to the Holy See. Upon their arrival, at once to bring matters to the test, they caused a bell to be immediately tolled for mass, commanding the people to attend. Instead of complying, however, the Waldenses forsook their houses, and as many as were able fled to the woods with their wives and children. Two companies were instantly ordered out to pursue them, who hunted them like wild beasts, crying, "*Amazzi! Amazzi!*" that is, "murder them! murder them!" and numbers were put to death.

Seventy of the heretics were seized and conducted in chains to Montalto. They were put to the torture by the orders of the inquisitor Panza, to induce them not only to renounce their faith but also to accuse themselves and their brethren of having committed odious crimes in their religious assemblies. To wring a confession of this from him, Stefano was tortured until his bowels gushed out. Another prisoner, named Verminel, having, in the extremity of pain, promised to go to mass, the inquisitor flattered himself that, by increasing the violence of the torture, he could extort a confession of the charge which he was so anxious to fasten on the Protestants. The manner in which persons of the tender sex were treated by this brutal inquisitor, is too disgusting to be related here. Suffice it to say, that he put sixty females to the torture, the greater part of whom died in prison in consequence of their wounds remaining undressed. On his return to Naples, he delivered a great number of Protestants to the secular arm at St. Agata, where he inspired the inhabitants with the utmost terror; for if any indivi-

* Thuani Historia sui temporis, Lib. vi. The same horrible cruelties, with some additional particulars, are related by Sleidan, in his History of the Reformation, book xvi.

dual came forward to intercede for the prisoners, he was immediately put to the torture as a favorer of heresy.*

Of the almost incredible barbarities of the papists at Montalto in the month of June, 1560, the best and most unexceptionable account is that furnished in the words of a letter of a Roman Catholic spectator of the horrid scene, writing to Ascanio Caraccioli. This letter was published in Italy with other narrations of the bloody transactions. It commences as follows:—"Most illustrious sir—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful *justice* which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and, bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the house, and, causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way, the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death are incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I still shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one victim after another, just as the butcher does the sheep which he means to kill."

Lest the reader should be inclined to doubt the truth of such horrid atrocities, the following summary account of them, by a Neapolitan historian of that age, may be added. After giving some account of the Calabrian heretics, he says—"Some had their throats cut, others were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff: all were cruelly but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy; for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only exhibited no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them."†

* Perrin's Waldenses, pp. 202—206. Leger, &c.

† Tommaso Costo, Seconda Parte del Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli, p. 257. See that valuable work, which has recently been honored by a notice in the Pope's bull against the Christian Alliance, M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, chap. v. The Reformation in Spain, by the same writer, is equally valuable.

Cruelties of the Popish Piedmontese soldiery to the Waldenses.

Children forcibly taken from their Parents, to be brought up as Papists

Barbarities in Piedmont. "Mother with infant down the rocks." The poet Milton and Oliver Cromwell.

§ 27.—About the middle of the following century, the barbarity and wholesale slaughter of the poor oppressed Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont, by their popish persecutors, was such as to excite a general feeling of indignation and remonstrance in all the protestant states of Europe. The bigoted and cruel soldiery, attended by the still more bigoted monks, had been let loose upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the valleys. Thousands of families had been compelled to abandon their homes in the very depths of winter, and to wander over mountains covered with ice and snow, destitute and starving, to seek a refuge from their relentless persecutors; and multitudes of them perished on the way, overwhelmed by tempests of drifted snow. Children had been torn from their agonized parents to be brought up as Roman Catholics, and carried off where those parents, even if they should linger out a miserable existence themselves, might never more expect to behold these objects of their tenderness and affection. Many were hurled from precipitous rocks, and dashed to pieces by the fall. Sir Samuel Morland, who was appointed ambassador by Oliver Cromwell to bear the remonstrances of protestant England against these popish cruelties, published, on his return, a minute account of the sufferings of the Waldenses, in which he relates that in one instance "a mother was hurled down a mighty rock, with a little infant in her arms; and three days after was found dead, with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the arms of the dead mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those who found them had much ado to get the young child out."*

The great poet Milton was, at this time, Latin secretary to Oliver Cromwell, and wrote the eloquent expostulations on the persecutions of the Waldenses, addressed to the duke of Savoy, with which Morland was entrusted, and the letters to the various protestant sovereigns of Europe on the same subject.† The immortal author of the Paradise Lost also invoked his poetic muse to excite sympathy for these "slaughtered saints," in the following sonnet, in which there is an allusion to the touching incident of the mother and her babe, just cited from Sir Samuel Morland.

ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by *the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd*
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans

* Sir Samuel Morland's history of the Valleys of Piedmont, p. 363. Folio. London, 1658.

† For a full translation of these able and interesting documents from the pen of Milton, see Jones' History of the Church, Cone's edition, vol. ii., pp. 326–366. This valuable work is very full on the subject of the Waldenses. It was origi-

The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all th' Italian fields, where still doth sway
The tripled tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who having learned thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian wo.

§ 28.—The interposition of the powerful Protector of England was not to be resisted. The persecutions of the Waldenses were abated, and the protestant Christians of Piedmont enjoyed for a few years a season of comparative repose, till the persecutions arising from the revocation of the edict of Nantes in France, when the popish duke of Savoy, imitating king Louis of France, commenced another most cruel and bloody persecution of the Waldenses, hardly exceeded in severity by any of the preceding. To relate the particulars of it would be only to repeat the horrors of massacres, burning, outrage, and rapine, by which the feelings of the reader must already have been sufficiently harrowed. This cruel persecution was brought to a close through the friendly interposition of the Swiss Cantons, in September, 1686. Multitudes of the Waldenses had long been confined in loathsome prisons in Piedmont. The Swiss Cantons sent deputies to demand their release, and the privilege of quitting the dominions of their popish persecutor.

In the month of October, the duke of Savoy's proclamation was issued for their release and banishment. It was now the approach of winter, the ground was covered with snow and ice; the victims of cruelty were almost universally emaciated through poverty and disease, and very unfit for the projected journey. The proclamation was made at the castle of Mondovi, for example: and at five o'clock *the same evening* they were to begin a march of four or five leagues! Before the morning more than a hundred and fifty of them sunk under the burden of their maladies and fatigues, and died. The same thing happened to the prisoners at Fossan. A company of them halted one night at the foot of Mount Cenis; when they were about to march the next morning, they pointed the officer who conducted them to a terrible tempest upon the top of the mountain, beseeching him to allow them to stay till it had passed away. The inhuman papist, deaf to the voice of pity, insisted on their marching; the consequence of which was, that eighty-six of their number died, and were buried in that horrible tempest of snow. Some merchants that afterwards crossed the mountains, saw the bodies of these miserable people extended on the snow, the mothers clasping their children in their arms! Such are the tender mercies of Rome.

nally written as a "History of the Waldenses," and afterward enlarged, and republished under the title of a "History of the Church."

CHAPTER V.

PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE.—MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, AND REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

§ 29.—We have already seen, in the massacres of the Waldenses of Beziers, Menerbe, Lavaur, and other places, that the emissaries of papal vengeance did not always wait for the slow process of inquisitorial examination and torture, to wreak their vengeance upon the detested heretics; and it would be easy to fill a volume with the horrid details of wholesale massacres of hundreds and thousands of heretics at the time, by which the faithful servants of the popes have merited and obtained from these self-styled successors of St. Peter, *plenary indulgences*, which should admit them, with their hands all reeking with blood, to the abodes of the blessed.

Omitting all mention of the horrid massacres of Orange and Vassy, in France;* the butcheries of the bigoted duke of Alva, in the Netherlands, performed under the sanction of the husband of bloody Mary, Philip of Spain;† or the massacres in Ireland and other popish countries, we can describe but one which stands pre-eminent among these scenes of blood, viz. the massacre of St. Bartholomew, at Paris, on the 24th of August, 1572.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew was a plan laid by the infamous Catharine de Medici, queen dowager of France, in concert with her weak and bigoted son, Charles IX., for the extirpation of the French protestants, who were called by the name of Huguenots. Under the pretext of a marriage between Henry, the protestant king of Navarre, and Margaret, the sister of Charles, the Huguenots, with their most celebrated and favorite leader, admiral Coligny, had been attracted to Paris. Coligny had been affectionately warned by many of his friends against trusting himself at Paris, but such were the assurances of friendship on the part of king Charles, that he was thrown off his guard, and was drawn within the toils that popish malignity and craft had laid for him. On the 22d of August, an attempt was made to assassinate the Admiral by a shot fired at him in the street, by which he was wounded in the arm. This act was doubtless perpetrated at the instigation of the infamous queen mother, if not of her son, though that wicked woman pretended deep commiseration, and upon a visit to the Admiral remarked, that she "did not believe now the King could sleep safely in his palace." And yet both the mother and son, were

* For a description of these see Lorimer's Protestant church of France, and Smedley's Reformed Religion in France.

† For an account of the cruelties of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, who vasted that in six weeks he had caused 18,000 persons to be put to death for the me of Protestantism, see Watson's History of Philip II., book x.

at that very moment, and had for weeks past been deliberately concocting a plan for the slaughter not only of Coligny, but of all his protestant friends, whom they had now caught in their toils at Paris; and in all this, no doubt, their popish bigotry taught them they were doing God service!

§ 30.—At length the fatal hour had arrived. All things were ready. The tocsin, at midnight, tolled the signal of destruction. The troops were sent forth, by royal command, to perform their work of death. The assassins rushed into Coligny's hotel, killing several protestant Swiss soldiers as they passed. "Save yourselves, my friends," cried the generous-minded chief. "I have long been prepared for death." They obeyed his commands, and escaped through the tiling of the roof; and in a moment after, the daggers of the popish assassins were buried in the heart of the noble chief of the protestants, and his body ignominiously thrown from the window, to be exposed to the rude insults of the bigoted populace.* Among those who escaped through the tiling was a protestant clergyman, M. Merlin, the chaplain of the Admiral. His escape was attended with a remarkable providential circumstance. He hid himself in a hay-loft, where he was sustained for three days by an egg each day, which a hen laid, for his support.†

After the death of Coligny, the slaughter soon extended itself to every quarter of the city, and when the glorious sun looked forth that morning, it was upon an awful spectacle. The dead and the dying mingled together in undistinguished heaps. The pavements besmeared with a path of gore, along which the bodies of the murdered protestants had been dragged to be cast into the waters of the Seine, already dyed with the blood of the slain. The executioners rushing through the streets, bespattered with blood and brains, brandishing their murderous weapons, and in merriment, mimicking the psalm-singing of the protestants! The frantic Huguenots, bewildered with fright, running hither and thither to seek a place of safety, but in vain. Some ran towards the house of Coligny, but only to fall by the hands of the same murderers; others, remembering the solemn promises of the King, and hoping that he was not privy to the massacre, ran toward the palace of the Louvre, but only to meet a more certain and speedy death; for, even Charles himself fired upon the fugitives from the window of the palace, shouting with the fiend-like fury of a devil or an inquisitor, "KILL THEM! KILL THEM!"

The Louvre itself was a frightful scene of slaughter. The protestants who had remained there, in the train of the king of Navarre, were called out one by one,‡ and put to death in cold

* See Smedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France, vol. ii., chap. 11.
† Quick's Synodicon, i., 125. Smedley, ii., 10.
‡ Ad uno, ad uno. (Davila, tom. i., p. 295.) "They were compelled to go out one after another by a little door, before which they found a great number of satellites armed with halberds, who assassinated the Navarrese as they came out." (*German Narrative cited by Mr. Sharon Turner, Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 319.)

Multitudes of the slain in Paris and other cities of France.

blood, under the very eyes of the king. Even the protestant king of Navarre himself had been ushered into the presence of Charles through long lines of soldiers thirsting for his blood, and commanded with oaths to renounce the protestant faith, and was then, together with the prince of Condé, thrust into prison, and informed that unless they embraced the Roman Catholic faith in three days, they would be executed for treason. In the meanwhile the work of slaughter went forward, and during seven days, at the lowest computation,* 5000 protestants were murdered in the city of Paris alone.

§ 31.—The whole city was one great butchery and flowed with human blood. The court was heaped with the slain, on which the King and Queen gazed, not with horror, but with delight. Her majesty unblushingly feasted her eyes on the spectacle of thousands of men, exposed naked, and lying wounded and frightful in the pale livery of death.† The king went to see the body of admiral Coligny, which was dragged by the populace through the streets; and remarked, in unfeeling witticism, that the "*smell of a dead enemy was agreeable.*"

The tragedy was not confined to Paris, but extended, in general through the French nation. Special messengers were, on the preceding day, dispatched in all directions, ordering a general massacre of the Huguenots. The carnage, in consequence, was made through nearly all the provinces, and especially in Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Nevers, Lyons, Thoulouse, Bordeaux, and Rouen. Twenty-five or thirty thousand, according to Mezeray, perished in different places. Many were thrown into the rivers, which, floating the corpses on the waves, carried horror and infection to all the country, which they watered with their streams. The populace, tutored by the priesthood, accounted themselves, in shedding heretical blood, "the agents of Divine justice," and engaged "in doing God service."‡ The King, accompanied with the Queen and princes of the blood, and all the French court, went to the Parliament, and acknowledged that all these sanguinary transactions were done by his authority. "The Parliament publicly eulogized the King's wisdom," which had effected the effusion of so much heretical blood. His Majesty also went to mass, and returned solemn thanks to God for the glorious victory obtained over heresy. He ordered medals to be coined to perpetuate its memory. A medal accord-

* That of Mezeray. Bossuet says 6000, and Davila 10,000 victims in Paris.

† Tout le quartier ruisseloit de sang. La cour etoit pleine de corps morts, que le Roi et la Reine regardoient, non seulement sans horreur, mais avec plaisir. Tout les rues de la ville n'étoient plus que boucheries. (*Bossuet*, 4, 537.) On exposa leurs corps tout nuds à la porte du Louvre, la Reine mère étant à une fenestre, qui repaisoit ses yeux de cet horrible spectacle. (*Mezeray*, 5. *Davila*, v. *Thuan.*, ii., 8.)

Frequentes e gynœceo fœminæ, nequaquam crude i spectaculo eas absterrente, curiosis oculis nudorum corpora inverecunde intuebantur. (*Thuan.*, 3, 131.)

‡ Les Catholiques se regardèrent comme les executeurs de la justice de Dieu. (*Daniel*, 8, 738. *Thuan.*, 3. 149.)

ingly was struck for the purpose with this inscription, PIETY EXCITED JUSTICE.*

§ 32.—The King sent a special messenger to the Pope to announce to him the joyful intelligence of the extirpation of the protestants, and to tell him that "the Seine flowed on more majestically after receiving the dead bodies of the heretics." Nothing could exceed the joy with which the news was received at Rome. The Pope and cardinals went in procession to the church of St. Louis to return solemn thanks to God (oh, horrible impiety!) for the extirpation of the heretics. *Te Deum* was sung, and the firing of cannon announced the welcome news to the neighborhood around. The Pope's legate in France felicitated his most Christian majesty in the Pontiff's name, "and praised the exploit, so long meditated and so happily executed, for the good of religion." The massacre, says Mezeray, "was extolled before the King as the triumph of the church."†

The Pope was not satisfied with a temporary expression of his joy. He caused a more enduring memorial to be struck in the form of triumphant medals in commemoration and honor of the event. These medals represented on one side an angel carrying a sword in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, employed in the slaughter of a group of heretics, with the words HUGONOTORUM STRAGES (slaughter of the Huguenots), 1572; on the other side, the name and title of the reigning Pope. A new issue of this celebrated medal in honor of the Bartholomew massacre has recently been struck from the papal mint at Rome, and sold for the profit of the papal government.

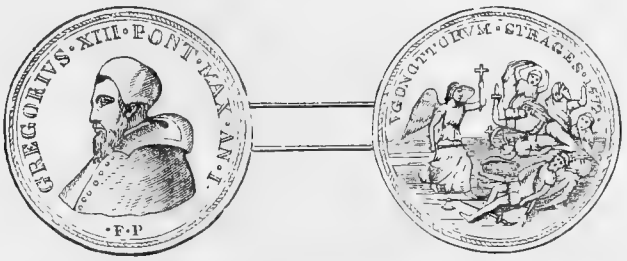
Such was the joy of the cardinal of Lorraine (whom we have already seen closing the council of Trent with anathemas against heretics), upon receiving the news at Rome, that he presented the messenger with one thousand pieces of gold, and, unable to restrain the extravagance of his delight, exclaimed aloud that "he believed the King's heart must have been filled with a sudden inspiration from God when he gave orders for the slaughter of the heretics."‡ Another Cardinal, Santorio, afterwards pope Clement VIII., in his autobiography, designates the massacre as "the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, *most cheering to the Catholics*."§ Thus is it by

* Pietas excitavit justitiam. Il fit frapper un medaille à l'occasion de la Saint Barthelemi. (*Daniel*, 8, 786.) Apres avoir oui solemnellement la messe pour remercier Dieu de la belle victoire obtenue sur l'heresie, et commandé de fabriquer des medailles pour en conserver la memoire. (*Mezeray*, 5, 160, *cited by Edgar*, 240.)

† La haine de l' heresie les fit recevoir agréablement a Rome. On se rejouit aussi en Espagne. (*Bossuet*, 4, 544.) La Cour de Rome et le Conseil d' Espagne eurent une joye indicible de la Saint Bartelemy. Le Pape alla en procession à l'eglise de Saint Louis, rendre graces à Dieu d'un si heureux succès, et l'on fit le panegyrique de cette action sous le nom de Triomphe de l' Eglise. (*Mezeray*, 5, 162. *Sully*, 1, 27. *Edgar*, 241.)

‡ De Thou, lib. liii., ch. 4. Smedley, ii., 36.

§ He speaks of the "giusto sdegno del re Carlos IX. di gloriosa memoria, in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolomeo lietissimo a' cattolici;" that is, "the just wrath of king Charles IX., of glorious memory, on the celebrated day of St.



Fac-simile of Papal Medal in honour of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew's, in Paris.

the joy of the Pope and cardinals at the massacre, by the medal struck in its commemoration and honor, and by their solemn thanksgivings for the happy events, without alluding to the proofs (by no means inconsiderable) of a previous correspondence between the Pope and the King, that this horrible slaughter is fixed as another dark and damning spot upon the blood-stained escutcheon of Rome.

§ 33.—After the massacre of Bartholomew, the protestants of France continued to be the subjects of cruel and bitter persecution from the papists, and yet in the midst of all, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church, and the cause of God and of truth continued steadily to advance.

At length, in the year 1598, twenty-six years after the massacre, an edict granting the protestants liberty of worship, with certain restrictions, was passed, through the favor of king Henry IV. This was called the edict of Nantes, and though far from removing all disabilities on account of religion, was received by the protestants with joy and gratitude. It continued in force till 1685, though for the last few years of that period many of its provisions had been violated with impunity, and the protestants exposed to a series of cruel insults and annoyances from their popish neighbors.

In the year 1685, king Louis XIV. of France, a bigoted papist, at the persuasions of La Chaise, his Jesuit confessor, publicly revoked that protecting edict, and thus let loose the floodgates of popish cruelty upon the defenceless protestants. By the edict of revocation, all former edicts protecting the protestants were fully repealed; they were forbidden to assemble for religious worship; all their ministers were banished the kingdom within fifteen days under penalty of being sent to the galleys;* all their children born in future were ordered to be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, and the parents required to send them to the popish churches under a penalty of five hundred livres; and what rendered the law yet more cruel, all other protestants, except the banished ministers, were forbidden to depart out of the kingdom, under penalty of the galleys for men, and of confiscation of money and goods for the women.

§ 34.—In the cruelties that followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the policy of Rome appeared to be changed. She had tried, in innumerable instances, the effect of persecution unto death, and the results of Bartholomew had shown that it was not effectual in eradicating the heresy. Now, her plan was by torture,

Bartholomew, most cheering to catholics." (Cited by *Ranke* in his *History of the Popes*, book vi., p. 228.)

* *Sent to the galleys.*—This was a punishment somewhat similar to sending felons to the hulks or convict ships, such as those at Woolwich, England; except that the rigor of the former was much greater. The galley-slave was chained to his oar, compelled to labor without intermission, in company with the vilest felons and blasphemers, and continually exposed to the lash of the cruel and (in the case of *heretics* especially) often vindictive taskmaster, upon his naked back. To this horrid and degrading punishment, some of the most distinguished and learned of the French protestant clergy were doomed during this persecution.

annoyance, and inflictions of various kinds suggested by a brutal ingenuity, "*to wear out* the saints of the Most High."

One of the most common means was what was called dragoonading; that is quartering brutal dragoons upon the defenceless people, who had license to employ any means in their power to compel the poor persecuted protestants to embrace the popish faith. "There was no wickedness," says *M. Quick* in his Synodicon, "though ever so horrid, which they did not put in practice, that they might enforce them to change their religion. Amidst a thousand hideous cries and blasphemies, they hung up men and women by the hair or feet upon the roofs of the chambers, or hooks of chimneys, and smoked them with wisps of wet hay till they were no longer able to bear it; and when they had taken them down, if they would not sign an abjuration of their pretended heresies, they then trussed them up again immediately. Some they threw into great fires, kindled on purpose, and would not take them out till they were half roasted. They tied ropes under their arms, and plunged them again and again into deep wells, from whence they would not draw them till they had promised to change their religion. They bound them as criminals are when they are put to the rack, and in that posture, putting a funnel into their mouths, they poured wine down their throats till its fumes had deprived them of their reason, and they had in that condition made them consent to become Catholics. Some they stripped stark naked, and after they had offered them a thousand indignities, they stuck them with pins from head to foot; they cut them with penknives, tore them by the noses with red-hot pincers, and dragged them about the rooms till they promised to become Roman Catholics, or till the doleful cries of these poor tormented creatures, calling upon God for mercy, constrained them to let them go. They beat them with staves, and dragged them all bruised to the popish churches, where their enforced presence is reputed for an abjuration. They kept them waking seven or eight days together, relieving one another by turns, that they might not get a wink of sleep or rest. In case they began to nod, they threw buckets of water in their faces, or holding kettles over their heads, they beat on them with such a continual noise, that those poor wretches lost their senses. If they found any sick, who kept their beds, men or women, be it of fevers or other diseases, they were so cruel as to beat up an alarm with twelve drums about their beds for a whole week together, without intermission, till they had promised to change. In some places they tied fathers and husbands to the bedposts, and ravished their wives and daughters before their eyes. And in other places rapes were publicly and generally permitted for many hours together. From others they plucked off the nails of their hands and toes, which must needs have caused an intolerable pain."

§ 35.—The galleys formed another mode of oppression. There, a vast body of protestants, some of them, such as Marolles and Le Febvre, of the highest station and talent, were confined—wretch-

edly fed on disgusting fare—and wrought in chains for many years. The prisoners often died under their sufferings. When they did not acquit themselves to the mind of their taskmasters, or disregarded any of their persecuting enactments, they were subjected to the lash. Fifty or sixty lashes were considered a punishment severe enough for the criminals of France—men who were notorious for every species of profligacy; but nothing less than one hundred to one hundred and fifty would suffice for the meek and holy saints of God. They were considered a thousand times worse than the worst criminals.

It is a striking feature of the persecutions of Popery that the more holy and Christ-like her victims, the more dreadfully severe have been the character of their sufferings; her war has not been against *wickedness*, but *heresy*, and she could readily tolerate the grossest immorality, so long as she had no reason to complain of the rejection of her creed.

This is consistent with her true character. Popery is ANTI-CHRIST, and it is natural to suppose that the nearer men come to the character of Christ, the fiercer will be her hatred, and the more bitter her persecution. Hence the quenchless enmity of Rome for such holy men as Wickliff and Huss and Jerome, Rogers and Latimer and Ridley, Le Febvre and Marolles and Mauru. We shall present an extract or two from the letters of the three last named victims of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, while suffering under the cruel inflictions of the papal anti-Christ, to sustain this assertion.

§ 36.—Says *Le Febvre*, when writing from a noisome dungeon, "Nothing can exceed the cruelty of the treatment I receive. The weaker I become, the more they endeavor to aggravate the miseries of the prison. For several weeks no one has been allowed to enter my dungeon; and if one spot could be found where the air was more infected than another, I was placed there. Yet the love of the truth prevails in my soul; for God, who knows my heart, and the purity of my motives, supports me by his grace. He fights against me, but he also fights for me. My weapons are tears and prayers. . . . . The place is very dark and damp. The air is noisome, and has a bad smell. Everything rots and becomes mouldy. The wells and cisterns are above me. I have never seen a fire here, except the flame of the candle. . . . . You will feel for me in this misery," said he to a dear relative, to whom he was describing his sad condition: "but think of the eternal weight of glory which will follow. Death is nothing. Christ has vanquished the foe for me: and when the fit time shall arrive, the Lord will give me strength to tear off the mask which that last enemy wears in great afflictions." . . . . Far be it from me to murmur. I pray without ceasing, that he would show pity, not only to those who suffer, but also to those who are the cause of our sufferings. He who commanded us to love our enemies, produces in our hearts the love he has com-

manded. The world has long regarded us as tottering walls; but they do not see the Almighty hand by which we are upheld."

§ 37.—Says *Marolles*, a minister of eminent piety, and extensive scientific attainments, in a letter to his wife, after being removed from a galley to a dungeon, "When I was taken out of the galley and brought hither, I found the change very agreeable at first. My ears were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds with which those places continually echo. I had liberty to sing the praises of God at all times, and could prostrate myself before him as often as I pleased. Besides, I was released from that uneasy chain, which was far more troublesome to me than the one of thirty pounds weight which you saw me wear." He then goes on to speak of a temptation into which he was permitted to fall—a distrust of God lest he should lose his reason, and a fear that he was advancing to a state of insanity—"At length," says he, "after many prayers, sighs, and tears, the God of my deliverance heard my petitions, commanded a perfect calm, and dissipated all those illusions which had so troubled my soul. After the Lord has delivered me out of so sore a trial, never have any doubt, my dear wife, that he will deliver me out of all others. Do not, therefore, disquiet yourself any more about me. Hope always in the goodness of God, and your hope shall not be in vain. I ought not, in my opinion, to pass by unnoticed a considerable circumstance which tends to the glory of God. The duration of so great a temptation was, in my opinion, the proper time for the Old Serpent to endeavor to cast me into rebellion and infidelity; but God always kept him in so profound a silence, that he never once offered to infest me with any of his pernicious counsels; and I never felt the least inclination to revolt. Ever since those sorrowful days, God has continually filled my heart with joy. I possess my soul in patience. He makes the days of my affliction speedily pass away. I have no sooner begun them than I find myself at the end. With the bread and water of affliction he affords me continually most delicious repasts." This was his last letter. He resigned his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father on the 17th June, 1692.

§ 38.—The next example of suffering piety, from whom I shall quote, was of one who wrote from amidst the slavery and suffering and horrors of the galleys. Says *Pierre Mauru*, after referring to the cruel stripes he was forced to bear, from twenty to forty at a time, and these repeated frequently for several days in succession. "But I must tell you, that though these stripes are painful, the joy of suffering for Christ gives ease to every wound; and when, after we have suffered for him, the consolations of Christ abound in us by the Holy Spirit, the Comforter: they are a heavenly balm, which heals all our sorrows, and even imparts such perfect health to our souls, that we can despise every other thing. In short, when we belong to God, nothing can pluck us out of his hand. . . . . If my body was tortured during the day, my soul rejoiced exceedingly in God my Saviour, both day and night. At this period

Cruel scourging of Pierre Mauru on board the galleys. The faith and the patience of the saints

especially, my soul was fed with hidden manna, and I tasted of that joy which the world knows not of; and daily, with the holy apostles, my heart leaped with joy that I was counted worthy to suffer for my Saviour's sake, who poured such consolations into my soul that I was filled with holy transport, and, as it were, carried out of myself. . . . . But this season of quiet was of short duration; for soon afterwards the galley was furnished with oars to exercise the new-comers; and then these inexorable haters of our blessed religion took the opportunity to beat me as often as they pleased, telling me it was in my power to avoid these torments. But when they held this language, my Saviour revealed to my soul the agonies he suffered to purchase my salvation, and that it became me thus to suffer with him. After this, we were ordered to sea, when the excessive toil of rowing, and the blows I received, often brought me to the brink of the grave. Whenever the chaplain saw me sinking with fatigue, he beset me with temptations; but my soul was bound for the heavenly shore, and he gained nothing from my answers. . . . . In every voyage there were many persons whose greatest amusement was to see me incessantly beaten, but particularly the captain's steward, who called it *painting Calvin's back*, and insultingly asked if Calvin gave me strength to work after being so finely bruised; and when he wished the beating to be repeated, he would ask if *Calvin* was not to have his portion again. When he saw me sinking from day to day under cruelties and fatigue, his happiness was complete. The officers, who were anxious to please him, had recourse to this inhuman sport for his entertainment, during which he was constantly convulsed with laughter. When he saw me raise my eyes to heaven, he said, 'God does not hear Calvinists when they pray. They must endure their tortures till they die, or change their religion.' . . . . In short, my very dear brother, there was not a single day, when we were at sea, and toiling at the oar, but I was brought into a dying state. The poor wretched creatures who were near me did everything in their power to help me, and to make me take a little nourishment. But in the depth of distress, which nature could hardly endure, my God left me not without support. In a short time all will be over, and I shall forget all my sorrows in the joy of being ever with the Lord. Indeed, whenever I was left in peace a little while, and was able to meditate on the words of eternal life, I was perfectly happy; and when I looked at my wounded body, I said, here are the glorious marks which St. Paul rejoiced to bear in his body. After every voyage I fell sick; and then, being free from hard labor and the fear of blows, I could meditate in quiet, and render thanks to God for sustaining me by his goodness, and strengthening me by his good Spirit." HERE IS THE FAITH AND THE PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS. Is it possible to conceive of suffering borne in a holier cause or in a more Christ-like spirit?

§ 39.—It would be an endless task to recount all the inventions of popish ingenuity to harass and to wear out these saints of the

Most High. One which could not have been conceived anywhere else but in the bottomless pit and in the heart of a fiend, deserves to be mentioned. On January 23d, 1685, a woman had her sucking child snatched from her breasts, and put into the next room, which was only parted by a few boards from her's. These devils incarnate would not let the poor mother come to her child, unless she would renounce her religion and become a Roman Catholic. Her child cries and she cries; her bowels yearn upon the poor miserable infant; but the fear of God, and of losing her soul, keep her from apostasy. However she suffers a double martyrdom, one in her own person, the other in that of her sweet babe, who *dies in her hearing* with crying and famine before its poor mother. The heart sickens at the contemplation of such enormities. Human language cannot describe the sufferings of these oppressed victims of popish cruelty. It is only the Spirit of God who can mark the terrible lineaments, and he does so when he speaks of "wearing out the saints of the Most High," and of anti-Christ being "drunk with the blood of the saints," and of their blood crying from under the altar, "O Lord, holy and true, how long dost thou not judge and avenge our blood upon them that dwell on the earth?" and when he speaks of similar worthies as persons "who were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented (of whom the world was not worthy): they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."*

§ 40.—Let the reader carefully consider the above affecting and authentic instances of suffering for Christ's sake, and then let him read the following language of pope Innocent XI., in praise of the popish bigot, by whose orders they were inflicted. This Pontiff wrote a special letter to king Louis, expressly thanking him in the warmest and most glowing terms for the service he had rendered the church in this persecuting edict against the heretics of France. The Pope requests him to consider this letter a special testimony to his merits, and concludes it in the following words:—"The Catholic Church shall most assuredly record in her sacred annals *a work of such devotion toward her*, AND CELEBRATE YOUR NAME WITH NEVER-DYING PRAISES; but, above all, you may most assuredly promise to yourself AN AMPLE RETRIBUTION *from the divine goodness for this most excellent undertaking*, and may rest assured that we shall never cease to pour forth our most earnest prayers to that Divine goodness for this intent and purpose."

Thus evident is it not only that the acknowledged head of the apostate church of Rome approved of the horrid barbarities inflicted upon the French protestants, but that he regarded their perpetrator as conferring a special favor upon that church, thus entitling himself to her lasting gratitude and her warmest thanks.

* Lorimer's Protestant Church of France, chap. iv.

BOOK IX.

POPERY IN ITS DOTAGE.

FROM THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, A. D. 1685, TO THE PRESENT TIME, A. D. 1845.

CHAPTER I.

THE JESUITS.—THEIR MISSIONS.—THEIR SUPPRESSION, REVIVAL, AND PRESENT POSITION.

§ 1.—The eighteenth century was chiefly distinguished by events connected with the history and proceedings of that crafty and dangerous order, the Jesuits; their missionary efforts to extend the dominion of the papacy in China and other oriental countries, and the disputes which arose relative to their practice of amalgamating heathen with Christian rites; their protracted and fierce contests with the rival sect of the Jansenists; their banishment from the various kingdoms of Europe, and the final suppression of the order by pope Clement XIV. in 1773.

Before describing the controversy which arose in this century relative to the missionary operations of the Jesuits in China, it may be necessary briefly to refer to the origin of those missions. The missionary efforts of the Jesuits commenced immediately after the establishment of that order: in 1541, Francis Xavier, who appears to have been a sincere enthusiast, free from the trickery and worldly policy that afterwards distinguished his order, and who by his zeal and success obtained the name of "the apostle of Indians," sailed for India, where he was successful in converting thousands to the Romish faith. In 1549, he visited Japan, where he laid the foundations of a branch of the Romish church, which in after years is said to have consisted of two or three hundred thousand members. From Japan, with a zeal and self-devotion worthy of a purer faith, Xavier sailed for China, but died when in sight of that populous empire, in 1552. Subsequently to his death, Matthew Ricci penetrated into China, recommended himself to the favor of the nobility and Emperor by his skill in mathematics, and succeeded in planting the Romish faith in Pekin, the capital, where he died in

Policy of the Jesuit missionaries. "All things to all men." Their shameful conformity to heathenism.

1610. Other Jesuit missionaries, in process of time, extended the spiritual dominion of the Pope and their order into Malabar, Abyssinia, and other countries, and especially into South America, where they succeeded in reducing whole nations of Indians to their sway.

In 1622, was established at Rome, by pope Gregory XV., the *Congregation* for propagating the faith (*De Propagandâ Fide*), a body of cardinals, priests, &c., whose special duty it is to devise means for propagating the Romish faith throughout the world; and in 1627, the *College De Propagandâ Fide*, in which young men of all nations are educated as Romish missionaries; and in 1663, the kindred institution in France, called "the Congregation of the priests of foreign missions." From these institutions hundreds of Jesuits were sent forth to reduce the nations of the world to the obedience of the Pope.

§ 2.—In accomplishing this object the Jesuits early adopted the principle that the end sanctifies the means, and scrupled at no measures to entrap the people to the nominal profession of Christianity. In the words of an eloquent living writer, "The motto and device in one of their earlier histories was well illustrated in their conduct. That device was a mirror, and the superscription was 'Omnia omnibus,' *All things to all men.* But what in Paul was Christian courtesy, leaning on inflexible principle; and what in Loyola himself was probably wisdom, but slightly tinged with unwarrantable policy, became, in some of his disciples, the laxest casuistry, chameleon-like, shifting its hues to every varying shade of interest or fashion.

"The gospel is to be presented with no needless offence given to the prejudices and habits of the heathen, but the *gospel itself* is never to be mutilated or disguised; nor is the ministry ever to stoop to compliances in themselves sinful. The Jesuit mistook or forgot this. From a very early period, the order were famed for the art with which they studied to accommodate themselves and their religion to the tastes of the nation they would evangelize. Ricci, on entering China, found the bonzes, the priests of the nation; and to secure respect, himself and his associates adopted the habits and dress of the bonzes. But a short acquaintance with the empire taught him, that the whole class of the priesthood was in China a despised one, and that he had been only attracting gratuitous odium in assuming their garb. He therefore relinquished it again, to take that of the men of letters. In India, some of their number adopted the Brahminical dress, and others conformed to the disgusting habits of the Fakeer and the Yogee, the hermits and penitents of the Mohammedan and Hindoo superstition. Swartz met a Catholic missionary, arrayed in the style of the pagan priests, wearing their yellow robe, and having like them a drum beaten before him. It would seem, upon such principle of action, as if their next step ought to have been the creation of a Christian Juggernaut; or to have arranged the Christian suttee, where the widow might burn

according to the forms of the Romish breviary; or to have organized a band of Romanist Thugs, strangling in the name of the virgin, as did their Hindoo brethren for the honor of Kalee.

"In South America, one of the zealous Jesuit fathers, finding that the Payernes, as the sorcerers and priests of the tribe were called, were accustomed to dance and sing in giving their religious instructions, put his preachments into metre, and copied the movements of these Pagan priests, that he might win the savage by the forms to which he had been accustomed. In China, again, they found the worship of deceased ancestors generally prevailing. Failing to supplant the practice, they proceeded to legitimate it. They even allowed worship to be paid to Confucius, the atheistical philosopher of China, provided their converts would, in offering the worship, *conceal upon the altar a crucifix to which their homage should be secretly directed.* Finding the adoration of a crucified Saviour unpopular among that self-sufficient people, they are accused by their own Romanist brethren of having suppressed in their teachings the mystery of the cross, and preached Christ glorified, but not Christ in his humiliation, his agony and his death. A more arrogant act than this, the wisdom of this world has seldom perpetrated, when it has undertaken to modify and adorn the gospel of the crucified Nazarene."*

About the commencement of the eighteenth century, the question arose in the Romish church whether this amalgamation of heathenism with Christianity in the missionary operations of the Jesuits was a lawful method of multiplying converts. This was decided by pope Clement XI., in the year 1704, against the Jesuits, and the Chinese *converts* were forbidden by a solemn edict any longer to practise the idolatrous rites of their nation in connection with their professed Christian worship. This edict, however, so displeased the Jesuit missionaries, that the same Pope, dreading the consequences of exasperating so powerful an order, deemed it politic to issue another edict a few years later, which in effect nullified the provisions of the former. This latter decree which was dated in 1715, allowed the heathen ceremonies referred to, upon condition that they should be regarded, not as *religious* but *civil* institutions;† a distinction which might serve to satisfy the conscience of the Pope in thus authorizing the ceremonies of heathenism, but would have not the slightest effect on the feelings of the Chinese devotee in mingling in the same act of devotion, the worship of Confucius and of Christ.

§ 3.—Among the most persevering and able of the opponents of the Jesuits and their methods of *converting* the heathen, the Jansenists were the most conspicuous and celebrated. They were so called from Cornelius Jansenius, a celebrated Roman Catholic

* See an able and learned article on "the Jesuits as a Missionary Order," from the pen of Rev. Wm. R. Williams, D.D., in the Christian Review, for June, 1841.

† Bower's Lives of the Popes, vol. vii., page 494; Mosheim, vi., 3.

bishop, who, about the middle of the seventeenth century, had published a work under the title of *Augustinus*, advocating the doctrines of the African bishop on the native depravity of man, and the nature of that divine influence, by which alone this depravity can be cured. The doctrines of this book were altogether too evangelical for the Jesuits, who opposed it with all their might. Through the influence of the Jesuits, the book was first prohibited by the Inquisition, and afterwards condemned by the Pope, and a fierce and bitter controversy was thus enkindled between these rival sects in the Romish church, which continued for more than a century. For a time the Jesuits appeared to triumph in France, but a blow was given to them in the "Provincial Letters" of the devout and learned Pascal, from which they never have and never can recover. In this celebrated work it was shown by innumerable citations from their own standard writers, presented in a style of inimitable wit, beauty, and eloquence, that Jesuitism is utterly subversive of all true principles, alike of morality, religion and civil government; a fact which the whole history of this crafty and mischievous order in every land where it has obtained a foothold has tended to confirm.

The cause of the Jansenists acquired an additional degree of credit a few years later by the publication, in 1687, of "Father Quesnel's moral reflections on the New Testament." The quintessence of Jansenism was blended, in an elegant and artful manner, with these annotations, and was thus presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect. The Jesuits were alarmed at the success of Quesnel's book, and particularly at the change it had wrought in many, in favor of the evangelical and almost protestant doctrines of Jansenius: and to remove out of the way an instrument which proved so advantageous to their adversaries, they engaged that weak prince Louis XIV. to solicit the condemnation of this production at the court of Rome. Clement XI. granted the request of the French monarch, because he considered it as the request of the Jesuits; and, in the year 1713, issued out the famous *bull Unigenitus*, in which Quesnel's New Testament was condemned, and a *hundred and one propositions* contained in it pronounced heretical. Among the propositions condemned were the following three, viz., that grace is the effectual principle of all good works; that faith is the fountain of all the graces of the Christian; and *that the Sacred Scriptures ought to be read by all.*

§ 4.—This temporary triumph of the Jesuits was destined to be but short. The princes of Europe at length opened their eyes to the dangerous principles of an order which hesitated at no means, however unjust or perfidious, to accomplish their nefarious designs. The only wonder is that they should not have earlier begun to distrust an order of men, a part of whose creed it was, that it was meritorious to assassinate rulers and governors that stood in the way of the advancement of the Romish church.

The Jesuits had long been notorious for attempting the lives of

The Jesuits' plots against the lives of princes. The gunpowder plot and the Jesuit Garnet.

sovereigns, as is testified by the assassination of Henri III. of France, and William, prince of Orange, as well as by the various unsuccessful plots against queen Elizabeth and James I., of England. Toward the close of the reign of Elizabeth, in a proclamation dated Nov. 16th, 1602, she says that "the Jesuits had fomented the plots against her person, excited her subjects to revolt, provoked foreign princes to compass her death, engaged in all affairs of state, and by their language and writings had undertaken to dispose of her crown."

In the reign of her successor, James I., after the failure of several schemes against his life, the Jesuits, in the year 1605, contrived the horrible gunpowder plot to blow up the King, the royal family, and both houses of parliament, in order to place a papist upon the throne of England. Through the good providence of God, this dreadful plot was defeated, and its popish contrivers detected and punished. In this atrocious conspiracy, says Southey (Book of the Church, 435), "Guy Fawkes and his associates acted upon the same principles as the head of the Romish church, when in his arrogated infallibility he fulminated his bulls against Elizabeth, struck medals in honor of the Bartholomew massacre, and pronounced that the friar who assassinated Henri III. had performed "a famous and memorable act, not without the special providence of God, and the suggestion and assistance of his Holy Spirit!" If the conspirators had felt any compunctious scruples, the sanction of their ghostly fathers quieted all doubts; and when one of their confessors, the Jesuit Garnet, suffered for his share in the treason, it was pretended that a portrait of the sufferer was miraculously formed by his blood, upon the straw with which the scaffold was strewn; the likeness was rapidly multiplied; a print of the wonder, with suitable accompaniments, was published at Rome; Garnet in consequence received the honors of beatification from the Pope, and the society to which he belonged enrolled him in their books as a martyr."

Even the persecuting Louis XIV. of France stood in fear of the dirk or the poniard of the Jesuits. When Père La Chaise, for so many years the Jesuit confessor of Louis, and the prompter of his persecuting measures against the protestants, felt his own end approaching, he earnestly begged of him to select his future confessor from among the Jesuits. He requested him to do so, according to S. Simon, "for his own security," as the society numbered among its members persons that ought not to be driven to despair, and because after all a "bad blow" was soon struck, and was not without precedents. Louis XIV., however prodigal of the lives of others, was too careful of his own to neglect the Jesuit's advice, and selected a successor to La Chaise from among the same powerful and dangerous order.*

* S. Simon. *Mémoires*, chap. 217. See an able article on the Jesuits in France in the North British Review for February, 1845.

§ 5.—The Jesuits had already been expelled from England by proclamation of James I., in 1604, the year previous to the gunpowder plot. But it was not till the latter half of the eighteenth century that the other sovereigns of Europe awakened to the danger of permitting in their dominions an order of men holding such principles; and incensed by the officious interference of the Jesuits in political affairs, they one after another expelled them as a pest and a plague from the countries they governed. They were expelled from Portugal in 1759. Three years later, the French parliament declared that such a body, having peculiar laws, and all subject to one individual residing in Rome, was dangerous to the state; and in 1764 the society was suppressed in France by order of the King. Three years afterward they were expelled from Spain. On the 31st of March, 1767, the colleges and houses of the Jesuits in that country were surrounded at midnight by troops; sentinels were posted at every door, the bells were secured, the royal decree expelling them from Spain read to the members hastily assembled; and then having taken their breviaries, some linen, and a few other conveniences, they were placed in carriages and escorted by cavalry to the coast, where they embarked for Italy. In the following year, 1768, the king of the Two Sicilies and the duke of Parma, followed in the steps of France and of Spain, and suppressed the order in their dominions.

§ 6.—At length, by a bull of pope Ganganelli, or Clement XIV., dated July 21st, 1773, the order of the Jesuits was entirely abolished, its statutes annulled, and its members released from their vows.

"Their abolition was not a work of haste. According to the life of this Pope, published in the year 1776, he spent four years deliberately examining the history of the order. He searched the archives of the Propaganda for the documents relating to their missions, the accusations against and apologies for them; desirous of being correct in the matter of his condemnation, he communicated his brief privately to several cardinals and theologians as well as to some sovereigns, &c., before he promulgated it. He then decided on the abolition, but not without considering the consequences to himself. He believed it would be death to him; when he signed the instrument, he is reported to have said: "*The suppression is accomplished. I do not repent of it, having only resolved on it after examining and weighing everything, and because I thought it necessary for the church. If it were not done, I would do it now;* BUT THIS SUPPRESSION WILL BE MY DEATH." The initial letters of a Pasquinade appeared on St. Peter's church, which he interpreted, "*The Holy See will be vacant in September*," which was verified in his death on the twenty-second of that month, 1774, attended with every symptom of poison. Thus ended for the time being the order of Jesuits, and thus too the man that dared to stop them in their course of iniquity. It is not saying too much," remarks Rev. Dr. Giustiniani (page 247), "if we consult history and experience, that another so infamous a class of men never lived."

The order revived by pope Pius VII. in 1814. Copy of the Jesuits' oath

§ 7.—Notwithstanding this deliberate condemnation of the Jesuits, the order was revived by pope Pius VII., soon after his return to Rome from his captivity in France, where he had been detained by Napoleon. The bull of restoration was dated August 7th, 1814, and the order is now engaged, as busily as ever, in England, Switzerland, America, and other lands, in secretly undermining every protestant government by its insidious and crafty, yet steady and persevering efforts to advance the influence of the order, to propagate the dogmas, and extend the dominion of Rome. It will be a sufficient evidence of the dangerous character of the order to any government where they are suffered to pursue their nefarious designs, to append to this brief notice of the Jesuits the solemn oath that is taken by every member upon his initiation into the Society.

JESUITS' OATH.—"I, A. B., now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed Michael the Archangel, the blessed St. John Baptist, the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the saints and sacred host of heaven, and to you my ghostly father do declare from my heart, without mental reservation, that pope Gregory is Christ's Vicar General, and is the true and only Head of the universal church throughout the earth; and that by virtue of the keys of binding and loosing, given to his Holiness by Jesus Christ, he HATH POWER TO DEPOSE HERETICAL KINGS, PRINCES, STATES, COMMONWEALTHS, AND GOVERNMENTS, ALL BEING ILLEGAL, WITHOUT HIS SACRED CONFIRMATION, AND THAT THEY MAY SAFELY BE DESTROYED; therefore to the utmost of my power, I will defend this doctrine and his Holiness's rights and customs against all usurpers of the heretical or protestant authority whatsoever, especially against the now pretended authority and church in England, and all adherents, in regard that they be usurped and heretical, opposing the sacred mother church of Rome.

"I DO RENOUNCE AND DISOWN ANY ALLEGIANCE AS DUE TO ANY HERETICAL KING, PRINCE, OR STATE, NAMED PROTESTANT, OR OBEDIENCE TO ANY OF THEIR INFERIOR MAGISTRATES OR OFFICERS. I do further declare the doctrine of the church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and other protestants, to be damnable, and those to be damned who will not forsake the same. I do further declare, that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness's agents in *any place wherever I shall be;* and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended power, legal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare, that notwithstanding I am *dispensed with to assume any religion heretical*, for the propagation of the mother church's interest, to keep secret and private all her agents' counsels, as they entrust me, and not to divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing or circumstance whatsoever, but to execute all which shall be proposed, given in charge, or discovered unto me, by you my ghostly father, or by any one of this convent. All which I, A. B., do swear by the blessed Trinity, and blessed sacrament, which I am now to receive, to perform and on my part to keep inviolably; and do call all the heavenly and glorious host of heaven, to witness my real intentions to keep this my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed sacrament of the eucharist, and witness the same further with my hand and seal, in the face of this holy convent."

CHAPTER II.

THE PERSECUTING AND INTOLERANT SPIRIT OF POPERY, AS EXHIBITED IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

§ 8.—SUBSEQUENT to the cruel edict of the popish king Louis XIV. in 1685, which was the cause of the horrible sufferings described in a previous chapter, the remaining years of the seventeenth and a few of the eighteenth century, were occupied in France in attempting to suppress the insurrections which arose in some parts of that kingdom, by those who banded together in defence of their religious liberties. Multitudes of the Huguenots, in spite of the decree which forbade them to quit the country, evaded the vigilance of the guards, and escaped into Holland, England, America, and other countries where they could enjoy freedom to worship God.

The larger number of those who escaped were artisans, and carried their useful arts and manufactures to the countries which they thus enriched by their flight. The farmer was unable to carry with him his cattle or his fields, his vines or his fig trees, and was thus, in some instances, driven by oppression to fight for religious freedom in his native land. A thrilling account has been given of the protracted struggle for religious freedom of the people of the Cevennes, in Languedoc, and the horrible barbarities of their popish persecutors and conquerors, by one of the most celebrated of their leaders, Mons. Cavalier, whose memoirs were published in London in 1726. In this contest no quarter was given by the papists to the Huguenots, or Camisards as they were now generally called, and hundreds of men, women, and children, the inhabitants of whole towns, were butchered in cold blood.

§ 9.—In the year 1705, a few months after the Camisards appeared to be wholly crushed, some of the leading men who yet survived, secretly assembled at the house of Mons. Boeton, between Nismes and Montpellier, to consult upon a new attempt to extort religious liberty from the government. The plan was discovered; Boeton was apprehended, and condemned to the horrible death of being broken alive upon the wheel—a cruel death, which he bore with a fortitude worthy of the primitive martyrs, and which showed that the spirit which animated a Huss, a Latimer, and a Ridley, was not extinct at the commencement of the eighteenth century. When led forth to execution, he never ceased to raise his voice above the rolling of the drums, to exhort the spectators, and especially such as he saw dissolved in tears, to "continue to remain firm in the communion of Jesus Christ." Incessantly importuned by two priests who accompanied him, and who offered him pardon in the name of the King, if he would abjure his religion and repent of his faults, he was seen to lift his eyes toward heaven, as if praying for

Cruel martyrdom of Boeton. His courage and piety to the last.

strength to withstand the suggestions of those ecclesiastics, whom he regarded as angels of darkness sent to seduce him, and for fortitude to endure the attacks of death, like a faithful soldier fighting in the cause of God.

One of his friends, who chanced to be out and perceived him approaching, was so deeply pained by this touching sight, that he stepped hastily and in tears into a shop to avoid meeting him. Boeton, having observed him, asked permission to say a word to his friend. It was granted, and he desired that he might be called out. "What!" said he, "do you shun me because you see me clothed in the livery of Christ! Why should you weep, when he grants me the favor to call me to himself, and to seal the defence of his cause with my blood?" Sobs choked the utterance of his friend, who was going to embrace him, when the archers made Boeton walk on. As soon as he came in sight of the scaffold erected on the esplanade, he exclaimed, "Courage, O my soul! I behold the scene of thy triumph. Soon, released from thy painful bonds, thou wilt be in heaven!"

Without a murmur he submitted to the torments prepared for him. The bones of his legs, thighs, and arms, were broken by the blow of the executioner's club; and in this deplorable and mutilated condition he was left fastened to the torturing wheel, with his head hanging down, for five hours, which he spent in singing hymns, in fervent prayers to God, and exhortations to those who drew nigh to listen. His tormentors perceiving from the tears of the spectators, and their loud praises of the constancy of the suffering martyr, that instead of striking terror into the protestants, this spectacle only tended to strengthen them in their faith, the order was given for the executioner to terminate his work by the *coup de grace*. As he was about to do this, an archer on the scaffold exclaimed, in the true spirit of Popery, that this Huguenot ought to be left to die on the wheel, since he would not renounce his errors. Boeton made this reply to the cruel wretch: "You think, my friend, that I am in pain; indeed I am: but learn that He who is with me and for whom I suffer gives me strength to endure my suffering with joy."

The executioner now came to complete his task. Boeton made a last effort; raised his head, notwithstanding the horrible state to which he was reduced; and, lifting his voice above the drums, which had never ceased beating during the execution, among the troops drawn up in order of battle around the scaffold, he emphatically pronounced these his last words; "My dearest brethren, let my death be an example to you to maintain the purity of the Gospel, and be faithful witnesses how I die in the religion of Jesus Christ and of his holy apostles," and immediately expired.

§ 10.—It is computed that to the persecuting spirit of Louis XIV., not less than three hundred thousand protestants were sacrificed during his reign. After his death in 1714, the French protestants enjoyed a temporary respite from their sufferings,

though the edicts against them remained unchanged, and they were still in various ways exposed to the annoyances of their enemies. One of the most serious of these was the fact, that their marriages were regarded as illegal, because not solemnized by a papal priest. The children of such parents were regarded, in the eye of the law, as illegitimate, and the parents represented by the priests as living in a state of concubinage. Property left to such children was in many cases made over to the nearest popish relative, and in other instances confiscated to the crown.

In the meanwhile, the popish clergy clamored for the literal execution of the laws against heretics. The bishop of Alais, in reply to an officer who was a friend to tolerance, wrote—"The magistrates have relaxed the severity of the ordinances, and thus caused all the evils of which the state has to complain." Another popish prelate, the bishop of Agen, having heard a report that the tolerating edict of Nantes was to be re-enacted, wrote a pamphlet praising the piety of Louis XIV. for revoking that decree, and for persecuting the heretics, and expressing the hope that his successor would never undo the noble deed of his predecessor.*

§ 11.—About the year 1745, the former cruelties were revived, and all Huguenot pastors who fell into the hands of the government were put to a cruel death. The apprehension of M. Desubas, a young pastor, in December, 1745, was the cause of a most cruel and wanton waste of life. Some of his flock assembled unarmed to implore the liberation of their beloved pastor, and were twice fired upon with muskets, by which upwards of forty were killed. The young pastor obtained the crown of martyrdom, February 1st, 1746. Among those who fell victims to this cruel persecution were a venerable man of eighty years old, who was condemned to be hung for preaching, and went to the gallows repeating the fifty-first Psalm, and a youthful pastor named Benezet, whose patience, courage, and joy, at the hour of his martyrdom, in January, 1752, were such as to lead even the executioner to say that he "did not hang a man, but an angel."

So late as 1762, a Huguenot pastor named Francis Rochette, and three brothers named Grenier, who had made an attempt to rescue their pastor, were executed at Thoulouse. The eldest was not twenty-two years of age. They had endeavored to release their pastor from captivity, and were beheaded close to the gibbet on which Rochette was hanged. They were offered their lives if they would abjure; but their firmness did not relieve them from the obtruding solicitations of four priests, who beset them until the fatal moment. As the crucifix was occasionally presented to the brothers, the eldest observed: "Speak to us of him who died for our sins and rose again for our justification, and we are ready to listen; but do not introduce your superstitions." Rochette was forced to descend in front of the cathedral, where he was ordered

* See Browning's History of the Huguenots, chap. lxvi.

to make the *amende honorable:* but he boldly declared his principles, refused to ask pardon of the King, forgave his judges, and to the last displayed a martyr's constancy. The brothers Grenier were equally firm. After two had suffered, the executioner entreated the younger to escape their fate by abjuring. "Do thy duty," was the answer he received, as the youth submitted to the axe.*

§ 12.—Soon after this, the Jesuits, the relentless enemies of the Huguenots, were suppressed in France, and the flowing of heretic blood ceased; though an effort was made in 1765 by the popish clergy to resist the tendency to toleration by a remonstrance to the King. "It is in vain," that body declares, "that all public worship, other than the Catholic, is forbidden in your dominions. In contempt of the wisest laws, the protestants have seditious meetings on every side. Their ministers preach heresy and administer the Supper; and we have the pain of beholding altar raised against altar, and the pulpit of pestilence opposing that of truth. If the law which revoked the edict of Nantes—if your declaration of 1724 had been strictly observed, we venture to say there would be no more Calvinists in France. Consider the effects of a tolerance which may become cruel by its results. Restore, sire! restore to the laws all their vigor—to religion its splendor."

Similar presentations were made by the papist clergy against the protestant assemblies so late as 1770 and 1772, thus affording the most conclusive evidence that the persecuting spirit of Popery remained unchanged, and that its priests, even so late as toward the close of the last century, would gladly have renewed against the heretics of France the massacres, the barbarities and outrages of 1572, or of 1685. A few years subsequent to these memorials against the protestants, the Roman Catholic clergy were themselves exposed, amidst the horrors of the French revolution, to the same sufferings of confiscation and banishment, which they thus earnestly desired to be inflicted upon their protestant neighbors. And while we most heartily deprecate the atrocities of the infidel faction which then ruled the destinies of unhappy France, and rejoice in the hospitality shown in England and other protestant lands, to the banished Romish clergy (among whom were, doubtless, some who had joined in these persecuting petitions twenty years before), presenting as it does so marked a contrast to the intolerance and cruelty of these very priests towards the protestants in their own land; at the same time, we cannot but regard these sufferings as a part of that retributive vengeance which will not always sleep, and which we learn from the eighteenth chapter of Revelations, is yet to fall more fearfully upon persecuting and apostate Rome.

§ 13.—The Inquisition in Spain continued its work of torture and

* From the *Toulousaines* a series of letters published in 1763, cited by Browning, 273.

of blood through the greater part of the eighteenth century, and so late as November 7th, 1781, a woman was burnt alive by the sentence of the Holy Office at Seville, on the charge of having formed a contract with the Devil. At the time of the suppression of the Inquisition in Spain by Napoleon, in 1808, multitudes of unhappy victims were found in a most deplorable condition, incarcerated in the horrid dungeons of the tribunal, and restored by the French soldiery to liberty and their homes. Upon the restoration of Ferdinand VII., the Catholic king of Spain, he re-established the Inquisition by an ordinance dated July 21st, 1814, and appointed the bishop of Almeria, Inquisitor-general, but it only continued in operation five years. Upon the revolution of 1820, it was finally suppressed by the Cortes.

In the Papal States, the Inquisition still exists, though its operations are conducted with much secresy, and are veiled as much as possible from the public eye. In other countries the exercise of inquisitorial power is frequently entrusted to the popish prelates. The Roman tribunal now in existence is that established by pope Sixtus V. in 1588, which was styled the "Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition." It consists of twelve cardinals, several prelates as assessors, several monks called consulters, and several priests and lawyers called qualificators, whose business is to prepare the cases. Persons at Rome are frequently imprisoned for not going to confession, having in their possession bibles and protestant books, and for other offences against Popery. It is said by papists that the torture and the punishment of death is not now inflicted by the Romish inquisition. All we know on the subject is that its punishments are inflicted with the profoundest secresy, that its victims are no longer publicly burnt at the auto da fè, and that their sufferings, in most cases, are known only to themselves, their persecutors, and to God. Occasionally, a victim of Romish barbarity escapes to a land of freedom, and publishes to the world the recital of his sufferings, though these narratives are invariably denounced as false by the Jesuitical defenders of Rome, in accordance with their well known principle of action that frauds are holy and lies are lawful, when told for the good of the church.

§ 14.—One of the most valuable recent narratives of this kind is that of a young monk, named Raffaele Ciocci, who after being barbarously treated in an inquisitorial prison near Rome, in 1842, till he consented to sign a recantation,* escaped to England, where he

* After Raffaele had been entrapped into the hands of his inquisitorial persecutors, many means were employed by the Jesuits to subdue him. Four times a day he had to listen to a long sermon against the doctrines of Protestantism. To all the questions which he addressed to the Jesuits, one would reply: "Think on hell, my son!"—a second: "Think, my son, how terrible the death of a sinner!"—a third would exclaim: "Paradise! my son, Paradise!" Next, recourse was had to phantasmagory, to strike him with terror. A skeleton placed in his chamber: a transparency, presenting a resemblance of the last judgment day, suddenly appeared before him during the rehearsal of terrible discourses, or afterward calculated to affect him. At last, filth and privations of every kind came also to the

published his thrilling and instructive narrative, a production which bears internal evidences of its truth, as is well remarked by Sir

aid of the Jesuits, in subduing their obstinate pupil. When they saw him sufficiently shaken, the following declaration was offered to him for his signature: "I, Raffaele Ciocci, a Benedictine and Cistercian monk, unskilled in theological doctrines, having in good faith, and without malice, fallen into the errors of the protestants, being now enlightened and convinced, acknowledge my errors. I retract them, regret them, and declare the Roman church to be the only true Catholic and Apostolic church. I bind myself, therefore, to teach and preach according to her doctrines, being ready to shed my blood for her sake. Finally, I ask pardon of all those to whom my anti-Catholic discourses may have been an occasion of error, and I pray God to pardon my sins." On reading these lines, Raffaele trembled with indignation, and immediately exclaimed: "Kill me, if you please, my life is in your power; but as for subscribing this iniquitous formulary, I shall do so—NEVER!"

After vain efforts to induce him to comply with his wishes, the Jesuit withdrew in a rage. . . . . The following day Raffaele appeared before his persecutors, who again urged him to sign the declaration. On his refusal Father Rossini spoke: "Your opinions are inflexible; be it so; we are going to treat you as you deserve. Rebellious son of the church, in the plenitude of power which she has received from Christ, you shall feel the holy rigor of her laws. She cannot permit the tares to infect the soil in which grows the good seed, nor suffer you to remain among her sons, and become a stumbling-block for the ruin of many. Abandon the hope, therefore, of leaving this place, and of returning to dwell among the faithful. Know, then, that all is over with you." "Then," continues Raffaele, "there was a long silence; all the terrors which had seized me during my seclusion at once assailed me. The immovable countenances of the Jesuits, who in their cold insusceptibility of feeling seemed alien from earth, convinced me that all indeed was over with me. . . . . My courage failed, and trembling I approached the table; with a convulsive movement I seized the pen, and wrote . . . . my shame! . . . . my condemnation; . . . . God of mercy! O may that moment be blotted from my life!"

The Jesuits congratulated him, and he was permitted to return to the convent of San Bernardo, in which, from that time, he was allowed a little more liberty. He continued, meanwhile, to read the Bible, and strengthened himself more and more in his determination to break definitely with the errors of Rome, and to bid an eternal adieu to Italy and his family. A circumstance presented itself which favored the execution of this project. Two English travellers, whom Raffaele accompanied one day in the quality of *cicerone* in the circus of the baths of Diocletian, and to whom he discovered his situation, took a strong interest in his behalf. Several times they returned, had conversations with the unhappy monk, and undoubtedly instructed him as to the means of escaping from his prison. In fact, not long after this, he embarked at Civita-Vecchia, where, before doing so, he had the privilege of reading, posted up in the church, a brief of excommunication against "D. RAFFAELE CIOCCI, a Cistercian monk, an apostate;" and after various distressing perplexities, owing to his inexperience, he reached Marseilles, crossed France, and arrived at London, where he was received with kind hospitality, and protected from the attempts of the Jesuits to seize once more on their prey.

"Oh!" exclaims he, "that my companions in slavery in the monasteries of San Bernardo and Santa Croce, in Gerusalemme, could see me as I am, in a state of health and tranquillity, while they are taught to believe that the excommunication has penetrated my bones, and that I am wasting away like a lamp whose oil is failing. Poor youths! seized with terror at the funeral ceremony performed on occasion of the apostasy of any member of the Order, they are not aware that it is but a trick, calculated to expel from their minds every thought of imitating the example, and of following the footsteps of the fugitive."—(*Ciocci's Narrative*, page 137.)

Culling Eardly Smith, a distinguished protestant gentleman, who long resided in Rome, and is therefore well qualified to judge.* Not more than two years ago a severe decree against the Jews of Ancona was issued by the Roman Inquisition, dated from the chancery of the Holy Office, June 24th, 1843.†

The persecuting policy of Rome is still carried out by her priests in the various countries where they are dispersed, just in proportion to the power and influence they possess. In thoroughly popish countries they continue openly and without disguise to act upon their ancient intolerant and persecuting principles, though the spirit of the age forbids them, as formerly, to sacrifice at once whole hecatombs of human victims; in semi-papal lands, as in France and some other parts of continental Europe, where Protestantism is tolerated by the government, they exhibit the same spirit by a system of petty annoyance, and attempted restrictions upon the freedom of a protestant press; and in protestant lands, as America and England, in order the more effectually to accomplish their designs, they aim, as much as possible, to conceal the true character of their church, and sometimes even have the bare-faced effrontery to deny that persecution is or ever has been one of its dogmas. In the first case, the wolf appears in his own proper skin, showing his teeth, and growling hatred and defiance against all opposers; in the second, with his teeth extracted, but with all his native ferocity, showing that if his teeth are gone, he can yet bruise and mangle with his toothless jaws; and in the last, covered all over with the skin of a lamb, attempting to *bleat* out the assertion, "*I am not a wolf, and I never was*," and yet by the very tones of his voice betraying the fact that though clothed in the skin of a lamb, and trying to look innocent and harmless, he is a wolf still; waiting only for a suitable opportunity to throw off his temporary disguise, and appear in all his native ferocity.

§ 15.—As a recent illustration of this unchanged spirit of Romanism may be mentioned the persecutions, banishment, and exile, in the year 1837, of upwards of four hundred protestants of Zillerthal, in the Tyrol, for no other reason but because they refused to conform to the Roman Catholic church.‡

As another instance of the intolerance of Popery, and its determined hatred to the bible in the vulgar tongue, may be mentioned an occurrence still more recent, by which the feelings of protestant Americans were outraged, viz., the public burning of bibles, which took place no longer ago than October 27th. 1842, at Champlain, a village in the State of New York. The following account of this sacrilegious outrage is from an official statement of facts, signed by four respectable citizens appointed as a committee for that purpose:—"About the middle of October, a Mr. Telmont,

* Romanism in Italy, by Sir C. E. Smith, page 41. † Ibid., 49, 65.

‡ An interesting account of the sufferings of these exiles for conscience sake has been written by Dr. Rheinwald, of Berlin, and translated from the German by Mr. John B. Saunders, of London.

Jesuits openly burning bibles. Disgraceful language of a priest on the protestant bible (*note*).

a missionary of the *Jesuits*, with one or more associates, came to Corbeau in this town, where the Catholic Church is located, and as they say in their own account given of their visit, 'by the direction of the bishop of Montreal.' On their arrival they commenced a protracted meeting, which lasted several weeks, and great numbers of Catholics from this and the other towns of the county attended day after day. After the meeting had progressed several days, and the way was prepared for it, an order was issued requiring all who had bibles or testaments, to bring them in to the priest, or 'lay them at the feet of the missionaries.' The requirement was generally complied with, and day after day bibles and testaments were carried in; and after a sufficient number was collected, they were burned. By the confession of Telmont, as appears from the affidavit of S. Hubbell, there were several burnings, but only one in public. On the 27th of October, as given in testimony at the public meeting held there, Telmont, who was a prominent man in all the movements, brought out from the house of the resident priest, which is near the church, *as many bibles as he could carry in his arms at three times, and placed them in a pile, in the open yard, and then set fire to them and burned them to ashes.* This was done in open day, and in the presence of many spectators." For a pictorial illustration of this scene of popish intolerance and sacrilege, *see Engraving* opposite page 440.

In the affidavit of S. Hubbell, Esq., above alluded to, who is a respectable lawyer of the place, it is stated that the President of the Bible Society, in company with Mr. Hubbell, waited upon the priests, and requested that inasmuch as the bibles had been given by benevolent societies, they should be returned to the donors and not destroyed; to which the Jesuit priest, perhaps with less cunning than usually belongs to his order, coolly replied, that "they had burned all they had received, and *intended to burn all they could get.*"*

§ 16.—A still more striking illustration of the unchangeably persecuting spirit of Popery down to the present time, remains yet to be told. In the Portuguese island of Madeira, which is almost entirely under the control of the popish priesthood, a violent persecution has been lately carried on, chiefly in consequence of the suc-

* For a full account of the circumstances connected with this atrocious act, see "Defence of the Protestant Scriptures against Popish Apologists for the Champlain Bible-Burners," by the present author. The above little work was written in reply to a popish priest named Corry, of Providence, R. I., who justified the burning of the bibles upon the ground of the alleged unfaithfulness of the protestant version. Among other statements he makes use of the following disgraceful language:—"If, then, such a version of the bible should not be tolerated, the question then is, which is the best and most respectful manner to make away with it. *As for myself, I would not hesitate to say, that the most respectful would be to burn it,* rather than give it to grocers and dealers to wrap their wares in, or consign it to MORE DISHONORABLE PURPOSES (!!) and I hardly think, that there is a man of common sense, be he Catholic or protestant, that would not say the same."

A woman sentenced to *death* for *heresy* in 1844, by the papists of Madeira.

cess of the labors of Dr. Kalley, a pious physician from Scotland, and a British subject, resident on the island. Dr. Kalley has for some time past been in the habit of reading and explaining the scriptures in his own house for the benefit of his family and such others as chose to come in. Several of these have been convinced of the errors of Popery, and have consequently exposed themselves to the most cruel annoyances and persecutions. In a letter from Dr. Kalley, dated May 4th, 1844, and published in the London Record, he says:

"Last Sabbath two persons, when going home from my house, were taken prisoners and committed to jail, where they now lie, for not kneeling to *the host* (or consecrated wafer) as it passed. On Monday a third was imprisoned on the same charge. On Wednesday, several were mauled with sticks, and some taken by the hands and feet as in procession, and carried into the church, and made to kneel before the images. On the 2d of May, a girl brought me some leaves of the New Testament, telling me, with tears, that her own father had taken two, and beaten them with a great stick, and then burnt them. On the same day, Maria Joaquina, wife of Manuel Alves, who had been in prison nearly a year, was CONDEMNED TO DEATH." (!!!) Yes, condemned to death, in the year 1844, for denying the absurd dogma of transubstantiation, refusing to participate in the idolatry of worshipping the wafer idol, and (in the words of the accusation) "*blaspheming against the images* of Christ and mother of God;" in plain language, refusing to give that worship to senseless blocks of wood and stone which is due only to God. The same letter contains a copy of the sentence of death passed on this poor woman by Judge Negrao, of which the following is an extract:—

"In view of the answers of the jury and discussion of the cause, &c., it is proved that the accused, Maria Joaquina, perhaps forgetful of the principles of the holy religion which she received in her first years, and to which she still belongs, has maintained conversations and arguments condemned by the church, maintaining *that veneration should not be given to images, denying the real existence of Christ in the sacred host* (the wafer), the mystery of the most holy Trinity;* blaspheming against the most holy Virgin, Mother of God, and advancing other expressions against the doctrines received and followed by the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, expounding these condemned doctrines to different persons, thus committing the crime of heresy and blasphemy, &c. * * * * * * * * * * * I condemn the accused, Maria Joaquina, *to suffer death*, as declared in the said law,

* Though the crime of the papists would not have been diminished in the slightest degree, had this accusation been true, as persecution for conscience sake is in every case unjust; yet it is due to this victim of popish persecution to say, on the testimony of Dr. Kalley and others, that she firmly believes the doctrine of the Trinity, and is "an intelligent, clear-minded, Christian woman, quite willing to die, if the Lord will."

Maria Joaquina in her dungeon. Persecution, not a mere *abuse*, but part of the system of Romanism.

and in the costs of the process, which she shall pay with her goods. Funchal Oriental, in public court, 2d of May, 1843. Joze Pereira Leito Pitta Ortegueira Negrao."

The papists have not yet dared to brave the indignation of the world by executing this sentence, and thus burning or hanging a heretic in the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet, the fact that a pious and respectable woman, *the mother of seven children* (the youngest at the breast when she was cast into prison), should receive such a sentence in the year 1844, for the crime of heresy, should arouse the whole protestant world to the unchangeably persecuting character of the apostate church of Rome. At the last accounts, the poor woman was still languishing in her dungeon; Dr. Kalley states his opinion that "it is as likely that she will be actually executed, as it was that she should be condemned to death." Of this, however, we have doubts. However glad the popish priests might have been to burn a heretic, could they have confined the knowledge of the fact to their own little island, they dare not, and they will not do it, now their cruelty has been published abroad, and the pulse of the whole protestant world is throbbing with sympathy for that suffering martyr of the nineteenth century as she pines in her lonely dungeon, the persecuted Maria Joaquina.

§ 17.—The instances of persecution and intolerance above related are not mere *abuses* of the system of Romanism, or excrescences upon it; they are a part of the system itself, and that Romish bishop who does not, to the utmost of his power, "persecute and oppose" heretics and rebels against his Lord, the Pope, is false to his most solemn oath. This will be evident from the following oath, which is taken by every archbishop and bishop, and by all who receive any dignity from the Pope. Let particular notice be taken of the sentence printed in capitals.

BISHOPS' OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE POPE.—"I, N., elect of the Church of N., from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, the Lord N., pope N., and to his successors, canonically entering. I will neither advise, consent, nor do anything that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands in anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel with which they shall intrust me by themselves, their messengers, or letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy, and THE ROYALTIES OF ST. PETER saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic See, going and coming, I will honorably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honors, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his aforesaid successors, I will endeavor to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church, anything to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honor, state or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my utmost, and as soon as I can, will signify it to our said Lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy Fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others.

"HERETICS, SCHISMATICS, AND REBELS TO OUR SAID LORD, OR HIS AFORESAID SUCCESSORS, I WILL TO MY UTMOST PERSECUTE AND OPPOSE. 'Hereticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis *pro posse persequar et oppugnabo.*' I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years; and give an account to our Lord and his foresaid successors of all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of those, by a priest of the diocess; or in default of one of the clergy of the diocess, by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above-mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the cardinal proponent of the Holy Roman Church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, not even with the consent of the chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these holy Gospels of God."

The original Latin of this oath may be found in the treatise of the learned Dr. Isaac Barrow, on the papal supremacy (works, folio edition, vol. i., page 553). It was copied by Barrow from "the Roman Pontificate, set out by order of pope Clement VIII." (Antwerp, anno 1626, p. 59, &c.) After quoting the oath, Dr. Barrow remarks: "Such is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all men who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their prince;" and we may add, with their fidelity and allegiance to any government under which they dwell.

Besides thus solemnly engaging to "persecute and oppose heretics," every bishop and priest, in swearing to the creed of pope Pius (see page 539), professes to receive "all things delivered, defined, and declared by the general councils," including, of course, the decrees of several of those councils for the extirpation of heretics, which have been cited in the progress of this work (see pages 302, 332, 434, 543–545). Nothing can be more evident, therefore, than that the right to persecute heretics, and the duty of exercising this right to the utmost of their power, is at the present time as much an article of faith of every Romish prelate and priest as the doctrine of the Mass, of Purgatory, or of Extreme Unction.

§ 18.—It is a remarkable fact, and one which well illustrates the unchangeably persecuting spirit of Popery, that a solemn curse, "with bell, book, and candle," against all heretics, is annually pronounced by the Pope at Rome, and by other ecclesiastics in other places, on the Thursday of passion week, the day before Good Friday, the anniversary of the Saviour's crucifixion. This is called

Ceremony of excommunication and cursing at Rome on Holy Thursday.

the *Bull in cœna domini*, or "at the supper of the Lord." The ceremonies on this occasion are well adapted to strike terror into the superstitious multitude. The bull consists of thirty-one sections, describing different classes of excommunicated persons. The following single section, which includes all protestants, is given as a specimen.

"In the name of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we excommunicate and anathematize all Hussites, Wickliffites, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Huguenots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and other apostates, from the faith; and all other heretics, by whatsoever name they are called, or of whatever sect they be. And also their adherents, receivers, favorers, and generally any defenders of them: with all who, without our authority, or that of the apostolic See, knowingly read or retain, or in any way, or from any cause, publicly or privately, or from any pretext, defend their books containing heresy, or treating of religion; as also schismatics, and those who withdraw themselves, or recede obstinately from their obedience to us, or the existing Roman Pontiff."

§ 19.—A recent spectator of the ceremony at Rome says that after the excommunicated are mentioned, the curse proceeds as follows:—"Excommunicated and accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they in cities, in towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and all other places, standing, lying or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever things they do besides. We separate them from the threshold, and from all prayers of the church, from the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, the popes of Rome have granted; and we give them utterly over to the power of the fiend! And let us quench their soul, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and then one of them is put out), and let us pray to God, that if they be alive, their eyes may be put out, as this candle is put out (another was then extinguished); and let us pray to God, and to our Lady, and to St. Peter, and St. Paul, and the holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (the third was then put out), except they come openly now, and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church. And as this cross falleth down, so may they, except they repent, and show themselves." Then the cross on which the extinguished lights had been fixed was allowed to fall down with a loud noise, and the superstitious multitude shouted with fear. This terrific scene is of itself sufficient to account for the superstitious dread, among ignorant Papists, of the priestly anathema.

The impious farce of cursing is soon followed by the Pope's blessing on all who believe, or profess to believe, his own creed.

On Easter day he says mass at the high altar of St. Peter's, and at its close pronounces his blessing on the prostrate multitude in the square below, many of whom are pilgrims from considerable distances. (*See Engraving* opposite page 430.) One thing is, however, clear: he curses some who are objects of the Divine favor; he blesses others with whom God is angry every day. In each instance he speaks in vain, as it regards *them;* but in every one there is a record against *him* of presumptuous sin, in the book of God's remembrance.*

CHAPTER III.

POPERY UNCHANGED.—MODERN DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF ITS HATRED TO LIBERTY OF OPINION, SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, AND A TRANSLATED BIBLE.

§ 20.—AN impression is extensively prevalent that the Popery of the present day is something entirely different from the Popery of the dark ages, when amidst the gloom and the superstition of the world's midnight, it reigned Despot of the World. Yet while this change for the better is charitably believed by some lukewarm protestants, who are therefore contented to lay down their weapons and forsake their watch-tower, it is absolutely and unequivocally denied by the most celebrated champions of Rome. Says Charles Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, "It is most true that Roman Catholics believe the doctrines of their church to be UNCHANGEABLE; and that it is a tenet of their creed, that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, SUCH IT IS NOW, and SUCH IT EVER WILL BE."

We have already seen, in the last chapter, that Popery is the same as in the dark ages, with respect to its essentially *persecuting spirit.* We shall now proceed by citations from various authentic documents of recent date, and by a reference to the state of Popery, as it is at present seen in popish countries, to show that in every important particular; in its hatred to the freedom of opinion and of the press, and to the bible in the vulgar tongue; in its hostility to the separation of church and state; in its debasing, superstitious, and grovelling idolatry; its blasphemous pretended power of indulgences, and its forged miracles and lying wonders; in all these respects, that Popery is even now the same that we have seen it throughout the career of ages, over which our long journey is now nearly finished.

* Spirit of Popery, page 115.

Liberty of opinion still forbidden. Pope opposed to separation of church and state.

§ 21.—In the last session of the council of Trent, it was decreed in reference to certain doctrines, "If any one shall presume to teach or THINK ('*senserit*') differently from these decrees, let him be accursed" (see page 534). Thus we see that Popery invades the sanctuary of a man's most secret thoughts, and however consistently he may speak or act, if he presumes only to think differently from her decrees, subjects himself to her curse. To show that *liberty of opinion* is still prohibited in the Romish church, it will be sufficient to present a single extract from a document which no Roman Catholic will presume to dispute, emanating from the Supreme Pontiff himself, of no older date than August 15th, 1832. It is the famous Encyclical letter of the now reigning Pope,—Gregory XVI.

"From that polluted fountain of indifference flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving, in favor and in defence of '*liberty of conscience*,' for which *most pestilential error*, the course is opened by that entire and wild *liberty of opinion* which is everywhere attempting the overthrow of civil and religious institutions; and which the unblushing impudence of some has held forth as an advantage of religion." * * * * "From hence arise these revolutions in the minds of men, hence this aggravated corruption of youth, hence this contempt among the people of sacred things, and of the most holy institutions and laws; hence, in one word, that *pest of all others most to be dreaded in a state, unbridled liberty of opinion.*"

§ 22.—It might be expected that a power which is thus bitterly hostile to liberty of opinion, should be equally *opposed to the separation of church and state*, which has always been regarded by every enlightened friend of freedom, as one of the surest safeguards of the liberty of nations. Accordingly we find pope Gregory, in the same document, making use of the following plain and unequivocal language:—"Nor can we augur more consoling consequences to religion and to government, from the zeal of some to separate *the church from the state*, and to burst the bond which unites the priesthood to the empire. For it is clear that this union is dreaded by *the profane lovers of liberty, only because it has never failed to confer prosperity on both.*"

The reason why the Pope is in favor of a union of the state with the church, especially when the secular powers can be held in submission to Rome, is too obvious to need remark. In the following extract from Gregory's bull of 1844, the Pope calls upon his "venerable brethren" to prevent the machinations of the Christian Alliance, and by exciting the jealousy of the sovereigns of Italy, lest their subjects should obtain with liberty of conscience political liberty also, he invokes their aid in frustrating these "sectarian combinations."

"Moreover, venerable brothers," says he, "we recommend the utmost watchfulness over the insidious measures and attempts of the Christian Alliance, to those who, raised to the dignity of your order, are called to govern the Italian churches, or the countries which Italians frequent most commonly, especially the frontiers and ports whence travellers enter Italy. As these are the points on which the

sectarians have fixed to commence the realization of their projects, it is highly necessary that the bishops of those places should mutually assist each other, zealously and faithfully, in order, with the aid of God, to discover and prevent their machinations.

"Let us not doubt but your exertions, added to our own, *will be seconded by the civil authorities, and especially by the most influential sovereigns of Italy*, no less by reason of their favorable regard for the Catholic religion, than that they plainly perceive how much it concerns them to frustrate these sectarian combinations. Indeed, it is most evident from past experience, that there are *no means more certain of rendering the people disobedient to their princes* than rendering them indifferent to religion, *under the mask of religious liberty.* The members of the Christian Alliance do not conceal this fact from themselves, although they declare that they are far from wishing to excite disorder; but they, notwithstanding, avow that, once liberty of interpretation obtained, and with it *what they term liberty of conscience* among Italians these last will naturally SOON ACQUIRE POLITICAL LIBERTY."

Such has ever been the horror of the popes, in all countries subject to their sway, lest the people should obtain political liberty.

§ 23.—From the decree of the fourth session of the council of Trent, as well as the rules of the congregation of the Index (see above, pp. 488–499), we have seen that the laws of Popery authoritatively prohibit *the freedom of the press*, and decree certain heavy penalties, wherever they have the power to enforce them, on all who dare to exercise that freedom. That this is still the doctrine of Rome will be evident from an additional extract or two from pope Gregory's bull of 1832.

"Hither tends that worst and NEVER SUFFICIENTLY TO BE EXECRATED AND DETESTED LIBERTY OF THE PRESS for the diffusion of all manner of writings, which some so loudly contend for and so actively promote."

Again: "No means must be here omitted, says *Clement XIII.*, our predecessor of happy memory in the Encyclical Letter on the proscription of bad books—*no means* must *be here omitted*, as the extremity of the case calls for all our exertions, to *exterminate the fatal pest* which spreads through so many works, *nor* can the materials of error be *otherwise destroyed than by the flames*, which consume the depraved elements of the evil. From the anxious vigilance then of the Holy Apostolic See, through every age, in condemning and removing from men's hands suspected and profane books, becomes more than evident *the falsity, the rashness, and the injury offered to the Apostolical See by that doctrine, pregnant with the most deplorable evils to the Christian world, advocated by some*, CONDEMNING THIS CENSURE OF BOOKS AS A NEEDLESS BURDEN, REJECTING IT AS INTOLERABLE, OR WITH INFAMOUS EFFRONTERY, PROCLAIMING IT TO BE IRRECONCILABLE WITH THE RIGHTS OF MEN, OR DENYING, IN FINE, THE RIGHT OF EXERCISING SUCH A POWER, OR THE EXISTENCE OF IT IN THE CHURCH."

In addition to the other "bitter causes of solicitude," pope Gregory proceeds to mention "certain associations, and political assemblies," in which (*horribile dictu!*) "LIBERTY OF EVERY KIND IS MAINTAINED, revolutions in the state and in religion are fomented, and the sanctity of all authority is torn in pieces."

In the above extracts from these famous documents of pope Gregory, the acknowledged head of the Roman Catholic church, there is no ambiguity. The doctrine of Popery is stated without disguise. Let the reader remember, that these extracts are not from a document of the dark ages; that they did not proceed from the pen of a Gregory VII., or an Innocent III., but from the *present*

Bunyan's giant Pope biting his nails. Rome's hatred to the Bible in the vulgar tongue.

reigning Pope in the nineteenth century; and that in them those rights which Americans and freemen of every nation hold most dear, LIBERTY OF OPINION, OF CONSCIENCE, AND OF THE PRESS, are fiercely denounced as "*absurd and erroneous doctrines;*" "*pregnant with the most deplorable evils*"—and "*pests of all others most to be dreaded in a state;*" while such as dare to "condemn this censure of books as a needless burden," "proclaim it to be *irreconcilable with the rights of men*," or deny "the existence of such a power in the church," are charged with FALSITY, RASHNESS, and INFAMOUS EFFRONTERY!!

Who will deny that the spirit manifested in this document would prompt its author to enforce its abominable doctrines against the friends of freedom of every name, by the rack, the faggot, and the stake, like his predecessors, in the palmy days when Popery was in its glory, if he did but possess the power? But, in the words of good old John Bunyan, though the giant Pope be still alive, sitting "among the blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of pilgrims that had gone this way formerly," yet, "by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, he has grown so crazy and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims, as they go by, and biting his nails, that he cannot come at them."

§ 24.—With respect to *Rome's hatred to the bible in the vulgar tongue*, we have seen that the council of Trent, in the fourth rule of the congregation of the Index (p. 492), declares that its indiscriminate use will be productive of "more evil than good." Such is still the doctrine of Rome. Within the last thirty years, several papal bulls, or circulars, have been issued, condemning Bible Societies and the free circulation of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue. One by pope Pius VII., in 1816, one by Leo XII., in 1824, another by Pius VIII., in 1829, and two by the present Pope, Gregory XVI., in 1832 and 1844. It will be sufficient to give a brief extract from the circular of Pius VII., in 1816, and more copious extracts from the bull of 1844, which, on account of its exhibition of the present character of Popery, is the most valuable of them all. In a letter addressed to the primate of Poland relative to Bible Societies, and dated June 26th, 1816, pope Pius VII. uses the following language:

"We have been truly shocked at this most crafty device (Bible Societies), by which the very foundations of religion are undermined. We have deliberated upon the measures proper to be adopted by our pontifical authority, in order to remedy and abolish this *pestilence*, as far as possible,—this defilement of the faith so imminently dangerous to souls. It becomes episcopal duty, that you first of all expose the wickedness *of this nefarious scheme*. IT IS EVIDENT FROM EXPERIENCE, THAT THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, WHEN CIRCULATED IN THE VULGAR TONGUE, HAVE, THROUGH THE TEMERITY OF MEN, PRODUCED MORE HARM THAN BENEFIT. Warn the people entrusted to your care, that they fall not into the *snares prepared for their everlasting ruin*" (that is, as you value your souls, have nothing to do with Bible Societies, or the bibles they circulate).

§ 25.—Nothing but want of space (as we have already exceeded our intended limits) prevents us from giving entire the last bull of pope Gregory XVI., dated May 8th, 1844; so conclusive is the evidence it affords of Rome's unchanged hostility to the Bible. The following are the most important portions :—

"Venerable Brothers, health and greeting Apostolical :—Among the many attempts which the enemies of Catholicism, under whatever denomination they may appear, are daily making in our age, to seduce the truly faithful, and deprive them of the holy instructions of the faith, the efforts of those Bible Societies are conspicuous, which, originally established in England, and propagated throughout the universe, labor everywhere to disseminate the books of the Holy Scriptures, *translated into the vulgar tongue;* consign them to the *private interpretation* of each, alike among Christians and among infidels; continue what St. Jerome formerly complained of—pretending to *popularize* the holy pages, and render them intelligible, without the aid of any interpreter, to persons of every condition—to the most *loquacious woman*, to the *light-headed old man*, to the *wordy caviller;* to all, in short, and even by an absurdity as great as unheard of, to the most hardened infidels." The Pope then proceeds to remark that these societies "only care audaciously to stimulate *all to a private interpretation* of the divine oracles, to inspire contempt for divine *traditions*, which the Catholic Church preserves upon the authority of the holy fathers; in a word, to cause them to reject even the authority of the Church herself."

The Pope then proceeds to eulogize the tyrannical and bloody persecutor of the Waldenses and founder of the Inquisition, for his zeal against "Bibles translated into the vulgar tongue." "Hence the warning and decrees of our predecessor Innocent III., of *happy memory*, on the subject of lay societies and meetings of women, who had assembled themselves in the diocese of Metz for objects of piety and the study of the Holy Scriptures. Hence the prohibitions which subsequently appeared in France and Spain, during the sixteenth century, with respect to the vulgar Bible."

"It became necessary subsequently," he adds, "to take even greater precautions, when the pretended reformers, Luther and Calvin, daring, by a multiplicity and incredible variety of errors, to attack the immutable doctrine of the faith, omitted nothing in order to seduce the faithful by their false interpretations and translations into the vernacular tongue, which *the then novel invention of printing* contributed more rapidly to propagate and multiply. Whence it was generally laid down in the regulations dictated by the Fathers, adopted by the council of Trent, and approved by our predecessor Pius VII., of happy memory, and which (regulations) are prefixed to the list of prohibited books, that the reading of the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, should not be permitted except to those to whom it might be deemed necessary to confirm *in the faith and piety.* Subsequently, when heretics still persisted in their frauds, it became necessary for Benedict XIV. to SUPERADD THE INJUNCTION THAT NO VERSIONS WHATEVER SHOULD BE SUFFERED TO BE READ BUT THOSE WHICH SHOULD BE APPROVED OF BY THE HOLY SEE, ACCOMPANIED BY NOTES DERIVED FROM THE WRITINGS OF THE HOLY FATHERS, OR OTHER LEARNED AND CATHOLIC AUTHORS.

"Notwithstanding this, some new sectarians of the school of Jansenius, after the example of the Lutherans and Calvinists, feared not to blame these justifiable precautions of the Apostolical See, *as if the reading of the Holy books had been at all times, and for all the faithful, useful*, and so indispensable that no authority could assail it.

"But we find this audacious assertion of the sect of Jansenius withered by the most rigorous censures in the solemn sentence which was pronounced against their doctrine, with the assent of the whole Catholic universe, by two sovereign pontiffs of modern times, Clement XI. in his *unigenitus* constitution of the year 1713, and Pius VI. in his constitution *actorem fidei*, of the year 1794. Consequently, even before the establishment of Bible Societies was thought of, the decrees of the Church, which we have quoted, were intended to guard the faithful

All preceding decrees against the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue confirmed by pope Gregory.

against the frauds of *heretics who cloak themselves under the specious pretext that it is necessary to propagate and render common the study of the holy books.*

"Since then, our predecessor, Pius VII., of glorious memory, observing the machinations of these societies to increase under his pontificate, did not cease to oppose their efforts, at one time through the medium of the apostolical nuncios, at another by letters and decrees, emanating from the several congregations of cardinals of the Holy Church, and at another by the two pontifical letters addressed to the Bishop of Gnesen and the Archbishop of Mohilif. After him, another of our holy predecessors, Leo XII., reproved the operations of the Bible Societies, by his circulars addressed to all the Catholic pastors in the universe, under date May 5, 1824. Shortly afterward, our immediate predecessor, Pius VIII., of happy memory, confirmed their condemnation by his circular letter of May 24, 1829. We, in short, who succeed them, notwithstanding our great unworthiness, have not ceased to be solicitous on this subject, and have especially studied to bring to the recollection of the faithful *the several rules which have been successively laid down with regard to the vulgar versions of the holy books.*"

Alluding to the recently formed society called the Christian Alliance, the Pope says: "This society strains every nerve to introduce among them, by means of individuals collected from all parts, corrupt and vulgar Bibles, and to scatter them secretly among the faithful. At the same time, their intention is to disseminate WORSE BOOKS STILL(! !), or tracts designed to withdraw from the minds of their readers all respect for the Church and the Holy See."

After referring with evident alarm to the fact of the translation into Italian of those excellent works, D'Aubigné on the Reformation, and M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, the Pope proceeds as follows: "With reference to works of whatsoever writer, we call to mind the observance of the general rules and decrees of our predecessors, to be found prefixed to the INDEX of prohibited books; and we invite the faithful to be on their guard, not only against the books named in the INDEX, but also against those proscribed in the general proscriptions.

"As for yourselves, my venerable brethren, called as you are to divide our solicitude, we recommend you earnestly in the Lord, to announce and proclaim, in convenient time and place, to the people confided to your care, these Apostolic orders, and to labor carefully to separate the faithful sheep from the contagion of the CHRISTIAN ALLIANCE, from those who have become its auxiliaries, no less than those who belong to other Bible Societies, and from all who have any communication with them. You are consequently enjoined to remove from the hands of the faithful alike the Bibles in the vulgar tongue which may have been printed contrary to the decrees above mentioned of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and *every book proscribed and condemned*, and to see that they learn, through your admonition and authority, what pasturages are salutary, and what pernicious and mortal. . . . Watch attentively over those who are appointed to expound the Holy Scriptures, to see that they acquit themselves faithfully, according to the capacity of their hearers, and *that they dare not, under any pretext whatever, interpret or explain the holy pages contrary to the tradition of the Holy Fathers, and to the service of the Catholic Church.*"

After more remarks in a similar strain, the Pope proceeds, in the following words, to renew the condemnation of the Bible Societies, and to confirm all preceding decrees against the Scriptures in the Vulgar tongue:

"Wherefore, having consulted some of the Cardinals of the Holy Romish Church, after having duly examined with them everything and listened to their advice, we have decided, venerable brothers, on addressing you this letter, by which we again condemn the Bible Societies, reproved long ago by our predecessors, and by virtue of the supreme authority of our apostleship, we reprove by name and condemn the aforesaid society called the CHRISTIAN ALLIANCE, formed last year at New York; it, together with every other society associated with it, or which may become so.

"Let all know, then, the enormity of the sin against God and his Church which they are guilty of who dare to associate themselves with any of these societies, or abet them in any way. MOREOVER, WE CONFIRM AND RENEW THE DECREES RECITED ABOVE, DELIVERED IN FORMER TIMES BY APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY, AGAINST THE

PUBLICATION, DISTRIBUTION, READING AND POSSESSION OF BOOKS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TRANSLATED INTO THE VULGAR TONGUE."

The circular letter from which the above copious extracts are transcribed is superscribed as follows: "Given at Rome from the Basilic of St. Peter, on the 8th of May, in the year 1844, and the fourteenth of our Pontificate." Signed, Gregory XVI., S. P.

§ 26.—The above is a remarkable document. It shows conclusively that Rome's hatred to the Bible remains unchanged, and that she is just as much opposed in the nineteenth century to "the publication, distribution, reading, and possession of books of the Holy Scriptures translated into the vulgar tongue," as she was in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when she burnt the heretics who were guilty of these *enormous crimes*, with their Bibles hanging round their necks, or ransacked the grave of Wickliff, the first translator of the New Testament into English, and vented her rage by burning his mouldering bones to ashes.

In the closing sentence of our quotations from the bull, pope Gregory confirms and renews the various decrees referred to in his circular, including, of course, the decree of pope Benedict XIV., which he cites, *forbidding the reading of* ALL *versions, except "those which should be approved by the Holy See, and* ACCOMPANIED BY NOTES, derived from the writings of the Holy Fathers, or other learned and Catholic authors."

Among the other decrees confirmed and approved in this letter of pope Gregory are the decree and rules in relation to prohibited books, adopted by the council of Trent, and approved by pope Pius VII., *of happy memory*—the bull *Unigenitus* of pope Clement XI., in 1713, condemning the New Testament of Father Quesnel, and the circulars or bulls of popes Pius VII., Leo XII., and Pius VIII., against Bible Societies, issued successively from Rome in 1816, 1824, and 1829.

From the extracts we have given from this bull of pope Gregory, four facts are manifestly evident. *First*, That the Pope, and of course all true papists, are still opposed to the "distribution, reading, and possession of books of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue." *Second*, That *tradition* is still regarded as of equal authority with the inspired word of God. *Third*, That private interpretation of the Scriptures is still absolutely prohibited; that is, that the Romanist does not believe the Bible means what it says, but what the church says it means. *Fourth*, That ALL *bibles in the vulgar tongue are positively prohibited to the people, unless accompanied by popish notes*, for the purpose, of course, of persuading the credulous multitude that where they depict the character and the doctrines of the papal anti-Christ, they do not mean what they say.

We accordingly find that this rule is followed in America, and wherever Popery prevails. Romish priests do not even dare to circulate the Douay version, without popish notes, for fear that the people might learn, even from that, if published without note or

Burning of Roman Catholic Testaments in South America, because without notes.

comment, that the Pope is anti-Christ, and that the Romish church is the great predicted Apostasy of the New Testament. It is perfectly safe to challenge the Roman Catholic world to produce a Douay Bible without popish notes. It cannot be done. There are none in existence, and were our Bible Societies to publish them, they would be hunted up and burned by Romish priests with as much zeal as they have recently displayed in collecting and burning copies of the protestant version.

§ 27.—As a proof of this remark, the following account of an auto da fè of Spanish New Testaments of the Roman Catholic version in Chili, South America, a few years ago, may be worthy of record. The Testaments had been printed by the American Bible Society, without note or comment, and the letter was from a worthy agent of that Society to the secretary.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Soon after my arrival in this place, some persons informed me that the New Testament had been taken from them as a proscribed book, and that several copies were to be BURNED in the public square on the following Sabbath. Letters had been received, I was further informed, from the Pope himself, cautioning the bishops and priests against spurious editions of the New Testament printed in England, and circulated gratuitously in South America, for the purpose of creating divisions and heresies in the church. In order to obviate misapprehensions of this kind, I have repeatedly presented your edition of the New Testament to the clergy for their inspection, requesting them to compare it with their own copies of Scio, at the same time offering to give up all the books in my possession (for I had Testaments only) in case there should be discovered the slightest discrepancy between them. As the comparison has uniformly resulted in our favor, the clergy have resorted to the old objection, that *all editions of the Bible and Testament without notes are prohibited by a decree of the Council of Trent.*

"On Sabbath evening, the time fixed for the sacrilegious conflagration, a procession was formed, having the curate at the head, and conducted with the usual pomp, the priest kneeling a few moments at each corner of the square, and placing a large crucifix upon the ground. During the afternoon a fire had been kindled for the purpose, I was told by several bystanders, of burning heretical books which ridiculed the mass and confession; and among the number was mentioned the New Testament. A guard of soldiers prevented me from examining them separately, but I stood sufficiently near to discover that the greater part were copies of the New Testament issued by the American Bible Society. As the flame ascended, increasing in brightness, one of the clergy shouted 'Viva Deos' (Let God reign), which was immediately echoed by the loud acclamations of a large concourse of people. For the time I forgot what a late writer says, 'We must always remember that South America is a Christian and not a heathen land.' The outrage was public, and instead of being disowned, was *openly defended, and done, it was said, in compliance with the decree of an infallible council.*"

The Scriptures burned were of the approved Spanish version, translated from the Vulgate by a Spanish Roman Catholic bishop. They were *New Testaments* too, so the plea that the Apocrypha was excluded could not be urged. They were portions of their own acknowledged word of God, because in the vulgar tongue and without popish notes, solemnly committed to the flames!!

CHAPTER IV.

POPERY AS IT NOW IS.—TESTIMONY OF EYE-WITNESSES.—ITS MODERN PIOUS FRAUDS AND PRETENDED MIRACLES.

§ 28.—Not only does Romanism remain unchanged, as we have shown in the preceding chapter, in its essentially persecuting, intolerant, and enslaving principles; but in thoroughly popish countries, it is still distinguished by the same grovelling superstitions, senseless mummeries, pretended miracles, and lying wonders, as marked its history in those dark ages, when it held the nations of Europe in the gloom of an intellectual and moral midnight.

To see Popery as it is, it is not enough to contemplate the operation of the system as it is seen in America and other protestant lands. The priests of Rome are too cunning to allow the most repulsive features of Romanism to be displayed, except where the people are firmly bound in their slavish vassalage; and thus, however unchanging its principles, yet with respect to its outward manifestation, it changes its hue, like the chameleon, with the country in which it is exhibited. There is one kind of Romanism to be exhibited in protestant lands, and another and a widely different kind in Italy, Spain, and other popish lands, where it reigns in its glory. To understand Romanism as it is, in its true character, it must be seen in those countries; because, as it is there, so it will be in America, England, or anywhere else, when it shall obtain that ascendency and universal prevalence after which it is grasping.

It could scarcely be credited, that in the *nineteenth century*, the priests of Rome should be able to impose on the inhabitants of Italy, Austria, Spain, and even France, their *plenary indulgences*, *miraculous medals*, *fictitious relics*, and *pretended miracles*, were not the facts attested by the united voice of all intelligent travellers.

§ 29.—Though it would be easy to quote from many recent travellers in proof of this assertion, I prefer to insert the following brief but interesting letter from a clerical and literary friend, the Rev. Robert Turnbull of Boston, who recently spent some months in the tour of Europe, in company with the Rev. Rollin H. Neale, of the same city:

"While in France and Italy, I saw upon many Catholic churches, such advertisements—in large, staring capitals—as the following—*Indulgentia Plenaria*—*Indulgentia toties et quoties*—*Indulgentia Quotidiana*, *Indulgentia pro vivis et mortuis*. These indulgences are promised, for pecuniary benefactions, to benevolent objects, such as Missions to the United States, for pilgrimages to particular places, for assistance in religious professions, and so forth. For example, I saw at Lyons, on the day of the festival of John the Baptist—usually called the *Fête Dieu*—indulgences promised to those who should take part in the procession on that occasion, *avec pieté*, as it was expressed, signed Baron, Vicar-General. In Rome and in all other Italian and Catholic cities, innumerable indulgences are granted daily. They are not exactly bought—so say the priests, and so the people

also affirm—but they are generally given in connection with the *payment* of *money* from the recipients. They are often, nearly always, secured by relatives, for the dying. No matter what their character, if they will only confess, take the eucharist, and submit to extreme unction, they can always have the benefit of a priestly *indulgence*, which covers at once the past and the future. Nay, the *dead* themselves may enjoy the benefit, provided their relatives and friends comply with the requisite conditions.

"I was much struck, both in France and in Italy, but particularly in Italy, with the extreme superstition of the Catholic Church. Accounts of *miracles* the most grotesque and absurd are retailed by the priests and circulated among the people. The most of these are performed by the Virgin Mary, who is the presiding genius, and, one may say, the goddess of the Catholics. Her image is to be seen everywhere, in churches and in private houses. It is worn as an amulet by priests and people, and the most extravagant things are said of her glory and power, and the most marvellous accounts given of the miracles performed by her agency. I read several of these stories in Italian pamphlets or tracts, and heard many of them from the lips of apparently intelligent priests. Relics of dead saints, known only to the Catholic Church, and even of Christ and his Apostles, are to be seen in many of the Catholic churches, and many wonderful stories are told of their miraculous powers.

"In the church of San Gennaro, or St. Januarius, in Naples, the blood of the patron saint is kept in a vial, and liquified once or twice a year, to the great edification and delight of the faithful. A picture in miniature of the Virgin Mary is shown in the church of the Augustines (I think that is the name) in Bologna, painted by *St. Luke!* It is said that the brazen serpent, or a piece of it, is shown in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan; and a gentleman informed me, that even in the church of St. John Lateran, in Rome, they show the table on which our Lord partook of the Last Supper.

"The *holy stairs*, visited by so many pilgrims, and which they ascend on their knees, are composed, according to the Catholics, of the steps up which our Saviour walked to Pilate's judgment hall, and the pilgrims are often seen kissing the spots said to be 'blessed' with the sweat of his sacred feet. The water which flows from the rock in the dungeon of the *Carcere Mamertina*, in which Paul and Peter are said to have been confined, is sold to pilgrims, as possessing most marvellous properties. Mr. Neale and I drank of the water, having paid the requisite sum. Tradition says it was miraculously brought from the rock, before dry, by the Apostle Peter; hence its great value. Large sums of money are made annually by the sale of such holy water, and in other ways which appeal directly to the grossest superstition of the people.

"You frequently see persons prostrate before images, and in a state of the greatest apparent devotion, even if those images are formed out of materials taken from heathen temples. At Pisa I saw several females prostrate before the statues of *Adam* and *Eve*, which are exhibited in a state of almost entire nudity. The celebrated statue of St. Peter, in the church of St. Peter's at Rome, the toe of which is almost literally kissed away, was originally a statue of Jupiter, taken from the Capitol. Many of the altars, ornaments, and so forth, in the churches, are entirely heathen in their origin and appearance. Naked forms in marble abound in all the churches. Many of the vases used for baptismal purposes, and those containing the holy water, were anciently used for similar purposes in the days of heathenism. Nothing struck me with more force than incidental circumstances like these, as indicating the gross ignorance, credulity, superstition and dishonesty abounding in the Catholic church."

§ 30.—The allusion in the above letter to the connection of Romanism with Heathenism (a topic which has been treated at large in the early part of this work), may suitably introduce the following striking parallel between the system of modern heathenism, called Bhoodism and Popery, for which I am indebted to the Rev. Euge-

nio Kincaid, who has spent thirteen years as a most successful missionary in Burmah, and who kindly furnished me with the following, in reply to my inquiries to him on this topic. The titles in italics, by which the various parts of the letter are distinguished, I have myself prefixed.

"Bhoodism," says Mr. Kincaid, "prevails over all Burmah, Siam, the Shan Principalities, and about one-third of the Chinese empire. Gaudama was the last Bhood, or the last manifestation of Bhood, and his relics and images are the objects of supreme adoration over all Bhoodist countries. In passing through the great cities of Burmah, the traveller is struck with the number and grandeur of the temples, pagodas and monasteries, as also with the number of idols and shaven-headed priests.

Worship of images, relics and saints.—"Pagodas are solid structures of masonry, and are worshipped because within their bare walls are deposited *images* or *relics* of Gaudama. The temples are dedicated to the worship of Gaudama; in them thrones are erected, on which massy images of Gaudama are placed; in some of the larger temples are the images of five hundred primitive disciples who were *canonized* about the time or soon after the death of Gaudama.

Bhoodist monasteries.—"The monasteries are the abode of the priests, and the depositaries of the sacred volumes, with their endless *scholia* and commentaries. These monasteries are the schools and colleges of the empire. They are open to all the boys of the kingdom, rich and poor. No provision is made for the education of girls.

Bhoodist monks with shaven heads. Vow of celibacy, &c.—"Priests are monks, as monasticism is universal; they take the vow of poverty and celibacy—their heads shaved and without turbans, and, dressed in robes of yellow cloth, they retire from society, or, in the language of their order, *retire to the wilderness*. Henceforth, they are always addressed as *lords* or *saints*, and over the entire population they exert a despotic influence. Priests, dead and alive, are worshipped the same as idols and pagodas, because they are saints, and have extraordinary merit.

Bhoodist Rosaries. Prayers in an unknown tongue.—"All devout Bhoodists, whether priests or people, male or female, use *a string of beads*, or *rosary*, in the recitation of their prayers—and their prayers are in *the unknown tongue*, called Pali, a language that has ceased to be spoken for many hundred years, and was never the vernacular of Burmah.

Acts of merit. "The frequent repetition of prayers with the rosary, fasting, and making offerings to the images are meritorious deeds. Celibacy and voluntary poverty is regarded as evidence of the most exalted piety. To build temples, pagodas and monasteries, and purchase idols, are meritorious acts.

Burning of wax candles in the day time.—"The burning of wax tapers and candles of various colors, both day and night, around the shrines of Gaudama, is universal in Bhoodist countries, and is taught as highly meritorious. Social prayer is unknown—each one prays apart, and making various prostrations before the images, deposits upon the altar offerings of fruit and flowers.

The Bhoodist Lent. Priests confessing each other.—"The priests are required to fast every day after the sun has passed the meridian till the next morning. Besides this, there is a great fast once a year, continuing four or five weeks, in which all the people are supposed to live entirely on vegetables and fruits. During this great fast, the priests retire from their monasteries, and live in temporary booths or tents, and are supposed to give themselves more exclusively to an ascetic life. At a certain time in the year, the priests have a practice of *confessing and exorcising each other*. This takes place in a small building erected for the purpose over running water.

The Bhoodist priesthood and Pope.—"There are various grades of rank in the priesthood, and the most unequivocal submission in the lower to the higher orders is required. *Tha-tha-na-bing* is the title of the priest who sits on the highest ecclesiastical throne in the empire (and thus corresponds to the *Pope* among Ro-

Resemblance of Bhoodist and Romish worship. The blood of St. Januarius commanded to liquefy.

manists). He is *Primate*, or *Lord Archbishop of the realm*—receives his appointment from the King, and from the Tha-tha-na-bing (or Pope) emanate all other ecclesiastical appointments in the kingdom and its tributary principalities. He lives in a monastery built and furnished by the King, which is as splendid as gold and silver can make it.

Bhoodist defences against idolatry the same as the excuses of Romanists for the worship of images.—"I should observe that intelligent, learned Bhoodists (like some Romanists) deny that they *worship* the images and relics of Gaudama, but only *venerate* them as objects that remind them of Gaudama, the only object of supreme adoration—but the number of Bhoodists who make this distinction is very small.

Striking resemblance between the worship of a Bhoodist temple and a Roman Catholic Cathedral.—"Often," says Mr. Kincaid, "when standing in a great Burman temple, and looking round upon a thousand worshippers *prostrating themselves before images*, surrounded by *wax candles*, *uttering prayers in a dead language*, each one with a *rosary* in hand, and the *priests* with *long*, *flowing robes* and *shaven heads*, I have thought of what I have witnessed in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Montreal, and it has required but a very small stretch of the imagination to suppose myself transported to the opposite side of the globe, looking not upon the ceremonies of an acknowledged heathen temple, but upon the Christianized heathenism of Rome."

§ 31.—One of the most amusing, and at the same time barefaced impostures performed in Italy by Romish priests at the present day is the pretended liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, referred to in the letter of Mr. Turnbull. The following amusing account of the effect of the injunctions of one of Napoleon's officers upon the Saint, when he appeared reluctant to perform his accustomed miracle, is taken from the recent work of Dr. Giustiniani (Papal Rome, p. 258):—

"St. Januarius is the protector of Naples in Italy; his blood is preserved in a small bottle at the altar of the church of the same name. It is believed by every Neapolitan, that the liquefaction of that blood is an indication of grace and mercy to the inhabitants of the city, as well as to private individuals, who approach in faith to the saint. At the time when Napoleon invaded Italy, suppressing the convents and nunneries, carrying the priests and their riches to France, the few who remained were, as a matter of course, not very loyal to the Emperor; they agitated in secret, whispered in the confessionals, into the ears of the Lazzaroni, that 'St. Januarius is displeased with the conduct of the invaders, that his blood did not boil during the whole time that the ungodly French soldiers occupied the kingdom of Naples.' On the day of the celebration of high mass, the blood of Januarius was exposed to the adoration of the people; but it would not boil, not even liquefy. The spies of the French immediately informed the commander of the troops of the imminent danger of the rising of the populace, who without delay gave orders that the whole army should occupy the principal streets of the city; *two cannon* were planted before the door of the church of St. Januarius, and at the different corners of the streets, with lighted matches, and a special *order* to the Vicar of the bishops, who celebrated the mass: '*That if in ten minutes St. Januarius should not perform his usual miracle, the whole city would be reduced to ruins:*' and in five minutes the saint was pacified, his blood was liquefied and boiled. The 'gloria in excelsis' was sung, the shouts of joy re-echoed in the air, and the French rejoiced with them, but not the disappointed priests."

What a comment upon the power of Popery, to blind the understanding and degrade the intellect of its victims, that the periodical performance of this foolish and barefaced piece of imposture is still

actually credited by multitudes of the deluded votaries of Rome as a veritable miracle!

§ 32.—But a still more ridiculous and contemptible piece of priestly imposture is the *Santissima Casa*, or holy house of the Virgin, at Loretto, a small town in the Pope's dominions in Italy. The popish priests pretend that this is the house in which the Virgin Mary was born, and was *carried by angels through the air*, from Nazareth to Loretto (!) some centuries ago; and that the Virgin Mary herself appeared to an old man to reveal to him the wonderful fact. They also show the *Santissima Scodella*, or *holy porringer*, in which, they gravely assert, the pap was made for the infant Jesus (! !) The pilgrims who visit this laughable imposture, regard it as a special favor to obtain a chaplet or a rosary that has been shaken in this wonderful porringer, *duly certified by the priests*, or an inch square of the Virgin's old veil, which is changed every year; and if fortunate enough to obtain them, they sacredly preserve these treasures, which they regard as preservatives against witchcraft and other calamities. The holy house and image are hung around with votive offerings, some valuable, such as golden hearts, chains with precious stones, silver and gilt angels, &c., which have been contributed by rich devotees, besides multitudes of other offerings, the gifts of the poorer pilgrims.

This ridiculous fable of the journey through the air of the Santa Casa, porringer and all, irresistibly reminds one of the famous feat, recorded by Mother Goose, about "the cow that jumped over the moon," and "the dish that ran off with the spoon;" and the mental imbecility which can credit the one, is scarcely equalled by the childish simplicity which believes the other. And yet, incredible as it may seem, the great body of Romanists, amidst the light of the nineteenth century, profess actually to believe this most absurd of all impostures; and a regular establishment of priests is maintained, with an annual revenue of many thousand dollars, the proceeds of the exhibition. A small pebble picked up in the house, *duly certified*, has been sold for ten dollars, and an unfortunate mouse that had concealed itself under the Virgin's dress, for as much as would purchase an ox, and afterward embalmed by the purchaser, and kept as a preservative against diseases and accidents. The Litany to the "Lady of Loretto" may be found in the "Garden of the Soul" (page 288), and in most other Romish prayer-books.

§ 33.—It is not uncommon for the apologists of Popery, when we refer to the *stigmata* or miraculous wounds of St. Francis or St. Catherine, and to other pious frauds of Romanism in the middle ages, to attribute them to the general ignorance and darkness which then prevailed; but we are prepared to relate similar instances of blasphemous imposture, that have been contrived by a cunning and designing priesthood, and imposed upon the credulous multitude in the very times in which we live. However strange it may appear, no longer ago than 1841, the cunning Roman priests exhibited

Outrageous imposture. Two women receiving the miraculous wounds of Christ in 1841.

two wonderful "Virgins of the Tyrol," who professed to have miraculously received the five wounds of Christ, from which the blood is said frequently to flow, "without staining the sheets," and much more copiously on the "Friday," the day of the Saviour's crucifixion; and they were successful in imposing, among others, upon a weak-minded and gullible English papist, called the Earl of Shrewsbury, who published a most marvellous pamphlet concerning his visit to these two prodigies, whom he styles "the Ecstatica of Caldaro, and the Adolorata of Capriana." This silly story has been republished and extensively sold to the poor deluded papists of America; and the reality of the miracle of the wounds is doubtless by many of them believed as a positive fact (!) And this in the nineteenth century. Can any one deny that the lying impostures of Romanism are unchanged, and that its power to debase and degrade the human intellect remains the same as ever?

§ 34.—Nothing has been more common in popish countries than the pretence of images of the Virgin Mary *miraculously* winking the eyes, shedding tears, &c., and these impositions have been the more frequent from the facility with which the priests have learned to manage them. At the corner of the Via Paganica, in Rome, there exists at this moment a picture of the Virgin Mary, with her title *Mater Providentiæ* (mother of Providence), and underneath it a statement, that "in September, 1796, this adorable image, by sundry winkings of its eyes, refreshed the praying crowds with its benign countenance;" and every evening at sunset devotees may be seen kneeling before this miraculous image, repeating a litany to it, in the hope of obtaining two hundred days' indulgence, promised to such service by the Pope. The impositions of the priests with these miraculous images have frequently been detected; yet, among papists, multitudes are found simple enough to devour with greediness every fresh instance of imposture. One will be related as a specimen of hundreds of similar cases. It is taken from the recently published life of Ramon Monsaltvage, a converted Spanish monk (page 48).

"In 1835, the Liberal Government of Spain, at the head of which was Queen Christina, since the death of Ferdinand VII., in 1833, was unable any longer to withstand the insurgents, and ordered that all the monastic communities should be dispersed, and their convents destroyed, which was done in many places. The 6th of July was the day appointed for the formal suppression of our convent at Olot, where I was then studying. The *Justicia*, or civil officers, presented themselves, and, in the name of the Queen, declared the community to be dissolved, and delivered to each monk a passport to return to his native place. But before we had time to leave the convent, the leaders of the insurgents of Olot rushed in, and began their work of destruction. The crowd soon hastened to the chapel, and tore down the pictures and the altars, which had so long been the objects of blind adoration.

"There was there an image of the Virgin Mary, which had *the miraculous property of weeping*. Many a time have I seen it, with the big tears trickling down its cheeks, and I, as did all others, believed it to be unquestionably a miracle. When the insurgents penetrated into the chapel, as I have above stated, they tore

the image down from its niche, and discovered behind its head small tubes conducting from a basin in which water was poured; and thus the image wept."

§ 35.—Another glaring instance of popish knavery and imposture is in the recent invention and pretended wonders achieved by the *miraculous medal.* A book was published at Rome, in 1835, giving a minute account of these wonders, by the Abbé Le Guillon. According to the Abbé, the origin of the medal was as follows:—

"Toward the end of the year 1830, a well-born young female, a noviciate in one of those conservatories which are dedicated in Paris to the use of the poor and the sick, * * * * whilst in the midst of her fervor during her prayers, saw a picture representing the most Holy Virgin (as she is usually represented under the title of the Immaculate Conception), standing with open and extended arms: there issued from her hands rays of light like bundles, of a brightness which dazzled her: and amidst those bundles, or clusters of rays, she distinguished that some of the most remarkable fell upon a point of the globe which was under her eye. In an instant she heard a voice, which said, 'These rays are symbolical of the graces which Mary obtains for men, and this point of the globe on which they fall most copiously is France.' Around this picture she read the following invocation, written in letters of gold:—'O Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to you.' Some moments after, this painting turned round, and on the reverse she (the Estatica) distinguished the letter M, surmounted by a little cross, and below it the most sacred hearts of Mary and Jesus. After the young girl had well considered the whole, the voice said, 'A medal must be struck, and the persons who wear it, and who shall say with devotion the inscribed short prayer, shall enjoy the very special protection of the Mother of God.'"

Accordingly, by direction of the archbishop of Paris, the medal was struck, and a large supply was ready against the invasion of the cholera, and this wonder-working medal has since been introduced in immense numbers into all popish countries, and also into England and America, and sold at a most extravagant price to the multitudes of the ignorant and deluded papists.

The Boston Pilot, a Roman Catholic paper in Boston, has already had advertisements, offering these "*silver miraculous medals*" for sale. In the work of Abbé Le Guillon, two hundred and fifty pages are occupied with accounts of the cures effected by the medal, and various other wonders it had wrought, which very much resemble the testimonies of wonderful cures which we frequently see appended to the advertisement of some famous quack medicine. Were my intention to excite the risible faculties of my readers, I would transcribe some of these prodigies, but as my space will not permit of that, it will be sufficient to remark that they are worthy of the darkest ages of Romish imposture. We shall close our brief notice of this impudent piece of religious quackery, written by an officiating priest, and gravely sanctioned with the imprimatur of the episcopal censors at Rome, in an Italian translation, by an additional extract:—

"Finally," says the Abbé, "from all parts we hear the most consoling facts. Priests full of the spirit of the Lord tell us, that these medals are reviving religious feeling in cities as well as

country places. Vicars-General, who enjoy a well-merited consideration, as well for their piety, and even distinguished bishops, inform us that '*they have reposed every confidence in these medals, and they regard them as a means of Providence for awakening the faith which has slept so long in this our age.*'"

But the grossest and most notorious instance of recent priestly imposture, and one which is likely to be most pregnant in its consequences to the Romish church, is the exhibition, *within the past few months*, of the pretended coat of the Saviour at Treves, in Germany, by the popish Bishop of that city. An account of the immense sensation that has been created in Europe by the fearless remonstrance against this imposture, made by John Ronge, a second Luther, who has arisen to complete the deliverance of his country from the thraldom of Rome, will be reserved for the next, which is the concluding chapter of our history.

CHAPTER V.

RECENT EVENTS.—DISCONTENT IN ITALY.—PUSEYISM.—THE HOLY COAT, AND THE PRIEST RONGE.—JESUITS IN SWITZERLAND.—STATISTICS.—CONCLUSION.

§ 36.—THE position of the Romish church and government in Italy for some years past, has been striking and peculiar, and the hopes or the fears of its friends have been alternately excited by a succession of favorable or adverse events. Within the last half century, the power of the Pope has been alternately shaken and revived in several of the kingdoms of Europe. The Pope himself has been a captive in a foreign land, and restored again to his throne; yet ever since, feeling that throne shaking beneath him, at the aroused spirit of liberty which has been awakened in the breasts of the enlightened and the patriotic, among the men of Italy. The interposition of Austria has alone prevented, long ere this, the prostration of the throne of anti-Christ in Italy, the extinction of the Papal States from the monarchies of Europe, and the entire destruction of the political, if not of the spiritual power of the popes in the land where they so long reigned as Despots of the World, and hurled their thunders at the thrones of the mightiest of earth's monarchs and rulers.

In the year 1831, an insurrection broke out in the Papal States, under the lawyer *Vicini*, who established his head-quarters at Bologna. The Pope and the cardinals in their terror and weakness besought the aid of Austria, and an army of twelve thousand

men sent in compliance with their petition, defeated the revolutionists, and thus perpetuated for a few years longer the crumbling dominion of the Pope in Italy.

The spirit of liberty was checked by the bloody executions which followed, but not crushed. In spite of the Pope and his minions, the San-fedists (so called from *la santa fede*, the holy faith), that spirit has been kept alive by the societies of liberalists, whose object is the restoration of civil and religious liberty, called *Carbonari*, in various parts of the papal dominions.

Every effort is made by the Pope to suppress these combinations. Persons suspected of liberalism are subjected to the surveillance of the papal police, and these suspected persons are compelled regularly to transmit to the police *a certificate that they have confessed and communed*, after three days' retirement in a convent designated by the Bishop, *under penalty of three years'* hard labor! No wonder that the enlightened among the Italians groan under such a system of slavery, and long to be delivered from it.

The Pope understands full well that his tyrannical reign must end, so soon as the people become enlightened; and hence his jealousy of every attempt to diffuse religious knowledge, and above all, the translated Bible among the thousands who groan beneath his oppressive government. This, without doubt, was one chief cause of his alarm at the formation of the Christian Alliance, as exhibited in his bull of 1844, against that Society, from which copious citations have already been made. Who can mistake the feeling of alarm for the security of his throne, which prompted the following language from the same document:—

"Among the sectarians of whom we are speaking, deceived in their hopes, and in despair at the immense sums which the publication of their Bible costs them, without producing any fruit, some have been found who, giving another direction to their manœuvres, have betaken themselves to the corruption of minds, *not only in Italy, but even in our own capital.* Indeed, many precise advices and documents teach us that a vast number of members of sects in New York, in America, at one of their meetings, held on the 4th of June, last year, have formed a new association, which will take the name of the CHRISTIAN ALLIANCE, a league composed of individuals of every nation, and which is to be farther increased in numbers by other auxiliary societies, all having the same object, viz., to propagate among Italians, and especially Romans, '*the principles of Christian liberty*,' or, rather, AN INSANE INDIFFERENCE TO ALL RELIGION."

Again—"This is why, determined to afford all people '*liberty of conscience*' (or rather, it should be said, LIBERTY TO ERR), from which, according to their theory, must flow, as from an inexhaustible source, public prosperity and *political liberty*, they think they should before all things win over the inhabitants of Rome and Italy, in order to avail themselves after, of their example and aid in regard to other countries."

§ 37.—In England, and chiefly in connection with the University of Oxford, a movement has recently taken place which has afforded the Pope some cause of consolation, amidst the turbulent complaints of his rebellious subjects, and the diminution of his influence in Spain, France, Austria, Prussia, Germany and other parts of continental Europe.

This movement has generally obtained the designation of *Puseyism*, from the name of one of the leaders, Dr. Pusey, who, in connection with Rev. Mr. Newman and some others, commenced, about ten or twelve years ago, the publication, at Oxford, of a series of "Tracts for the Times," advocating the equality of tradition with the bible, lineal *tactual* apostolical succession, baptismal regeneration, the real material presence of Christ in the eucharist; the observance of saints' days, reverence of relics, use of crosses, on churches, &c., and nearly all the anti-Christian doctrines and superstitious mummeries of Popery, with the single exception of the supremacy of the pope of Rome. This insidious form of anti-Christian error, though opposed with a giant's strength by a Whately, and other faithful protestants, has wormed itself into the very frame-work of Episcopacy in Great Britain; and in America, notwithstanding the faithful expostulations of such men as Milnor, and M'Ilvaine, and Hopkins, and Tyng, has made considerable progress in that branch of the same church which exists in the United States. The Pope and his priesthood have looked calmly on, contemplating with satisfaction the efforts of the Puseyites to disseminate principles which inevitably lead towards Rome, and in following which principles, several have already thrown themselves at the feet of his *Holiness*, and taken refuge in Holy Mother Church.

What is to be the eventual result of this semi-papal movement, time alone can reveal. If the expectation of the Pope shall be realized, and all who embrace the *Tractarian* views shall, in consistency with their creed, go where they properly belong, into the bosom of the Romish church, the communion which they leave may indeed be diminished in numbers, but what is lost in numbers shall be more than gained in strength and efficiency; and the faithful men who shall be left standing at their post (for there are yet hundreds of such), shall again be left untrammelled to show themselves worthy of the name of PROTESTANTS, and to carry on the conflict with the Devil and with Rome, in the spirit of their fathers of the same church, a Latimer, a Chillingworth and a Jewel.

§ 38.—The advantage gained to Rome by the spread of Puseyism in England and America has been more than counterbalanced by a recent important movement in Germany, which threatens speedily to prostrate, perhaps to annihilate the remains of Popery, in the various German principalities, if not in other nations of continental Europe.

This second German reformation, like that of Luther, has been caused by the base imposture and insatiable cupidity of the priests of Rome. In the German reformation of the sixteenth century, the pious zeal of the monk of Wittemberg was aroused by the shameless traffic of John Tetzel in indulgences for sin; in that of the nineteenth, the equally shameless cupidity of Arnold, bishop of Treves, in exhibiting a piece of old cloth as the *holy coat* of the Saviour, endowed with miraculous powers, for the purpose of en-

Exhibition by popish priests of the pretended holy coat of our Saviour at Treves. Immense throng

riching the coffers of the church, has awakened the energies of John Ronge to protest against the impostures and abominations of Rome. I quote from the account furnished in an eloquent letter of Professor G. de Felice, dated Montauban, November 24th, 1844

"It would be difficult to imagine anything more scandalous, more disgusting, more contrary to the spirit of the gospel than the *popish farce* recently enacted at *Treves*, a city of Germany, belonging now to the kingdom of Prussia. The clergy of Treves pretend to have in their hands the *seamless coat* of Jesus Christ (John xix. 23, 24), and they made a formal exhibition of it, from the 8th of August last to the 6th of October, inviting all Romanists to come and see and touch this precious relic. Some journals say that *eleven hundred thousand* pilgrims responded to this call. The most moderate computation makes the number of visitors at least *five hundred thousand*.

"What a striking proof that the church of Rome shows ever the same spirit, the same conduct, the same contempt of the common sense of mankind, and the same inclination to deceive miserably the consciences of men! In the nineteenth century, in the heart of civilized Europe, by the side of the flourishing literary institutions of Germany, when a thousand periodical journals are daily relating all the news, are priests who dare, in the face of heaven and earth, to exhibit an old bit of cloth which they call our Saviour's coat! and they promise *a plenary indulgence* to all who will come to view it! and they assert that this relic will work miracles! and a million of men are found flocking from all parts to countenance this absurd sacrilege. Oh! let us not be so proud of what we call the *intelligence of our age*. Gross darkness still covers the people. There are still thousands, millions of unhappy men, who are the dupes of ambitious and greedy priests.

"If we were told that in the interior of Africa, the degraded natives prostrated themselves before a fetish, or that, on the banks of the Ganges, a blind multitude sought the pardon of their sins by worshipping idols, it would seem credible to us, because these poor creatures have never heard the name of Jesus Christ. But that in a church pretending to be *Christian*, and even more Christian than all others, such idolatries should occur; that they should be sanctioned by bishops, cardinals, the Pope himself, would seem incredible at first view; we should require most authentic evidence to admit the fact; and now we ask, How can reasonable and intelligent men still remain in a church which has sunk so low? Will not a sense of shame force them to disavow a clergy who speculate so impudently upon the stupidity of the mass of the people?

"Cicero said that two soothsayers of Rome could not meet without smiling. I presume it is so with the priests of Treves. No, they would not dare to affirm, with their hands upon their hearts, that they believe this bit of old cloth to be the real coat of Jesus Christ! Be this as it may, the invitation was made to all faithful Romanists, and on the 18th of August the bishop of Treves performed mass in his pontifical robes, and afterwards exhibited the seamless coat. All the parishes in the city made a pompous procession. The civil and military authorities, the students of college, the school children, the mechanics, tradesmen, all attended. In the evening the houses were illuminated. The soldiers were led by their officers before the relic, with their colors lowered. Three hundred prisoners asked leave to visit the holy garment, and they came with great gravity and compunction. During the whole exhibition, the cathedral was open from five o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock at night, and it was constantly filled with an immense crowd.

"Pilgrims came from all countries, chiefly from Germany and the eastern frontiers of France. They were for the most part peasants, who, with their vicar at their head, flocked to this pagan spectacle. The city of Treves presented during the exhibition a lively scene. In all the streets and public places, processions were continually passing. Ordinarily the pilgrims marched two and two, and chanted a monotonous litany. All the hotels were crowded. Extensive wooden barracks were erected at the gates of the city; and there, for a penny or two a

Procession in the Cathedral to touch the holy coat. Immense gain of money to the priests.

head, the pilgrims found a little straw to lie upon. At two o'clock in the morning the noise began again, and continued till a very advanced hour of the night. Play actors of all sorts established themselves at Treves; every day several theatres were opened to amuse the strangers. There were panoramas, dioramas, menageries, puppet shows, all the diversions which are found in France at fairs. Everywhere mirth and revelry abounded, wholly unlike the composed and pious feelings inspired by the performance of a religious duty.

"Let us now accompany the pilgrims to the cathedral. At the bottom of the nave, on an altar brilliantly lighted, is the relic in a golden box. Steps placed at each side lead to it. The pilgrims approach, mount the steps, and pass their hand through an oval aperture in the box, to *touch* the coat of the Lord. Two priests seated near the relic receive the chaplets, medals, hoods, and other articles of the faithful, and put them *in contact* with the marvellous coat, because mere contact is a means of blessing. Objects which have thus touched the relic are *consecrated, sanctified;* they then become *holy* chaplets, *holy* medals, &c.; and after this ceremony, the pilgrims go away rejoicing, thinking they have acquired the remission of all their sins. It is needless to say that this exhibition was distinguished by numerous *miracles.* Has not Rome miracles always at her service? Is not her whole history filled with striking prodigies?

"This exhibition of course brought *a great deal of money to the priests.* This is the true explanation of the riddle. It is estimated that the offerings of the faithful amounted to 500,000 francs ($100,000), in the space of six weeks, without reckoning the 80,000 medals of the Virgin which were sold, and the profits from the sale of chaplets and other objects of devotion. Even now, in all the towns of France, the priests employ persons, particularly *women,* to sell at an exorbitant price a thousand petty articles *which have touched the holy coat!* such as—ribbons, bits of cloth, cotton and silk, some of which are shaped like the coat; besides crucifixes and images, in wood or in glass. The clergy have monopolized all the old rags of the neighborhood of Treves and sell them for their weight in gold, and they find dupes weak enough to purchase these amulets! The product of this traffic, added to the offerings of the pilgrims, will be perhaps *from one to two millions of francs.*

"We mention, however, one honorable exception among the Romish clergy. A German priest, named *John Ronge,* has published a letter addressed to the bishop of Treves, which has produced much sensation. Fifty thousand copies of this letter were sold in a few days. All Germany exulted, as if she heard the voice of a new Luther! It is said that this bold and conscientious priest has been summoned before the ecclesiastical courts, and is to be deposed.

"I give you some extracts from this protest: 'What would have seemed till now,' says John Ronge, 'a fable, a fiction, bishop Arnold of Treves presenting to the adoration of the faithful, a garment called the coat of Christ; you have heard it, Christians of the nineteenth century; you know it, men of Germany; you know it, spiritual and temporal governors of the German people;—it is no longer fable or fiction, it is a real fact. . . . . Truly may we here apply the words: *Whoever can believe in such things without losing his reason, has no reason to lose.*'

"The author of the protest then points out the dangers to which pilgrims were exposed who visited this relic. 'This anti-Christian spectacle,' he says, 'is but a snare laid for superstition, formalism, fanaticism, to plunge men into vicious habits. Such is the only benefit which the exhibition of the holy coat, whether genuine or not, could produce. And the man who offers this garment, a human work, as an object of adoration; who perverts the religious feelings of the credulous, ignorant, and suffering multitudes; who thus opens a door to superstition and its train of vices; who takes the money and the bread of the poor, starving people; who makes the German nation a laughing-stock to all other nations. . . this man is a bishop, a German bishop: bishop *Arnold of Treves!*

"'Bishop Arnold of Treves! I turn to you and I conjure you, as a priest, as a teacher of the people, and in the name of her rulers;—I conjure you to put an end to this pagan exhibition of the holy coat, to take away this garment from public view, and not to let the evil become greater than it is already.

"'Do you not know—as a bishop you must know, that the founder of the Christian religion left to his disciples and his successors NOT HIS COAT, BUT HIS SPIRIT. His coat, bishop Arnold of Treves, was given to *his executioners!*

"'Do you not know,—as a bishop you ought to know, that Christ has said, *God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship him in spirit and in truth?* . .

"'Do you not know,—as a bishop you ought to know, that the Gospel forbids expressly the adoration of images and relics of every kind; that the Christians of the apostolic age and of the first three centuries, would never suffer an image or a relic in their churches; that it is a pagan superstition, and that the Fathers of the first three centuries reproached the pagans on this account?

"'Be not misled by the great concourse of visitors. Believe me, while hundreds of thousands of pilgrims go to Treves, millions of others groan in anger and bitterness over the indignity of such an exhibition. And this anger exists not in this or that class, this or that party only; it exists among all, and everywhere, even in the very bosom of the Catholic clergy, and the judgment will come sooner than you think. Already history takes her pen; she holds up your name, Arnold of Treves, to the contempt of the present age and posterity, and stigmatizes you as THE TETZEL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY!'"

In a subsequent letter addressed to the Romanists of Germany, and dated on the New Year of 1845, Ronge mentions a fact which sets this gross popish imposture in the most ludicrous point of light, and challenges his opponents to deny it—that pilgrims to this marvellous piece of old cloth, have been heard in numbers to use this prayer, "Holy coat! pray for us!" Think of that, Americans. Amidst the intelligence of the nineteenth century, "HOLY COAT! PRAY FOR US!"

§ 39.—As might be expected, the faithful and fearless man who could thus rebuke the avarice and imposture of a Romish bishop, was soon degraded from the priesthood and excommunicated. God designs, however, in this to make the wrath of man to praise him. Churches, independent of Rome, have already been established, consisting of the followers of this second Luther, at Breslau (of which Ronge is pastor), Berlin, Elberfeld, Magdeberg, Offenbach, Dresden, Leipsic, &c. The independent community at Breslau have published their confession of faith, from which, as will be seen from the following summary of the principal articles, all the distinctive doctrines of Popery are utterly excluded; and thus it appears that though styled the German Catholic Church of Breslau, the doctrines of the church are such as are held by the great body of protestants.

ARTICLE I. "The foundation of Christian faith must be *solely and exclusively the Holy Scriptures*, interpreted by sound reasoning.

II. "The church adopts the *creed of the Apostles* for its confession of faith.

IV. "The church avows the principle of *free inquiry*.

VI. "The church admits but two sacraments, *baptism and the holy supper*, because, from the testimony of Scripture, they are the only ones instituted by Jesus Christ.

X. "*Transubstantiation is rejected*, because it cannot be defended from the gospel.

XIII. "The *celibacy of the priests is rejected*, because it is not founded on the gospel, because it cannot be supported by reason, and is a mere popish contrivance to strengthen the Romish hierarchy.

XIV. "The church *rejects the supremacy of the Romish pope*.

XV. "It abolishes *auricular confession.*

XVI. "It employs in its worship only the *vernacular language.*

XVII. "It rejects all *invocation of saints,* all worship rendered to *relics* and to *images.*

XVIII. "It rejects alike *fasts, pilgrimages and indulgences.*

XXII. "The church claims its former privilege of *choosing its own pastors and guides.* It is represented by the pastor and elders."

Thus in the nineteenth century has God seen fit to overrule the priestly imposture, which could exhibit an old piece of rotten cloth to the gaping multitude as the genuine coat of the Saviour, in order to fleece the deluded people of their money (as he overruled, in the sixteenth century, the outrageous imposition of Tetzel in selling his pretended indulgences); for the purpose of raising up a new set of reformers to complete, in the native land of Luther, the glorious reformation from Popery, which was begun by the reformer of Wittemberg three centuries ago.

§ 40.—While these stirring events have been transpiring in Germany, the land of Luther; Switzerland, the land of Zwinglius, has been shaken to its very centre, by a movement of a different kind, but no less calculated to awaken the people to the anti-Christian character and insidious designs of Popery than was the exhibition of the pretended holy coat of our Saviour by the bishop of Treves. I refer to the recent violent efforts of the Jesuits to regain their lost power, and to obtain the exclusive control of education in several of the cantons of Switzerland, which constitute so instructive a chapter in the history of Popery in the nineteenth century.

These iniquitous proceedings of the Jesuits in that beautiful but now distracted country, which have resulted in bringing upon it all the horrors of a civil war, commenced in the year 1843. Toward the close of that year, the people of the *Upper Valais,* constituting the illiterate mountaineers in complete subjection to the popish clergy, suddenly attacked the citizens of the *Lower Valais,* who are more intelligent, and many of whom are pious protestants, chiefly such as have come from the canton of Vaud to pursue their peaceful occupations.

This attack was successful. The priests triumphed, and at once took advantage of their victory. Many honorable citizens were thrown into prison, and others forced to leave their country. Special courts were instituted to try summarily those whom they called *rebels,* and the most iniquitous sentences were passed upon men who had committed no other fault than that of resisting the usurpations of the clergy. A reign of *terror* existed in the whole canton, and the Jesuits hastened to establish a *new political constitution,* while the general panic prevented good citizens from lifting their voice in opposition. It is needless to add, that this constitution was cunningly contrived to give the preponderance to the priests and their friends.

The Jesuits even proceeded so far, in imitation of the ancient intolerance of Popery, as to cause the passage of a law in the can-

ton of Valais, forbidding to the protestants the right to assemble for the worship of God. "A few members of the council of state," according to an able and accurate writer, "proposed with some feeling of shame left, to forbid only *public* worship by protestants, but to allow them to celebrate *social* or *family* worship. Even this was a violation of the rights of religious worship; it was gross intolerance; but the priests, the Jesuits, and their adherents, judged that the provisions of the bill did not reach far enough. So they demanded that *social worship itself* should be forbidden to protestants; and, in consequence, the majority of the representative council being the mere tools of the clergy, sanctioned this exorbitant and iniquitous law. Thus, in the canton of Valais,—do not forget it, American citizens! do not forget it, Christians of all denominations!—protestants have no right to celebrate even *social* worship; they have no right to read the Bible with a pastor and their brethren in their own houses. Here we have the acts of Jesuits and the true spirit of Popery."*

§ 41.—In the canton of Lucerne, the Jesuits soon after obtained the passage of a law by which all the colleges, schools, and other institutions of learning were to be solely directed by them. This was accomplished through the address of the cunning disciples of Loyala, in intriguing with the poor and ignorant peasantry in the remote parts of the canton. The intelligent and educated inhabitants of Lucerne, the capital, and other cities, were very generally opposed to the influence of the Jesuits, and used their utmost efforts to defeat the law. After passing the legislative body, the laws of the canton required an enactment of this description before it could go into operation, to be ratified by a numerical majority of the citizens. The city of Lucerne rejected the law consigning the education of their children to the absolute control of the Jesuits, by a majority of more than three to one. Yet, notwithstanding this, the influence of the Jesuits was such in the country places, that they obtained a majority of the citizens of the entire canton, and thus the iniquitous enactment became a law, and the Jesuits were constituted the only legal professors and teachers of the canton. The result of these proceedings was that thousands of the people arose in their might, and demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland. In the civil war which ensued, the Jesuit party were victorious. Many of the insurgents (as they were called) who had arisen in defence of their right to appoint their own instructors for their children were slain; many respectable citizens of Lucerne were imprisoned; the freedom of the press was destroyed; the printing offices of two liberal journals at Lucerne were closed at the instance of the Jesuits, and the editors forbidden hereafter to publish their papers.

* See an article on "the late popish movement in Switzerland" in the Protestant Quarterly Review for April, 1845, chiefly taken from the valuable correspondence of the Rev. Professor Gustavus de Felice, D.D., of France, the able European correspondent of the New York Observer.

It remains yet to be seen what will be the result of this contest, and whether in any of the Western States of our own America the efforts of the Jesuits (as active there as in Switzerland, though in a more secret manner) shall be attended with similar results.

§ 42.—It is the general opinion of enlightened and observing protestants that the influence of Romanism among the nations of continental Europe is gradually but surely diminishing, that the throne of the triple-crowned tyrant in Italy is tottering to its fall, and that the long reign of papal despotism, which has kept one of the most beautiful countries of the world at least two centuries behind the age in the march of civilisation and improvement, is rapidly drawing to a close. It is shrewdly suspected that even the Pope and the cardinals are themselves aware of this fact, and while they feel the pillars of their Italian empire shaking around them, are anxiously looking abroad for a site to re-erect their throne in some other country, perhaps *in another hemisphere*, when they shall be compelled to fly from the ruins of that which they have so long occupied.

Hence, it is easy to comprehend the motives for the herculean efforts recently put forth by the emissaries of Rome, and the vast sums of money that are sent from Europe, and poured forth like water in disseminating the doctrines of Popery and extending the dominions of the Pope, especially in the United States of America. As our limits will not permit extended comments upon the efforts of Romish missionaries in America, we must content ourselves with a few statistical facts. Besides the *Propaganda* at Rome, devoted to popish missions in all lands, there are two societies in Europe whose principal object is to reduce America to submission to the Pope, viz., the *Leopold Foundation* in Austria, and the *Society of St. Charles Borromeo*, in Lyons. The society at Lyons alone transmitted to the United States in 1840, $163,000, and in 1842, $177,000. The following is an extract from the annals of these societies of the appropriation of a portion of their funds to different missionary stations in America. The sums are stated in francs, about five to a dollar.

Paid to Lazarists, for missions to Missouri and Illinois, the seminary and the college of St. Marie des Barriens,	7,000 fr.
Outfit of missionaries who left in 1839 to join those missions,	9,333,30
To the *Jesuits*, for missions in Missouri and New Orleans,	15,000
To the *Jesuits* in Kentucky,	6,000
To my lord Eccleston, Archbishop of Baltimore,	7,327
To my lord Sarus, Bishop of Dubuque,	52,627
To my lord Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati,	38,327
To my lord Kenrick, Bishop of Philadelphia,	20,327
To my lord Fenwick, Bishop of Boston,	20,327
To my lord Hughes, acting Bishop of New York,	831,50
To my lord Miles, Bishop of Nashville,	26,807
To my lord Fluget, Bishop of Bardstown,	21,409
To my lord Hailandiere, Bishop of Vincennes,	65,827
To my lord Rasati, Bishop of St. Louis,	20,327
To my lord Blane, acting Bishop of Natchez,	10.827
To my lord England, Bishop of Charleston,	13,827
Outfit of missionaries to Detroit,	4,000
	341.823.80

Statistics of Popery in the United States.

§ 43.—Fifty years ago there was but one bishop, twenty-five priests, and a few scattered Romish churches in the United States; now there are twenty-one bishops, more than seven hundred priests, and over a million of papists. The following table is taken from the Metropolitan Catholic Almanack and Laity's Directory for 1845, and is a general summary of the Romish Church in the United States.

Dioceses.	Churches.	Other stations.	Clergymen on missions.	Clergymen otherwise employed.	Ecclesiastical Institutions.	Clerical students.	Lit'y Institutions for young men.	Female Religious Institutions.	Female Academies.	Charitable Institutions.	Population.
BALTIMORE, - - -	59	32	43	37	5	56	4	5	5	27	90,000
NEW ORLEANS, -	46	26	40	11	1	10	1	3	4	6	160,000
LOUISVILLE, - -	40	85	31	24	3	9	3	4	11	4	40,000
BOSTON, - - - -	32	15	34	3	—	—	1	—	1	1	65,000
PHILADELPHIA, -	61	6	49	3	1	30	4	1	6	4	
NEW YORK, - -	110	75	96	7	1	20	1	1	3	15	200,000
CHARLESTON, - - -	20	50	19	2	1	4	1	2	2	6	10,000
RICHMOND, - - -	10	15	10	1	1	10	1	—	1	2	
CINCINNATI, - - -	70	50	57	10	2	19	1	2	2	5	65,000
ST. LOUIS, - - -	33	25	31	29	3	25	1	4	8	6	
MOBILE, - - - -	12	30	10	2	1	7	1	1	4	7	11,000
DETROIT, - - -	12	31	15	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	40,000
VINCENNES, - - -	40	30	33	6	1	19	2	1	5	5	25,000
DUBUQUE, - - -	13	9	12	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	5,800
NASHVILLE, - -	3	33	8	—	1	3	1	—	1	1	
NATCHEZ, - - -	5	16	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
PITTSBURG, - - -	41	—	24	—	—	8	1	1	2	4	30,000
LITTLE ROCK, - -	2	6	2	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	
CHICAGO, - - - -	38	58	20	2	1	—	1	—	—	1	50,000
HARTFORD, - - -	10	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
MILWAUKIE, - -	18	—	9	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	20,000
AP. VIC. OR. T. -			16		—	—		1	2		
Dioc. 21, V. Ap. 1	675	592	572	137	22	220	26	28	63	94	811,800

To the above table is appended the remark that the aggregate population of the dioceses not marked, is probably about 260,000, making a total of 1,071,800 as the entire Romish population at present in the United States. To show the probable increase of Romanism in future years, which, by the way, is chiefly by immigration from popish countries in Europe, the following comparative statistics of their increase in the past ten years are given from the same source.

Dioceses,	in 1835, 13;	in 1840, 16;	in 1845, 21
Bishops,	" 14;	" 17;	" 26
Churches,	" 272;	" 454;	" 675
Priests,	" 327;	" 482;	" 709
Eccles. Seminaries.	" 12;	" 16;	" 22
Colleges,	" 9;	" 11;	" 15

Designs of the Pope and his adherents in America. Plain avowal of a popish editor (*note*).

During the same ten years the total number of Roman Catholics in the United States, like the number of churches, has more than doubled, and with the addition of at least 100,000 popish immigrants every year, there can be no doubt that it will double again in less than the same time. The ratio of increase of the whole population of the United States, is about 34 per cent. for ten years.

§ 44.—There can be no doubt that the Pope and his adherents have formed the deliberate design of obtaining the ascendency in the United States. Popish priests and editors make no secret of this design, and expect its realization at no distant day.* The rapidity with which they are carrying forward their operations in the Western States may be gathered from the statistics of a single city. At the last census, St. Louis contained about 36,000 inhabitants, of whom probably 15,000 are papists, though the priests claim one half the population. From the St. Louis Directory, recently published, we gather the following particulars, furnished by the priests themselves.

They have, including the cathedral and the chapel of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is attached to the Convent, now built and building, *seven* churches, five of which are of the largest size and

* The following language of Orestes A. Brownson, who is just now a flaming Roman Catholic, in the number of his Quarterly Review for April, 1845, would be of very little consequence from the chamelion character of the writer or editor, who, it has justly been remarked, "is everything by turns, and nothing long together," were it not believed that the paragraphs relative to the designs of Popery in America are published "under authority."

"'But would you have this country come under the authority of the Pope?' Why not? 'But the Pope would take away our free institutions!' Nonsense. But how do you know that? From what do you infer it? After all do you not commit a slight blunder? Are your free institutions infallible? Are they founded on divine right? This you deny. Is not the proper question for you to discuss, then, not whether the Papacy *be or be not compatible with republican government*, but, whether it be or be not founded in *divine right?* If the Papacy be founded in divine right, it is supreme over whatever is founded only in human right, and then your institutions should be made to harmonize with it, not it with your institutions. . . . The real question, then, is, not the compatibility or incompatibility of the Catholic Church with Democratic institutions, but, is the Catholic Church the Church of God? Settle this question first. But, in point of fact, Democracy is a mischievous dream, wherever the Catholic Church does not predominate, to inspire the people with reverence, and to teach and accustom them to *obedience to authority*. The first lesson for all to learn, the last that should be forgotten, is, *to obey*. You can have no government where there is no obedience; and obedience to law, as it is called, will not long be enforced, where the fallibility of law is clearly seen and freely admitted. . . . But 'it is the intention of the Pope to possess this country.' Undoubtedly. 'In this intention he is aided by the Jesuits, and all the Catholic prelates and priests.' Undoubtedly, if they are faithful to their religion."

After the above plain avowal and additional remarks in a similar strain, Mr. B. comes to the following conclusion:—"That the policy of the Church is dreaded and opposed, and must be dreaded and opposed, by all protestants, infidels, demagogues, tyrants, and oppressors, is also unquestionably true. Save, then, in the discharge of our civil duties, and in the ordinary business of life, there IS, AND CAN BE, NO HARMONY BETWEEN CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS."

the most durable construction. They have a University containing one hundred and fifty students, under charge of the Jesuits; an extensive hospital, and a Convent in charge of the Sisters of Charity. They have two large orphan asylums, also under the charge of the Sisters of Charity; four free schools, two of them with five teachers each, one containing two hundred and fifty, and the other three hundred and fifty pupils, besides two female academies, under the care of the Ladies of the Visitation.

§ 45.—Extraordinary efforts have also recently been made for the propagation of Popery in Great Britain. The following statistics of the Romish church in that kingdom are taken from the Catholic Directory for 1845:—

The total number of Roman Catholic chapels in England is 501, in Wales 8, in Scotland 73 besides 27 stations where divine service is performed, making a grand total for Great Britain of 582. Of the chapels in England, there are in Lancashire 98, in Yorkshire 58, Staffordshire 32, Middlesex 25, Northumberland 22, Warwickshire 22, Durham 17, Leicestershire 15, Cheshire 14, Hampshire, Somersetshire, and Worcestershire 13 each, Kent and Lincolnshire 12 each, and Cumberland, Derby, and Shropshire 9 each. Of the chapels in Scotland, there are in Invernesshire 17, in Banffshire and in Aberdeenshire 10. In England there are 10 Catholic colleges, in Scotland 1. In England there are 31 convents and 3 monasteries. The number of missionary priests in England is 666, in Scotland 91, making a grand total of 757.

An intense excitement has, within the present year, been produced in England by a Parliamentary grant—produced chiefly through the agency of Sir Robert Peel—of a large endowment to Maynooth Roman Catholic college in Ireland, near Dublin, where about 450 students are preparing for the Romish priesthood.

§ 46.—The total number of the Roman Catholic population throughout the world at the present time is variously estimated from one to two hundred millions. The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1844, gave the number of "the faithful," 160,842,424, though it is to be remembered the entire population of many papal countries are included, whatever may be their religious views; and it is well known that multitudes in Italy and elsewhere enumerated in the census of "the faithful." are infidels. The entire number of popish priests cannot be less than 500,000, probably more. Among these, according to the Catholic Almanac, are one Pope, 147 archbishops, 584 bishops, 71 vicars apostolical, 9 prefects, 3 apostolicals, and 3,267 missionary priests.

If such are the strength and numbers of the Romish church at the present time, it may be asked, why we have entitled this closing portion of our history "Popery in its Dotage." To this we reply, that its apparent increase in some countries is more than counterbalanced by its rapid decrease in others, as well in number as in influence and in power. The one hundred thousand annually swelling, by immigration, the Romish ranks in America, are only a transfer of so many from the old and priest-ridden countries of Europe; and if it is true that the foundations of the throne of the papal anti-

Christ are being laid, broad and deep, on these western shores, still it is cause of joy and gratitude to the friends of truth, that in Europe that throne is tottering to its fall. The blows which Popery has received within a year past, in continental Europe, from the sturdy arms of John Ronge and his noble coadjutors in Germany, more than outweigh, in the estimate of its aggregate strength, its apparent and boasted successes in the western world; and while it behoves America to be watchful against the advances of that dangerous and insidious power which is aiming to control her destinies, still it is consoling to reflect that the strength and influence of the papal anti-Christ is, *upon the whole, gradually yet certainly diminishing;* and that it has been growing weaker and weaker, with each succeeding century, from the time when a Gregory, an Innocent, or a Boniface, by the force of their spiritual thunders, hurled monarchs from their thrones, or an Alexander VI., by a single dash of his pen, granted to the Catholic king of Spain the whole continent of America, North and South, and all beyond "a line drawn a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and extending from the South to the North Pole."*

Most heartily, then, do we again join in the eloquent words of Hallam:—"A calm, comprehensive study of ecclesiastical history, not in such scraps and fragments as the ordinary partisans of our ephemeral literature obtrude upon us, is perhaps the best antidote to extravagant apprehensions. THOSE WHO KNOW WHAT ROME HAS ONCE BEEN, ARE BEST ABLE TO APPRECIATE WHAT SHE IS; THOSE WHO HAVE SEEN THE THUNDERBOLT IN THE HANDS OF THE GREGORIES AND THE INNOCENTS, WILL HARDLY BE INTIMIDATED AT THE SALLIES OF DECREPITUDE, THE IMPOTENT DART OF PRIAM AMID THE CRACKLING RUINS OF TROY!"†

Yes! in spite of its spasmodic efforts for enlargement, Popery is in its dotage! It is not, and never again can be, what it once was; and compared with the Popery of the middle ages, notwithstanding its boasted and frequently exaggerated numbers, it is a *Pigmy* compared with a GIANT. Popery is in its dotage! and therefore all its struggles to regain its former power shall prove only like the convulsive throes of a dying man; for, sure as the unerring word of prophecy, anti-Christ is destined to fall, and the signs of the times indicate that the day cannot be very far distant, when the shout of joy and exultation shall be heard—"BABYLON THE GREAT IS FALLEN, IS FALLEN!"

Let the Protestants of the present age only be vigilant, active, persevering and prayerful! let them sleep not while the enemy is sowing his tares, and some of their children may yet live to see the day when the Romish Babylon shall be destroyed, and to join in the shout of triumph which shall burst from a disenthralled and regenerated world over its final downfall and destruction!

* See Irving's Life and Voyages of Columbus, book v., chap. 8, *et supra*, 428.
† Hallam's Middle Ages, page 304, *et supra*, 355.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

§ 47.—Thus have we, at length, arrived at the close of our long journey of sixteen or seventeen centuries, from the dawn of papal corruptions down to the present time. The result of our examination is the solemn conviction—strengthened the more attentively we study the subject—that the Romish, so far from being the true church, is the bitterest foe of all true churches of Christ—that she possesses no claim to be called a Christian church—but, with the long line of corrupt and wicked men who have worn her triple crown, that she is ANTI-CHRIST;—the original of that apostate power whose character was sketched eighteen hundred years ago by the pen of inspiration, "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all deceivableness of unrighteousness," and "whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming." (2 Thess. ii., 8–10.)

If this is so, if Popery is not Christianity, but a system of corruption, error, and falsehood, that has usurped that venerable name, then it is evident that Christianity is not chargeable with the atrocious vices and horrible cruelties of which her corrupt and wicked hierarchy have been guilty through so many centuries of persecution, of shame, of pollution and guilt, and the history of which has been given in the preceding pages.

Let not the infidel, therefore, after perusing the detail of the enormities of anti-Christian Rome, close the book with a scowl of contempt at the New Testament, and say—"this then is your Christianity." No! Popery is not Christianity; it is not the religion of the New Testament; it is as far from it as light from darkness, as heaven from hell, as Christ from anti-Christ. And it would be just as rational to brand Christianity with the cruelties and enormities of the idol temples of Juggernaut or of Kalee, or with the atrocities of the infidel actors in the French revolution, as to lay at the door of the religion of HIM who was meek and lowly in heart, and who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them—the crimes, the murders, the burnings, the massacres, the obscenities, the impostures, the lying wonders—which have marked the career of apostate Rome, at every stage of her polluted and blood-stained history.

If Popery were a just exhibition of Christianity, it would be a religion unworthy of a Being of infinite holiness, purity, and benevolence, and were it not that prophecy has foretold its history and described its character, the existence of such a system for so many centuries under the name of Christianity, would be the strongest prop of Infidelity. This difficulty, however, immediately vanishes, and Popery is transformed into an eloquent argument for the truth of the bible when we remember that its whole history and character are fully delineated in the prophetical scriptures; that

it is that great anti-Christian power, described by Daniel, in his seventh chapter (verse 25), under the emblem of a little horn, as "wearing out the saints of the Most High;" by John in the Revelations, as a beast "making war with saints," and "opening his mouth in blasphemy against God" (xiii., 5, 6, 7), and as "Babylon the great, mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth," "a woman drunken with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus" (xvii., 5, 6), and by Paul in his first epistle to Timothy as "a departure from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils (iv., 1), and in his second epistle to Thessalonians as "a falling away," or *apostasy*, as the revelation of that "Man of Sin," that "Son of perdition who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or is worshipped" (ii., 3, 4). In these prophetic scriptures, the character of the papal anti-Christ is drawn, with an unerring precision, which is sufficient alone to prove that these holy men, Daniel, Paul and John, "spake as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost."

This identity of papal Rome with anti-Christ was maintained by Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and all the continental reformers; by Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, and all the British reformers: by the illustrious Sir Isaac Newton, Mede, Whiston, Bishop Newton, Lowth, Daubuz, Jurieu, Vitringa, Bedell, and a host of equally pious, illustrious and learned names. The same testimony has been borne in the authorized doctrinal standards of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, and other churches both of Europe and America. The same doctrine is still taught in the theological school of Geneva by the illustrious D'Aubigné and Gaussen, and with but here and there a solitary exception, by all the most learned professors and clergymen of the present day, connected with the various evangelical denominations of protestant Christians.

§ 48.—Here the inquiry naturally presents itself, 'if the Romish is not a true church of Christ, but only an apostate anti-Christian power, is it possible for any one to be saved who dies in her communion?' To this we reply, that the salvation of a man depends not upon what visible Church, whether true or false, he is connected with, but upon the question, whether he has been "born again" (John iii., 3), whether he has truly repented of his sins before God (Luke xiii., 3), and believed on the Lord Jesus Christ (Acts xvi., 31; John iii., 16, 36). If any man be thus reconciled to God through faith in Christ, he is a "new creature; old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" (2 Cor. v., 17); and he who is thus called and justified shall most assuredly be glorified (Rom. viii., 30), whatever visible church he belong to, or if he belong to none at all. It is not the connection with any particular church that saves a man (though it is the duty of every converted man to become a member of a church of Christ), but it is his union to the Lord Jesus Christ by a sanctifying and saving faith; and if this is wanting, then all the confessions, and absolutions, and indulgences and extreme unctions of a priest can confer no benefit; but if he possesses this sav-

Some of God's believing people probably *in* Babylon. All exhorted to come *out* of her.

ing faith in Christ, then while these popish practices can do him not a particle of good, they shall not avail to shut him out of heaven. The great danger of these popish observances is, that they have led thousands and tens of thousands to trust not in the atonement and righteousness of Christ, but in *them* for salvation, while the absolute necessity of the new birth, and the new heart and the new life ("hid with Christ in God") has been kept out of sight, till it was too late; and thus are the skirts of the Romish priesthood covered all over with the blood of the thousands and tens of thousands whom they have led blindfolded to hell.

Still it is a thought calculated to relieve in some degree the painful feelings produced by this bitter reflection, to remember that a Fenelon, a Kempis, a Pascal, a Bourdaloue, and perhaps thousands more who once held an external connection with the church of Rome, have, in spite of such connection, and the hindrance it offers to that personal application to and reliance on Christ, without which none can be saved, become penitent believers in Jesus, and are now in glory. O it is pleasing to hope that many a poor monk, like Luther in his monastery at Erfurth, may have found out, within the walls of his solitary cell, that "the just shall live by faith," and that salvation is to be obtained, not by pilgrimages. and penances, and indulgences and extreme unction, but through faith in the blood and righteousness of Christ; and thus discovered the way to heaven, though he may never have renounced his external connection with Rome.

That there may be some, even in the Romish Babylon, who are the "children of God by faith in Jesus Christ" (Gal. iii., 26), seems to be intimated by the warning cry, "Come out of her, *my people!*" If there were none of God's people *in* Babylon, they could hardly be called upon to come *out* of her. To such, therefore, in the communion of Rome, who, though (like Luther in the sixteenth, and Ronge in the nineteenth century,) nominally connected with the Romish Babylon, have discovered her errors and mourned over her corruptions, I would say, Come out of her! like Luther and the thousands of holy men who have trodden in his footsteps. Come out of her!—if you would not be instrumental, by your influence and example, in leading souls from Christ to trust for salvation in the foolish mummeries of Popery which your souls despise—Come out of her! finally, if you would escape the calamities which prophecy declares are yet to fall upon her, hear the voice from heaven (Rev. xviii., 4, 5), which says—COME OUT OF HER, MY PEOPLE! THAT YE BE NOT PARTAKERS OF HER SINS, AND THAT YE RECEIVE NOT OF HER PLAGUES; FOR HER SINS HAVE REACHED UNTO HEAVEN, AND GOD HATH REMEMBERED HER INIQUITIES!

THE END OF THE ORIGINAL EDITION.

SUPPLEMENT

TO DOWLING'S

HISTORY OF ROMANISM,

BY THE AUTHOR.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF THAT WORK FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE PIUS IX. TO THE PRESENT TIME.

A. D. 1846—1852.

THE continued demand for the present work, notwithstanding the sale of some twenty thousand copies, in connection with the recent occurrence of very remarkable events in the history of Rome and the Papacy, has suggested the importance of appending to the present new and enlarged edition a continuation of the history from the time of its first publication, A. D. 1846, to the present year, 1852.

§ 1. *State of the Country under Pope Gregory XVI.*—The discontented and disturbed condition of the Roman states under the imbecile but tyrannical old pontiff Gregory XVI., has already been alluded to.* Aided by his associate and adviser in oppression, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, he had long attempted, by a series of confiscations, banishments, and executions, to quell the rising spirit of liberty, and hundreds of the noblest spirits of Italy had been crushed beneath the iron heel of his priestly despotism.

The government beneath which the people had groaned for ages, was a government of priests. The supreme council of Rome consisted exclusively of priests. The governors of provincials were cardinals and bishops; and all the political and financial affairs of the Roman states were regulated by the priests. Their single object was the maintenance of their own priestly authority. Their spirit was a narrow, bigoted despotism, and the country they governed, though rich in the bounties of nature, was the poorest and the most miserable in Europe.

* Supra—pages 633, 634.

Yet, though thousands of her patriots had been either murdered or exiled, Italy still groaned for deliverance from her ghostly oppressors, and like the smouldering fires of Vesuvius previous to eruption, the fires of liberty were just ready to burst forth from their pent-up caverns, when the welcome news of the death of Gregory XVI. spread universal joy throughout the states of the church.

§ 2. *Reforms demanded by the Italian People.*—The following passages, translated from the conclusion of a "Manifesto of the People of the Roman States to the Princes and People of Europe," issued a short time previous to the death of the old Pope, and secretly circulated, afford abundant evidence of the existence of this spirit among the people, and point out the reforms that were most imperatively demanded:—

"We venerate the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the whole clergy. We entertain the hope that it will recognise the noble essence of civilization embraced in Catholicism. Therefore, in order that our views may not be misinterpreted by Italy and Europe, we proclaim aloud our respect for the sovereignty of the pontiff as the chief of the Universal Church, without restriction or condition. As respects the obedience due to him as a temporal sovereign, behold the principles which we propose to him for a basis, and the demands which we make:—

"1. That he shall accord *an amnesty* to all political offenders accused since 1821;

"2. That he shall accord *a civil and criminal code*, modeled on those of other parts of Europe, establishing the publicity of debates, *trial by jury*, and the abolishment of confiscation, and of the punishment of death for the crime of treason;

"3. That *the inquisition* and other ecclesiastical tribunals shall be divested of all jurisdiction over the laity;

"4. That the *political trials* shall be conducted before the ordinary tribunals, with the ordinary forms;

"5. That *municipal councils* shall be freely chosen by the people, and their choice approved by the sovereign; that these councils shall nominate provincial councils, and that the supreme councils of state be named by the sovereign from lists presented by the provincial councils;

"6. That *the supreme council of state*, sitting at Rome, *shall have the control of the finances* and the public debt, that it shall have a determining voice in reference to the receipts and expenses of the state, and be consulted in reference to all matters of public interest;

"7. That all *employments and dignities*, civil and military, be conferred *on the laity;*

"8. That the *public instruction* shall cease to be subjected to bishops and clergy, religious education being reserved exclusively to them;

"9. That *the censorship of the press be restricted* to the prevention

of injury to the divinity, the Catholic religion, to the sovereign, and to the domestic life of the citizen;

"10. That *forcign troops* be disbanded.

"11. That there be instituted an *Urban guard*, charged with the maintenance of public order and of the observance of the laws;

"12. Finally, that the government enter upon the path of *all the social ameliorations demanded by the spirit of the age*, and practised by the other governments of Europe."

§ 3. *Character of Pope Gregory, and his favorite, the beautiful Cajetanina.*—Before proceeding to describe the election of Gregory's successor, by whom we shall see that several of the above reforms have been granted, we shall pause, for the purpose of giving a brief sketch of the history and character of Gregory XVI.

"Mauri Capellari was born at Belluno in 1765, and placed by his parents, respectable citizens, in a Benedictine convent of Camaldules. In 1826 he was named Cardinal by Pope Leo XII., and placed at the head of the Propaganda, or missionary school at Rome; and on the 2d of February, 1831, crowned Pope, under the name of Gregory XVI.

"As a man, if not greatly calumniated, he was passionate, not much restrained by his vows of chastity, and habitually addicted to the intemperate use of intoxicating drinks. This last failing enabled the French government to obtain great favors at Rome, by semi-annual presents of champagne; and has been well hit off by a pasquinade. It represents the deceased Pope knocking for admittance at the gates of Paradise. 'Who wishes to enter?' asks St. Peter. 'Gregory, your successor at Rome.'—'But,' replies St. Peter, 'Gregory the Great died, and came here a long time ago. Who are you that have taken his name?'—'Why, they call me, in Rome, Gregory *Bevone*' (*the tippler*). 'Oh! I have heard of you; come in.'*

* The Roman people have a great partiality for these pasquinades and caricatures, and frequently exercise their wit upon a dead Pope, however obsequious to the living one. An amusing caricature and dialogue were got up in Rome, after the death of Gregory—representing St. Peter and Gregory going to Paradise. The journey being hard and tedious for an aged man like the Pope, he complained to St. Peter thus: "How is it, St. Peter, that our journey is so long? I did not know that Paradise was so far from the Vatican." St. Peter replied, "If you had allowed the construction of railways and steamers in your state, we should have arrived there long ago. But now you must stop for a while in Purgatory."

After having remained some time in Purgatory, where he met his friend O'Connell—so the story goes—Gregory set out with St. Peter again on his eternal journey. Coming in sight of Paradise, the Pope asked St. Peter why the angels and his last predecessors in the Papal chair, did not come out to meet him.

"Dear Gregory," replied St. Peter, "as for the Popes, there are few of them in heaven, and the news of your death has not yet reached there: as it would have done, if you had established telegraphs, and granted the freedom of the press."

When the Saint and the Pope arrived at the gates of Paradise, St. Peter asked Gregory for his key, which after some time he found, and handed it to

"When he was crowned, he distributed copper coins to the populace, saying, 'Aurum et argentum non est mihi, quod autem habeo tibi do.'—'Silver and gold I have none, but such as I have, give I unto you.' Yet he has left money and personal property, valued at $2,000,000 to his *nephews and nieces;* for, of course, he had no direct heirs.

"As monarch of the Papal States, his partisans endeavor to excuse his many faults by saying that owing to his modesty he was overruled by the cardinals; but history will charge him with gross misgovernment and bigoted cruelty. No sooner was he seated on the throne than the occupation of Ancona, by the French, extorted from him a promise of reform and progress. How has he fulfilled it? The answer will be found in his invitation to Austrian bayonets, under Jesuitical influence, to enforce his despotic laws—in the taxes which have oppressed his subjects—in his encyclical letter, which destroyed the liberty of the press—in the maintenance of the Inquisition—and in the pertinacity with which, obstinate in wrong, he has clung to the antiquated prejudices which clog the advancement of society. In no other civilized nation are the people so ignorant—no other civilized nation is without a mile of railroad."*

The allusion of the writer just quoted to Gregory's reputed want of chastity, refers, doubtless, to the fact, so notorious in Rome, of his concubinage with the beautiful wife of Count Cajetanino, formerly the *barber* and intimate associate of Capellari, when a monk; afterward CAMARIERO SECRETO, and chief favorite (always excepting his wife) to the same Capellari, when Pope Gregory XVI. "Other writers," says M. Cormenin, "will unveil, at the proper time, the mysteries of the private life of the Pope, the origin of the astonishing fortunes of Cajetanino, the barber of Cardinal Capellari; they will explain the excessive tenderness of the holy father for the beautiful Cajetanina, and her seven children; they will tell the causes which have given to her an apartment in the Quirinal palace, on the same story with that of the Pope. We will content ourselves with stating that at Rome strange rumors are circulated on this subject, and that Gregory XVI. is openly designated as the father of the children of Cajetanina."†

§ 4. *Curious History of the Pope's Barber, the husband of Cajetanina.*—The following circumstantial and somewhat amusing account of the rise of this fortunate barber, is related upon the authority of the Rev. Dr. De Felice, of Montaubon, the able and accurate foreign correspondent of the New York Observer:—

"While yet a simple monk, father Capellari frequented the shop

him, but it proved to be the key of his wine-cellar. St. Peter was admitted within the gates, but Gregory was lost among the fog.

* Correspondent of the Boston Atlas, dated Rome, June 5, 1846.

† De Cormenin's Lives of the Popes, translated from the French; vol. ii., page 431.

of a barber named *Cajetanino Moroni*, who was known as a facetious fellow, full of wit and joviality. A sort of intimacy was formed between the monk and the merry barber. They passed sometimes hours together in the most friendly conversation, and Cajetanino said, laughing, to father Capellari: '*When you shall be Pope, I will still be your barber.*' How little did he think that this jest would become one day earnest!

"In his youth and riper years, the monk Capellari was fond of study. He wrote some books in defence of the Catholic faith. His labors drew the attention of his superiors, and, in 1807, he was appointed, by Pope Pius VII. member of *the Academy of the Catholic religion.* In this new office, he devoted himself more ardently than ever to theological pursuits. He became successively *censor* of the Academy, *professor* of theology, *vice-president*, and finally *prior* of the Camaldules in Rome. As might be supposed, the high honors conferred on Capellari would not allow him any longer to frequent the humble barber's shop, and take his turn to sit in the chair with his own clients; but the intimacy between them was not diminished. Cajetanino went on set days to the convent of the Camaldules, to perform small offices for his old friend, and he repeated, with a more exulting air than before: '*When you shall be Pope, I will still be your barber.*'

"But the protector and his dependant were subjected to severe trials. It was the time when Napoleon ruled Europe with an iron rod. He took the city of Rome, made the Pope prisoner, and the religious congregations were dispersed. Capellari left the convent of Camaldules, and sought an asylum in the Venetian states, his own country. This was a cruel separation, especially to the barber Cajetanino, who was left exposed to the jests of his friends. They asked him ironically: 'Do you still think you shall one day be the Pope's barber?' What prospect was there, indeed, that an exiled monk would ever be called to mount the pontifical throne?

"Things remained thus till 1814. Then Pius VII. returned triumphantly into what is called St. Peter's domains. Father Capellari also left his retreat to resume the government of the monastery of Camaldules. He published a work on *the miracles which had restored the pontifical authority, considered as motives to faith.* This work, like all the other theological writings of Capellari contained a species of learning mixed with revolting superstitions and ridiculous reasoning. Such is the employment of professors of theology, and ecclesiastical dignitaries in Rome. Men of very low capacity can attain to these high stations provided they only subserve the interests of the holy see. Capellari's conduct would seem extravagant in another country, but at Rome he was caressed and honored. He became *councillor* of the Inquisition and of the Propaganda, and in 1826, he received a *Cardinal's* hat.

"The barber was not forgotten by his fortunate patron. He con-

tinued to perform his office about his person, and when he saw the red cap upon the head of Capellari, he repeated with more assurance than ever: '*When you shall be Pope, I will still be your barber.*' But the last step in the ascent remained to be taken. Cardinal Capellari was appointed Pope. It is easier to imagine than to describe the joy, the transport, the ecstacy, of the barber Cajetanino, when he saw his prediction fulfilled. He was at last, as he had said so many times, called to the honor of being the Pope's barber.

"Accordingly, when Gregory XVI. was installed in the palace of the Vatican, Cajetanino, with his wife and children, occupied splendid apartments in the very dwelling of the Holy Father. The barber was appointed *camariero* (servant of the bedchamber); he received the respectful homage of the bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, who before had paid him no attention. He was loaded with riches by the Pope's munificence. A journal affirms that Cajetanino now owns several domains of barons, counts, and marquises. He is become, indeed, the most important, most influential man in Rome.*

"Gregory XVI. naturally timid, exchanging suddenly, the quiet life of a monk for the noise, intrigues, and perplexities of his government, sought for a favorite, a confidant in Cajetanino, and imparted to him all his thoughts. After figuring in public and pompous ceremonies, or delivering a speech in the council of Cardinals, he seeks, at night, the family of the barber, to rest from his fatigue and taste *the sweets of domestic life.* Cajetanino seems to be a man of good sense, who has not become giddy by his great fortune. He is the confidant of the Pope in all his difficulties, his adviser, and the dispenser of his favors.

"Applicants soon discovered the barber's influence, and to him they address their requests, when they wish to obtain any important office, or any other favors of the Holy See. They are careful to add to their solicitations some rich present, or large sum of money to gain the concurrence of the Pope's servant. This is a very lucrative business. I will mention but one example.

"Lately, the Jews of Rome, having been threatened with persecution by the Inquisition, felt that they absolutely needed the good offices of the barber Cajetanino for their security. They took several steps with him without success, because they did not offer money enough. At last they invented an ingenious method to soften the heart of the all-powerful favorite. One morning, when Cajetanino opened his window there entered an *automaton-pigeon*, a masterpiece of mechanism. This pigeon was of massive silver; its eyes were formed of precious stones; it had in its beak a golden twig, and the petition of the unhappy Jews was hung around its neck by a chain of gold. Cajetanino was enchanted, as you may well think, with this admirable manner of making him a magnificent present.

* This correspondence was dated May 23, 1844.

The petition of the Jews was immediately presented to the Pope, and they were rescued from the persecutions of the Inquisition.

"I could relate to you several similar facts; but this one is enough for my purpose. Here, then, you see the internal state of the court of Rome; you see who is this pretended *infallible* Head of the Christian world! The Romanists regard him as the interpreter of the Holy Spirit, and they are not aware that there is one behind their idol, or rather above their idol, a favorite—sometimes a nephew, a more or less near relative—sometimes a barber, a domestic, who really governs the holy father, and controls all his purposes. What a strange religion is Romanism! How shameful for intelligent beings to prostrate themselves before a feeble old man, who is himself under subjection to an obscure household servant! Let us thank God that we, Protestants, acknowledge no other authority than that of the Lord and his holy Word!"

§ 5. *Pope Gregory's Death and Funeral Ceremonies.*—Upon the death of Pope Gregory, which took place June 1st, 1846, the glory of Cajetanino of course departed, and the tonsorial favorite was glad to escape from Rome and to seek a refuge from the rage of an insulted and outraged populace, in the neighboring state of Tuscany.

As soon as the death of the Pope was made known to Cardinal Camerlinque, that functionary, in accordance with the usual custom, proceeded to the Quirinal palace, raised the white covering over the face of the corpse, and struck three blows on the forehead with a small silver mallet. The Cardinal then proceeded to the window of the palace, and exclaimed in the hearing of the people, "Il Papa realmente morto," that is, "The Pope is in reality dead." After this, he broke the *fisherman's ring* and great seal of state. Preparations were then made for burying the Pope's body in state. The corpse was embalmed, clothed in the pontifical robes, and afterward placed on a throne in a chapel in the basilica of St. Peter, with the feet projecting through a railing (in the manner represented in the engraving on page 381) so that all the people who chose might kiss them as they passed through the chapel. After the funeral ceremonies, which are called *Novem Diali* from their occupying nine days, the corpse was placed in a coffin and carried on a bier to the entrance of the vaults, where the body of Pius VIII. had reposed since his death in 1830—there to remain till the death of his successor on the papal throne shall furnish another occupant for the temporary niche and consign his remains to their place of permanent sepulture.

§ 6. *Ceremonies of a Pope's Election.*—The election of a new Pope is a matter of surpassing interest in the city of Rome. The whole city, during a *conclave*,* is under a strange excitement. Vast multitudes assemble within view of the building in the palace where

* *Conclave.* So called from the fact that the cardinals during the election of a Pope are closely confined under lock and key. From the Latin *con*, and *clavis*, a key.

the cardinals are confined, with their eyes fixed for hours upon the chimney whence the smoke of the burning votes ascends, as a signal that no election has been made.

The ceremonies connected with the election of the Pope—uniformly observed on such occasions—were as follows. The day after the last of the *Novem Diali*, or nine days funeral solemnities, which in this instance was the 11th of June, the cardinals, after hearing mass, proceed to one of the pontifical palaces, where rooms have been prepared for each of them. Upon their entrance the door is locked and the passage to the palace *walled up*, so to remain till the election has taken place; the keys of the palace, in the meanwhile, being intrusted to a prelate, previously chosen by the cardinals, and styled governor of the conclave. During their confinement, each cardinal is allowed a secretary, called *conclavista*, and two domestics. While the cardinals are in conclave, the utmost precaution is taken to prevent any communication with the people without. Even their meals are closely examined by the proper functionary, to see that no writing is concealed therein. At a stated hour each day, the cardinals meet to count the votes, two thirds of which are necessary to secure an election. If no one is elected, the ballots are thrown into a small furnace, together with some combustible materials, and the smoke passing through a tube to the top of the palace, informs the multitude without that no election has taken place. Should the stated hour pass by, as soon as the last toll of the clock has announced the fact, the cry bursts forth from ten thousand voices, *Non v'e fumo!—There is no smoke!* which is equivalent to saying, *A Pope is elected.*

§ 7. *Election of Pius IX.*—On the present occasion, the multitude had for five days in succession seen the smoke arising from the chimney, as a signal that Rome was still without a Pope. On the sixth day, however, the election was made. The hour passed and no smoke appeared. The closed aperture was broken down, and the master of the ceremonies came forth to the multitude, and borrowing the language of the angels at the birth of Christ, "I bring you tidings of great joy"—"*Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum*," announced that Cardinal Mastai Feretti was elected to the dignity of Pope, under the name of Pius IX. Within the conclave, as soon as the fact of his election is ascertained, he is invested with the pontifical robes, and the cardinals—an hour before his equals—bow before him with the lowliest reverence, and kneel to kiss his feet. Without, the air resounds with the shouts of the populace, the beating of drums, the rattling of musketry, the ringing of bells, and the roaring of the cannon of Saint Angelo; and all this to celebrate the succession of another to the vacant chair of St. Peter the fisherman, another king elected to reign over the church of HIM who said, "My kingdom is not of this world"—and to receive the homage and

Pope Pius IX.

prostrations of the disciples of Him who said, "One is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren!"

§ 8. *Early life of the new Pope.*—The new Pope, whose full name was Giovanni Maria Mastai Feretti, was 54 years old at the time of his election. He was born at Sinigaglia, in the march of Ancona, on May 13, 1792. While yet a child, he is related to have had a remarkable escape from drowning. He fell into a pool, and was drawn from the water by a poor countryman named Guidi, who has lived to see his little charge seated in the so-called chair of St. Peter, and to be substantially rewarded by him for the service he had rendered half a century before. At the age of 18, young Feretti visited the city of Rome, and soon after entered upon military life. It is related that he enlisted in the army of Napoleon, but attained no higher rank than that of a lieutenancy. Upon recovering from a dangerous sickness, he exchanged the army for the church, and soon after becoming a priest, he was sent by Pope Pius VII. to Chili in South America, in the capacity of auditor to the (so-called) vicar-apostolic of Chili, Mugi, now the Roman Catholic bishop of Cita Castello. From Chili, Feretti afterward travelled to Montevideo and other parts of South America, as a missionary of the Pope.

On the return of Feretti to his native land, he found that his former patron, Pius VII., was dead, and that he had been succeeded in the papal chair by Leo XII. The usual reward of the faithful servants of the papacy was not, however, withholden from the successful missionary. In the year 1829, he was raised to the lucrative post of archbishop of Spoleto; three years later, in December, 1832, he was transferred by the late Pope Gregory XVI. to the bishopric of Imola; and in 1840 he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal.

§ 9. *The first Reforms.—Suppression of the Secret Tribunal, &c., and Dismissal of Lambruschini.*—Immediately upon his accession to the Popedom, Pius IX. surprised the world by the adoption of a policy as extraordinary as it was novel for an occupant of the Papal chair—a policy of political reform.

Leaving, for the present, the discusssion of the motives which prompted this apparently liberal policy, we shall now proceed to relate the principal reforms introduced by Pius, chiefly in the words of a vigorous writer who is himself an Italian and an exile.* We choose to borrow the words of this author, though sometimes a little too enthusiastic for our taste, principally because we believe the facts to be correctly stated, and partly because we would not withhold from the Pope the meed of praise which is his due.

At the commencement of the reign of the new Pope, the Italian writer referred to represents him as casting a look over the eternal city, and beholding it lying before him, a den of serpents, a desert

* See an article on Italy and Pius IX., by G. F. Secchi de Casali, in the American Review for November, 1847.

—the people dying for food, or wandering in anarchy and poverty; thousands exiled in foreign lands; the prisons crowded with political offenders; the government held by the enemies of the people, and deaf to their cries. No public instruction; no industry; religion corrupted by its own ministers; crime triumphing in every shape of depravity; despotism showing its low and odious front at every step, justice unattainable; the courts, which should be the schools of conscience, converted into offices of bribery and gross oppression; the whole state reeling to its centre, and about to fall for ever, and be swallowed up. Rather than pass under a successor like Gregory, the Roman people would have preferred the dominion of Austria; but Heaven had so favored them, that should their Pontiff perform his duty to himself and his officers, they might once again, and perhaps for ever, gain a footing among nations, and step forward boldly in the race of civilization.

A few days after his election he *suppressed the military warrants*, a kind of *secret tribunal* for the seizure and condemnation of political offenders—analogous with the Council of Three of the Venetian government.

He then called upon six cardinals to compose a council for deliberation upon public affairs, and resolved upon giving, on a certain day of every week, a *public audience* to all comers, without distinction of rank or condition.

He caused a *private letter-box* for himself to be placed in the entry of the Vatican.

Lambruschini was still Secretary of State; and while he continued in that office, there was no hope of amelioration for the people; he saw only anarchy and license in the reform movements, and opposed giving a constitution to the state, as if it were a merely revolutionary policy. To oppose the injurious influence of this minister, Pius then conjoined the two offices of foreign affairs and the secretaryship in one, and conferred it upon Cardinal Gizzi—a man of liberal and enlightened views, who was prepared to sympathize and co-operate with Pius in his plans of reform.

§ 10. *Proclamation of the Amnesty for Political Offenders.*—At the time of the death of Pope Gregory, the estimated number of Italian exiles driven from their native land for political offences—many of them for daring to whisper the name of liberty—was from five to six thousand. Letters containing supplications from the friends and families of the exiles, poured in upon the Pope. "Pius! Pius! have mercy upon us! pity our families, our brothers, in exile and misery!" But, to call back and reinstate all, was an attempt serious, if not dangerous. He had been Pope only one month when he resolved upon this great act of justice. Cardinal Gizzi gave his support to the measure, and on the evening of the memorable 16th of July, *the amnesty* was declared for all political offenders.

The Romans, notwithstanding all their hopes, were taken by sur-

prise by this new proof of magnanimity in their chief, and the city and country were filled with joy and mutual congratulations. A vast crowd assembled in the Colosseum and at the Capitol, and marched in procession, with wax candles, and singing joyful songs, to the Monte Cavallo, to return thanks to their chief, and beg his benediction. Since the fall of the last of the Tribunes, there had been no such day in Rome. The houses throughout the city, and every palace except those of Cardinal Lambruschini and the Austrian ambassador, were illuminated. The vast crowd moved to the ground under the balcony of the Pope's palace, and here he extended his hands and blessed them.

On the morning of the next day, the Pope returning in his carriage, the horses were taken from it by the people, who then drew him with songs of triumph to the Quirinal palace. No Pope was ever treated with an equal degree of attention by the Roman people. The festivals and illuminations continued for many days after the amnesty, both in the Roman states and in other parts of Italy.

The joy of the Bolognese was excessive; they voted a marble statue to Pius IX., and kept up the festivities three days and nights. The bills of amnesty posted on the corners of the streets, were wreathed with flowers. Political parties throughout all Italy resolved themselves into the one party of the Pope.

§ 11. *Encourages Railroads, dismisses Gregory's Police, and preaches a Sermon.*—To promote industry, commerce, and the amelioration of the country, on the 10th of November he invited private companies of citizens to submit projects for railroads in the Roman states. In the meantime he granted economical and other governmental reforms, and established new institutions for municipal and provincial legislation.

The terrible police of the last Pope was discontinued, and a decree promulgated, threatening severe judgments against criminal offenders, but declaring that no person should be prosecuted for political opinions. The *employées* of Gregory XVI. were discharged from office, and liberal and intelligent persons substituted. The secret and mysterious tribunals were abolished, and the judicial and penal systems of Beccari and Filangieri, which abolish capital punishment and establish trial by jury, adopted by the compilers of the new code.

On the 18th of November, a vast crowd being assembled from all parts, he preached in San Giovanni, in the Lateran, which is *the first instance of a Pontiff's preaching in public.* The congregation followed him to the Quirinal palace, on his return, with *vivas* and cries of joy.

§ 12. *Swiss Soldiers dismissed—Press partially liberalized—Jews relieved, &c.*—Beside the above, the following reforms have been effected:—

The six thousand hired Swiss soldiers have been sent home, and national and civic guards have been organized in their stead.

The tariff on cotton and woollen goods, and the enormous internal duties on salt,* and other articles, have been reduced.

Private companies have been authorized to construct four lines of railroad, having a total length of about four hundred miles.

The law concerning the liberty of the press has been so altered that the rigid censorship which before existed was changed for a somewhat more liberal one, and the censors, except of works on religion, must henceforth be laymen. Still, it is a mistake to suppose that *the freedom of the press* exists in Rome.

The Jews of Rome, who had been cruelly oppressed by the last Pope,† and confined to that miserable part of the city called the Ghetto, have been relieved from certain special taxes that had been imposed on them, and are now permitted to establish themselves where they please, in any part of the city.

§ 13. *Visit of the peasant Guidi to the Pope.*—Several anecdotes have been related of the Pope, which, if true, are sufficient to show that he is not only politic and prudent as a prince, but kind and benevolent as a man. One of the most interesting is the following account of the interview between the Pope and the poor countryman who, fifty years before, had saved him from a watery grave.

The peasant, Domenico Guidi, was already some seventy years old—poor, and destitute of the means of subsistence for himself and his daughter. Incited by the fame of Pius IX., after many days of sufferings and hardship, the father and daughter arrived at Rome, quite destitute, and not knowing how to make themselves known to

* Says a correspondent of the New York Observer, in a letter dated *Rome*, April 27, 1848—"The demoralizing effect of a single unjust law is great. For example, take the late government monopoly here of the manufacture of salt, and the enormous duty imposed on it. 'This profit,' says a writer here, 'is chiefly wrung from the poorer classes of the agriculturists. The most grievous consequences arise from the rigor with which it is protected. *We have seen poor peasants inhabiting the seashore, expiate in a dungeon the crime of boiling sea water to obtain a little salt.* We have seen saline springs destroyed, choked up with stones and earth, and soldiers placed to guard them, at the risk of conflict and bloodshed with the poor wretches who sought to profit by these gratuitous gifts of Providence.'"

† Gregory XVI. in 1843, in connexion with the Holy Inquisition of Rome, published a cruel edict against the persecuted Jews. In this decree, they were forbidden to receive Catholic masses, or to engage Christians in their service. The conclusion of this intolerant decree, conceived in the true spirit of Popery, is as follows: "No Israelite shall sleep out of his Ghetto, nor induce a Christian to sleep in that accursed enclosure, nor carry on friendly relations with the faithful, nor trade in sacred ornaments, nor books of any kind, under a penalty of five hundred crowns, and of seven years' imprisonment. The Israelites, in interring their dead, shall not make use of any ceremony, nor shall they use torches, under penalty of confiscation. Those who shall violate our edicts *shall incur the penalties of the Holy Inquisition.* The present measure shall be communicated in the Ghetto, to be published in the synagogue. Dated from '*The Chancellary of the Holy Inquisition, June 24th*, 1843.' Signed,

"Fra Vincenzo Salina, *Inquisitor-General.*"

the Pontiff. Since his election Pius IX. had strictly forbidden public beggary, and at his own cost had founded splendid almshouses for the destitute. The officers arrested Domenico Guidi and his daughter as vagrants, and took them to the police-office. After discovering who he was, and the intent of his journey, the commissioner informed the Pope of this story of Guidi and his daughter. Both were thereupon well dressed by the order of the Pope, and taken in a carriage to the Vatican. On the 28th of March, 1847, accompanied by the physician of the government and by his daughter, Guidi entered the pontifical hall of the Vatican, to be admitted to audience, but fainted at the entrance, and fell upon the floor. The officers and prelates of the court, with the physician, relieved the unfortunate Guidi, and the Pope gave order that he should be removed to a comfortable room of the palace, and receive every attention.

The next day, when Guidi had sufficiently recovered himself, he was admitted to audience. Nothing could be more interesting and admirable than the interview between the Pontiff and the saver of his life. Pius received him as an old friend, and with the kindest expressions. Guidi could neither speak nor show any demonstrations, so great was his astonishment and admiration. The Pope would not permit him to kneel before him, but embracing him, he said, "Guidi, you were the friend of my childhood, and the saver of my life. You shall suffer no more from want. You and your daughter shall go to Sinigaglia to my palace, and live with my friends." The next day Guidi left Rome, in a post-carriage. His daughter was placed in a house of education, and Guidi still lives comfortably in the Mastai palace.

§ 14. *The Soldier's bad Bread.*—Another pleasing anecdote related of Pius, is the following: It has already been mentioned that one of the early steps taken by the Pope was the granting of a public audience to all classes of his subjects, without distinction of rank, and without the common ceremonies of presentation. On these occasions the meanest of his subjects was allowed full permission to state his grievances and to prefer his petition. At one of these audiences, a common soldier brought to the Pope a loaf of miserable bread, and said it was a fair sample of their daily allowance. Pius took the loaf, invited the minister of war to dinner, and laid it on his plate. The astonished functionary turned pale when he saw it, and the Pope inquired if that was the kind of bread he furnished to his soldiers. After that he passed through the barracks, and having found some four thousand similar loaves, he ordered them to be given away, imprisoned the bakers who furnished them, degraded the minister of war from his office, and supplied each soldier with money to buy bread for himself.

§ 15. *Opposition of Austria to the Pope's Reforms.*—During the reign of Pope Gregory XVI., the despotic government of Austria had exercised a controlling influence in the Roman states. The im-

perious and tyrannical Prince Metternich, then at the summit of his power, had more than once listened to the supplications of the Pope to protect him against the rising spirit of liberty among his own people. At the commencement of his reign the attempted revolution of 1831 had been quelled by Austrian armies, and Austrian bayonets alone had prevented the patriots of Italy from demanding and securing from the old Pope all and more than all the reforms that have been granted by his more liberal and politic successor.

At the commencement of the reign of Pope Pius, Metternich saw himself in danger of losing the influence he had long possessed in the Roman states, and by means of the Austrian ambassador in Rome, used every means to turn Pius IX. from his course of reform, and to induce him to follow the policy of his predecessor. The ambassador exerted himself to the utmost to create a breach between the Romans and the Pope; and failing in this, excited against him several of the cardinals, whose power had been much abridged since the death of Gregory XVI., besides a number of fanatical priests and friars, who resolved, if possible, to effect his destruction.

The first conspiracy against the life of Pius IX. was to have been accomplished on the 5th of April, 1847. This diabolical plot has been shown by clear evidence to be the work of the fanatics and of Austria. The French ambassador, Signor Rossi, revealed their designs and names to the Pope. Instead of immediately arresting them, he followed the policy of a man confident of his position. The conspirators had put their names into a vase, and drawn the one who was to visit the Pope and kill him during the interview. A Capuchin, or religious friar, was the person whose name came out first; and, followed by the other conspirators, he went to the Vatican, and asked to speak with the Pope. Pius sent for the name of the friar, which was boldly given. His name was on the list. Orders were immediately given to arrest him. As he was admitted and entered the hall, two pistols and a poisoned dagger were found upon his person. He was then sent to the castle St. Angelo with the rest; and many others were afterward arrested. The fact had to be kept secret for a short time, in order to avert the vengeance of the Roman people from the friars. Other conspiracies, in which ecclesiastics were engaged, have been discovered in the Roman states. Cardinal Della Genga, nephew of Pope Leo XII., was arrested and sent to the castle St. Angelo, for not fulfilling the orders of the new government, while he was a legate in Romagna. Some priests preached in the churches against Pius IX. Of these, some were arrested; others, known to have been ultra-Catholic, were murdered by the irritated people.

§ 16. *Conspiracy of the Anniversary of the Amnesty.*—The 18th of July was the anniversary of the amnesty. To celebrate this epoch, the people were making sumptuous preparations, erecting triumphal arches, temples to Amnesty, illuminations, fire-works, and

pageants, as such things are done in Rome. Every one looked forward with joy to the approaching anniversary, when a population of 180,000 inhabitants would unite in celebrating the election of Pius IX. and the Amnesty. But now the festival was to be made a carnage; thousands of people were secretly marked for slaughter, and the Pope was to be hurried off from Rome, while an anti-Pope was to be elected in his stead. The Austrian emissaries distributed money and granted favors to whoever would engage in the conspiracy. Arms, funds, all the necessary means were offered, and when the work was accomplished, the same day she made ready to send an army to invade the Roman states. As it was, her advance was no farther than Ferrara. A few days previous to the execution of the plot, by the boldness of some citizens of Faenza, and by the energy of *Ciceronachia*, a man of the people, all was discovered, and Pius triumphed again over his enemies.

The plan of the conspirators was to attack the soldiers and gendarmes on the evening of the 18th of July, while the people and the army were celebrating the anniversary of the Amnesty. They were to attack the troops with daggers, on which were carved the words, "*Long life to Pius IX.*," as if the authors of this massacre were the exiles and followers of Pius IX. The conspirators, mingled with the soldiers, were to kill all the liberal citizens—to carry the Pope to Naples—to oblige him to abdicate, and to call for an Austrian intervention.

As soon as this atrocious plot was discovered, Pius IX. said that "the time for clemency had passed, it was necessary to act with severity." He ordered the festival to proceed, as if nothing had happened, and established the National Guard. The government used all the necessary precautions that the crisis demanded, and named his cousin, the cardinal Feretti, Secretary of State, instead of Gizzi. The National Guard was organized, and men of all ages and condition enlisted. The wealthy families offered arms and money, and their palaces to be used as barracks for the troops. The next day, after the nomination of Feretti, the advocate Morandi succeeded Grasselini as Pro-governor of Rome. Grasselini fled the same night to Naples. The active movers in arranging the plot, appear to have been a number of disbanded agents of a secret police of the late Pontificate. Nothing appeared directly to implicate the cardinal Lambruschini, who remained quietly at Civita-Vecchi, notwithstanding that the people believed him to be one of the conspirators.

§ 17. *The Austrian Invasion of the Papal States, and Seizure of Ferrara.*—If any proof were wanting that the conspiracy we have related was set on foot by Austrian agency and intrigue, the occupation of Ferrara, a town in the Papal states, *on the very same day*, by Austrian troops, is abundantly sufficient. When the governor of Ferrara, Cardinal Ciacchi, protested against this invasion of a peaceful state, the Austrian general calmly inquired whether he had not received special notice from Rome of the expected arrival of the

Austrian army in Ferrara; thus establishing the fact of a mutual agreement between the Austrian conspirators at Rome, and Austrian invaders at Ferrara. In the broad noonday, those barbarous hordes invaded the town, and compelled the pontifical garrison to surrender the different posts into their hands. To crown their insolence, they sent a guard of honor to the cardinal legate, who immediately abandoned the government-house, and removed to the bishop's residence. On receipt of this intelligence at Rome a council of cardinals was assembled, and Pius IX., moved by the signal insult thus offered to him, declared that he would protest; and that if that new protest was disregarded, he would decree a sentence of excommunication against the invaders, and that if that measure did not avail, he would hoist the *labarum* (the sacred standard of the Papacy), and march against the Austrians at the head of his people. Several of the Powers of Europe protested against this high-handed outrage on the part of Austria against Pius IX.; and when the Austrians discovered the failure of the conspiracy at Rome, they shortly after evacuated Ferrara, and departed from the dominions of the Pope.

§ 18. *The Pope's Reforms as a Prince no guaranty for Reforms as a Priest.*—It is not surprising that in America, and other lands that have tasted the blessings of freedom, a widespread sympathy should have been felt in the reformatory movements of the Pope, and a universal indignation at the efforts of Austrian despots to crush these movements toward political liberty, in the bud. Nor is it strange that some have fondly hoped that Pius was about to extend these liberal movements into the domain of religion, and that, perchance, Popery itself might change its character, and instead of being, as heretofore, a system of spiritual despotism, falsehood, and tyranny, that it was about to become a religion of truth, of gentleness, and of love. No mistake could be greater than this. Sooner might "the Ethiopian change his skin, and the leopard his spots." These reforms, such as they are, are political, not religious. Pius is a Papist still.

The position occupied by a Pope of Rome is one which is entirely *sui generis*. It has no parallel among the sovereigns or dignitaries of the civilized world. He is at the same time a Prince and a Pontiff. In the former character, he is the head and monarch of the state; in the latter (according to the creed of Romanism), he is the head and monarch of the church. As a Prince, he may alter, amend, or modify, the political institutions of the state over which he reigns; while as a Pontiff he is himself bound by the infallible decrees of his church, as embodied in the acts and canons and anathemas of preceding Popes and councils. Hence, it is a mistake, though many fall into it, to imagine that Pius IX.'s reforms *as a prince* are to be considered as any guaranty of reforms *as a priest*. The government of the Roman states, hitherto the most wretched in Europe, may perhaps be ameliorated by the adoption of a portion

of those liberal institutions and political rights which have been long enjoyed by every Protestant nation; while Popery remains the same bible-hating, heretic-cursing system of bigotry, intolerance, and spiritual despotism, as it ever has been. No mistake can be greater than to suppose that the present Pope's "*political acts*" are to be regarded as an index of his "*ecclesiastical dispositions*," that the reforms he has granted in the state are to be followed by any changes or modifications in the system of Popery itself. Infallibility and immutability are the boast of the Romish church. "It is a tenet of their creed," says one of their own writers "that what their faith ever has been, such it was from the beginning, such it is now, and such it ever will be."*

§ 19. *Pius IX. no Protestant Pope, Romanists being witnesses.* —None are more strenuous than Roman Catholics themselves in denying that the liberality of the Pope as a Prince is to be regarded as any indication of his feelings as a Priest. "How widely," says the writer of an article lately published in Bishop Hughes' Freeman's Journal, "has the belief spread that Pope Pius IX. was in every sense of the word a liberal Pope: that his *political acts*, misread by infidels and revolutionists, afforded an index of his *ecclesiastical dispositions:* that *his concessions to the spirit of the time* fixed a deep gulf between him and the old Gregories and Innocents of the Popedom: that a new spirit was being breathed into *the Catholic religion* by the secular influences of the time. . . . How widely have these most delusive hopes spread! How fondly have they been nursed and cherished! In every country, amongst weak, or wicked, or ignorant men, this thought has made its way—that in a liberal Pope was to be found a traitor to his own church, an apostle of some mad scheme of universal fusion, a destroyer of the antiquated dogmas of Christianity. . . . In Ireland, as elsewhere, the character of the Pope has been misconceived; the nature of his liberality mistaken. There, as elsewhere, dreams have been nursed of a false peace—a peace, the characteristics of which were to be universal philanthropy, toleration, charity—a peace, to attain and preserve which, the odious exclusiveness of Catholicity was to be abolished for ever; and—not merely in civil laws—but in the language of its own claims, and the forms of its own institutions, it was to bring itself down to the miserable level of the sects."†

According to the admission of this Roman Catholic writer, the boasted reforms of Pope Pius are nothing more than "concessions to the spirit of the time;" and every Protestant should know that this policy is as old as the Papacy itself. Popes have seldom re-

* Charles Butler, in his Book of the Church.

† The article from which the above extracts are taken, was published in the Freeman's Journal, the week following the great meeting in the Broadway Tabernacle, in November, 1847, for the glorification of Pius IX.;—a fitting reward for American Protestants who are willing to lick the dust beneath the feet of "his Holiness," the Pope of Rome.

fused, in secular politics, to commit themselves to the humor of the day; but it was that they might always be POPES—spiritual despots, ecclesiastical tyrants, lording it over the consciences and souls of men. If any one doubts whether the partial political reforms of Pius were in reality demanded by the "spirit of the times," let him refer back to the secret manifesto which we have copied in section the second of this supplement, and then let him remember that that document, demanding all and more than the present Pope has granted, was in circulation before Pius had dreamed of the Papacy, and while he was simply Bishop of Imola.

§ 20. *The Pope's Political Reforms dictated by Policy alone.*—After the caveat just quoted from Roman Catholic authority, it is to be hoped that there is but little danger that Protestants should indulge the vain hope of any essential change in the Antichristian system of Popery, or that they should mistake the true character, as *political acts*, of the reformatory movements of the present Pope, since his elevation to the sovereignty of the Roman states. True policy pointed to the course which as a temporal sovereign, he has hitherto pursued. Had Pius—as many minions of the last Pope fondly hoped he would—pursued a policy similar to that of Gregory XVI., the volcano of popular indignation, which was just ready to burst upon the old Pope and Lambruschini, would have poured forth its burning lava upon his own devoted head. Pius was too much a man of the world to suppose it possible that he could prevent the eruption of this volcano, unless he quenched its fires. The act of amnesty would cost him nothing, and would gain him thousands of friends. Nothing could be easier; nothing could be more politic. His experience as a soldier, and, above all, his travels and observation in America, had taught him some lessons relative to the difficulty of suppressing the spirit of liberty, and he was too politic and too prudent—perhaps he was too patriotic and benevolent—to neglect those lessons. Here, doubtless, was the secret of his movements of reform.

§ 21. *Pius IX. no Republican—His Royal Speech to the Roman Consulta.*—It has been a very general error in America and elsewhere, that Pius IX., by the partial political reforms he has conceded to his people, intended to make some approach toward republicanism. Sufficient has already transpired to prove this hope fallacious. It is true that he may find it difficult to lay the spirit of liberty which has been evoked, and the Romans may ere long discover the folly of associating the spiritual and temporal power in the same individual; but we may rest assured that a Pope of Rome will never voluntarily lay aside the temporal sovereignty which his predecessors have, for so many centuries, enjoyed. Pius IX. is no exception to this remark, and time will show, if it has not already, that nothing but absolute compulsion will ever induce him to resign the dignity of a Prince, and to return to the condition of a simple priest, though at the head

of the Romish church. The Pope has already begun to realize the danger lest he may soon be compelled to relinquish his political sovereignty, and has publicly uttered his rebuke of those "restless" spirits who have manifested a disposition to be satisfied with nothing short of a separation between the temporal and the spiritual power. In October, 1847, as a sort of compliance with the increasing demands of the Roman people for a Constitution, Pius IX. established at Rome a kind of Council of State, consisting of delegates from the different Roman provinces, called the *Consulta*. At the first session of this *Consulta*, or parliament (as it may be called), held on the 15th of November, after an address to the Pope from the President of the Consulta, assuring him, in the name of all the deputies, of their homage and obedience, Pius IX. replied in the following remarkable and significant language:—

"I thank you for your good intentions, and appreciate them as tending to the public good. It has been with a view to the public good that, from the first moment of my being raised to the pontifical throne, I have done, under the inspiration of God, all that I have been able to do; and I am ready, by God's assistance, to do as much in future, *without, however, in anywise retrenching the sovereignty of the pontificate; as I have received it full and entire from my predecessors, so will I in like manner transmit it to my successors.*

"I have for my witnesses my three millions of subjects—I have all Europe for a witness of what I have hitherto done to bring my subjects near to me, and unite myself with them, that I might become acquainted with their wants, and make provision for them. It is with the object of better knowing these wants, and providing for the exigencies of the public welfare, that I have united you in a permanent council—it is to listen, in case of need, to your advice, and avail myself of its aid in *my sovereign resolutions, in which I shall consult my own conscience, and confer upon it with my ministers and the sacred college.*

"He will deceive himself greatly who shall see in the Consulta di' Stato, which I have just created, a realization of his own Utopian notions, or *the germ of an institution incompatible with the pontifical sovereignty.*"

Pius IX. having delivered this speech with some warmth of emphasis, paused an instant, and then resuming his natural mildness, continued to the following effect:—

"These words are not addressed to any of you, whose social education and Christian and civil probity, as well as the *loyalty* and rectitude of your intentions, were known to me from the moment at which I proceeded to your election. Neither do these words apply to the mass of my subjects, for I am sure of their *fidelity and obedience.* I know that the hearts of my subjects are united with mine in the love of order and concord.

"But, unfortunately, there exist some persons (small in number, it is true, still they do exist), *who, having nothing to lose, are fond of disorder and revolt, and even abuse concessions.* It is to them that these words are addressed—let them well consider their signification. In the co-operation of the deputies I see only a firm support from persons who, divesting themselves of all private interests, will labor with me, by their councils, for the public good, and who will not be stopped by the *vain words of restless and injudicious men.* You will aid me with your wisdom to find that which is *most necessary for the security of the throne,* and for the real happiness of my subjects."

The attention of the reader is particularly called to those portions of the above address which we have *italicised.* In these sentences

Pius IX. seems to have felt that he was a KING. How royally does he tell the representatives of the people why he has sent for them—"to listen, in case of need, to your advice, and avail myself of its aid in MY SOVEREIGN RESOLUTIONS, in which I SHALL CONSULT MY OWN CONSCIENCE!" Even the Autocrat of all the Russias could not have spoken more like a sovereign and a despot.—"Remember" (says the Pope, in substance), "you are not to legislate, but to advise. Pius is Master still!"

§ 22. *The Pope's Proclamation.*—Still, Pius IX. had granted to the Roman people no Constitution, and there were thousands of Italians in the Papal dominions who had before suffered for the cause of liberty, who could not be deceived by this wretched shadow of a popular representation. The people were clamorous for a Constitution. To allay this agitation, the Pope issued the following proclamation, published at Rome, on the 10th of February, 1848. This document may be valuable for future reference, as it shows, in the Pope's own words, what he has done for his people, and what he intends to do for them, as well as what he does not intend to do. It hints, moreover, in no ambiguous terms, at what the Pope considers his safeguard in any future emergency, viz., the two hundred millions of Papists throughout the world, who, to whatever nation they belong, still regard themselves as his faithful subjects and servants.

"Pius P. P. IX.—The Pontiff, who in the course of two years has received from you so many proofs of love and faith, is not deaf to your desires, to your fears. We never cease to meditate within ourselves how to develop most usefully, *consistently with our duties to the church*, those civil institutions which we established, not forced by necessity, but from the desire for the happiness of our people, and the esteem we felt for their noble qualities. We also turned our thoughts to the reorganization of the army, before even public opinion demanded it; and we have sought the means of obtaining the service of foreign officers to aid those who honorably serve the Pontifical government. The better to extend the sphere of those who can bring their talents and experience to bear upon public reforms, we have also taken measures to increase the laical part of our Council of Ministers. If the unanimous will of the princes to whom Italy owes the new reforms is a guaranty of the preservation of those boons, received with so much gratitude and applause, we cultivate it by maintaining and consolidating the most amicable relations with them. Nothing, in short, which may be conducive to the tranquillity and dignity of the state will ever be neglected.

"O, Romans and Pontifical subjects, by your father, and *sovereign*, who has given you the most certain proof of his affection for you, and is ready to give you more, if he be worthy to obtain from God that he may inspire your hearts and those of all the Italians with the pacific spirit of his wisdom; but he is ready at the same time *to resist, by means of the institutions already conceded, all disorderly violence, as he would also resist demands contrary to his duties and to your happiness.* Listen, then, to the paternal voice which admonishes you, nor be removed by that cry that proceeds from unknown mouths, to agitate the people of Italy with the terror of a foreign war, aided and prepared by internal conspiracies, or by the malignant ignorance of those who govern. This is, indeed, deceit to impel you by terror to seek public safety in disorder; to confound by tumult the councils of your ruler; and to prepare, by creating confusion, pretexts for a war that could never, by any other motive, be declared against us. What danger, in fact, can impend over Italy, so long as a bond of gratitude and

confidence unites the strength of the people with the wisdom of princes, with the sacredness of right?

"But we principally—we, the head and sovereign Pontiff of the most Holy Catholic religion, should we not have in our defence, if we were unjustly attacked, innumerable sons who would defend the centre of Catholic unity like the house of their father? It is, indeed, a great blessing among the many which Heaven hath imparted to Italy, that scarce three millions of our subjects have two hundred millions of brothers of every nation and of every tongue. This was, in more dangerous times, and in the confusion of the whole Roman world, the safeguard of Rome. It is for this the ruin of Italy was never complete. This will ever be her defence, so long as this Apostolic See shall reside in her centre.

"Oh, then, great God, shower thy blessings on Italy, and preserve for her this most precious boon of all, faith! Bless her with the benediction that thy vicar, prostrated before Thee, humbly demandeth! Bless her with the benediction that the saints to whom she gave birth, the Queen of Saints, who protects her, the Apostles whose glorious relics she preserves, thy Incarnate Son, who sent his representative upon earth to reside in this same Rome, ask of Thee!"

§ 23. *Effects in Italy of the French Revolution of* 1848.—In the document just quoted, the Pope speaks of his resolution to "resist demands contrary to his duties and to the people's happiness." By this, he unquestionably meant the demands which were everyday becoming louder and more frequent for a Constitution. In less than two weeks, however, from the issuing of that proclamation, an argument arose for concessions to the spirit of liberty, which the most despotic sovereigns of Europe were unable to resist—this was the French revolution of February, 1848, by which Louis Philippe was driven from the throne of France by an indignant and outraged people. As soon as the news of this event, and the subsequent proclamation of the republic was known at Rome, an immense crowd of people proceeded with banners, and amid cheers for *the Constitution* and the French republic, to the Quirinal, where a deputation was chosen to present the following address to the Pope:—

"Holy Father—The recent events of France are of such importance that they must exercise the greatest influence in every part of Europe, and particularly in Italy. The subjects of your Holiness, with the strongest attachment to your person and throne, feel the necessity of expressing their fears and hopes in this emergency. For the purpose of giving a wise direction to the movement of political passions which may rise in the present circumstances, your subjects think it *urgent that a Constitution be immediately published*, in harmony with the institutions of the other Italian states, and that all the efforts of the nation be turned to the maintenance of interior order and exterior independence. Hence, if a homogeneous, compact, and liberal ministry, equal to the gravity of the case, was universally called for some time ago, *it now becomes of the utmost necessity*, and every moment of delay might produce fatal and irreparable evils, which your generous heart has constantly striven to avoid. Men able to support so great a weight, and who enjoy public confidence, are not wanting among the *laity* of your dominions, and public opinion has already called your attention upon them. You, who, by giving

your benediction to Italy, have, in the face of the world, associated her cause with that of religion, will now perceive that your temporal power is directly involved in the destinies of our common fatherland. And it will be the greatest glory of your Pontificate, if, in the midst of the tempests now preparing in Europe, Italy, avoiding the evils that may result from them, is capable of preserving internal order, establishing her liberty, and regaining her independence. Such is the faith your subjects have in your intentions, that they are convinced you will confirm in this moment of trial the universal opinion of your wisdom and magnanimity."

The journals of Rome publish the following reply of the Pope, to the address of the municipality, calling for *constitutional institutions* and guaranties :—

"The events which follow precipitately and in rapid succession, sufficiently justify the demand which you, Signor Senator, addressed to me in the name of the magistrates and council. It is well known that I am unceasingly engaged in giving to the government that form which you, gentlemen, demand, and which nations require. But every one understands the serious difficulty with which he who is invested with two great dignities, has to contend. What in a secular government may be done in a night, can not be effected in the Pontifical government without mature examination, since it is very difficult to trace exactly the line which shall distinguish one power from the other; nevertheless, I flatter myself that, in a few days, the work being completed, I shall be able to announce the new form of government, which will obtain general satisfaction, and more particularly that of the Senate and Council, who are more minutely acquainted with the circumstances and the position of the country. May God bless these my desires and labors; and if conducive to the welfare of religion, I shall stay at the foot of the crucifix, to offer up thanks for all the events Providence has allowed to take place: whilst I, not as much as Prince, but as head of the universal church, shall be content if they contribute to the glory of God."

The feelings with which Pius IX. regards the recent revolts by which Europe has been distinguished against crowned oppressors, can not be mistaken, when the following extract from a speech of the Pope in a Consistory at Rome, is duly considered: "We are greatly afflicted at seeing, that in different places, men are met with among the people, who, *boldly making an unwarrantable use of our name, and being guilty of the greatest insult to our person and our supreme dignity, dare to deny to princes the submission which is due them*, to raise multitudes against them, and to excite criminal movements; all of which is so contrary to our thoughts, that, in our encyclical letter,* addressed to all our venerable brethren, the bishops, we did not fail to inculcate the obedience due to princes and powers, and which, according to the precepts of the Christian law, no one can cast off without crime, unless it be in the event of anything being ordained contrary to the laws of God and the Church."

§ 24. *Outlines of the (so-called) Constitution, granted to his subjects by the Pope.*—At length, on the 14th of March, 1848, a proclamation was issued at Rome, authenticated by the sign-manual of

* This encyclical letter will be found printed in full in the Appendix.

the Pope, granting a Constitution to his subjects. The friends of freedom throughout the world should read and study this stingy, forced, and contemptible concession to the people of Rome, which is called a Constitution, and which, be it remembered, is the *ne plus ultra* of a nation's rights, in the view of that Pontiff, who, even by Protestant Americans, in their mistaken sympathy, has been lauded to the skies as "the Apostle of Liberty." How would America, or any other nation that knows what liberty is, be satisfied with a Constitution such as that of which the following is a brief abstract? We invite the special attention of the American Protestant admirers and worshippers of Pius IX. to those items which we have printed in *italics*.

"*The College of Cardinals (chosen by the Pope) is to be constituted a Senate*, inseparable from the same, and two Deliberative Councils for the formation of the laws are to be established, consisting of the 'High Council' and the 'Council of Deputies.'

"The judicial tribunals are to be independent of the government, and no extraordinary commission courts are to be in future established. The National Guard is to be considered an institution of the state.

"*The Pope convokes and prorogues the Legislative Chambers, and dissolves the Council of Deputies*, being required to convoke a new Chamber within three months, which will be the ordinary duration of the annual session. The sessions are to be public.

"*The members of the Senate are to be appointed by the Pope for life*, and their number is not unlimited. The qualification of a Senator is the age of thirty years, and the plenary exercise of civil and political rights.

"The Senate will be chosen, *par preference*, from the *prelates, ecclesiastics*, ministers, judges, councillors of state, consistorial lawyers, and the possessors of an income of four thousand scudi* per annum.

"*The Pope will appoint the President and Vice-Presidents.*

"The second council will be elective, on the numerical basis of one deputy to every thirty thousand souls. The electors are to consist of the *gonfalonieri* (mayors), priors, and elders of the cities and communes; the possessors of a capital of three hundred scudi; the payers of direct taxes to the amount of twelve scudi per annum; the members of the colleges of their faculties, and the titular professors of the universities; the members of the councils of discipline, the advocates and attorneys practising in the collegiate tribunals, the *laureates ad honorem* in the state universities, the members of the chambers of commerce, the heads of factories and industrial establishments, and the heads of scientific and public institutions assessed for certain amounts.

"*The qualification of a deputy is the possession of a capital of three thousand scudi*, or the payment of taxes to the amount of one hundred scudi per annum, and the members of colleges and professors of universities, &c., will be eligible *ex officio*.

"A distinct electoral law will regulate the elections of deputies. The persons of the members of both councils are sacred, as far as their votes and speeches are concerned, but it appears that the privileges of freedom from arrest on civil and criminal process are limited to the actual session, and a month before and after.

"All laws and new taxes must be sanctioned by these two councils and assented to by the Pope; but *the councils are not to be allowed to propose laws which may affect ecclesiastical or mixed affairs, which may be opposed to the canons and discipline of the church, or which may tend to vary or modify the present statutes. They are also forbidden to discuss the 'religious diplomatic relations' of the Holy See to foreign countries.*

* The Roman *scudo* (plural *scudi*) is equal to one dollar

"The discussion of financial matters exclusively appertains to the Council of Deputies. *The sum or civil list appropriated to the endowment of the Pope and the College of Cardinals, and to ecclesiastic purposes generally*, as well as to the expenses of the *corps diplomatique*, the Pontifical Guards, the maintenance of the apostolical palaces and museums, and various other purposes, *is fixed at six hundred thousand scudi per annum*, including a reserve fund for contingencies. *The canons, tributes, and dues, amounting to the annual sum of thirteen thousand scudi, are to remain at the entire disposal of the Pope.* The ministers are responsible for their actions, and have a right to speak in both councils, whether members or not.

"The session of the Chambers will be suspended by the death of the reigning Pontiff, but the new Pope must convene them a month after his election. *The ministers are to be confirmed and chosen by the Sacred College* [of Cardinals].

"The rights of *temporal sovereignty*, exercised by a defunct Pontiff, are *vested in the Sacred College during the interregnum.*

"There will also be a Council of State composed of ten councillors and a body of auditors not exceeding twenty-four. This council will be required to draw up projects of laws, and to give its advice on administrative affairs in cases of emergency. Ministerial functions may also be conferred upon it by a special law.

"The present statute will be enforced on the opening of the new Councils, which will take place about the first Monday in June. The functions of the present Council of State will cease twenty days previous to the opening of the Councils; but it will, nevertheless, continue to examine such administrative measures as may be presented to it for consideration. All the legislative enactments, not contrary to the decrees of the present statute, remain in force.

"*The profession of the Popish religion is indispensable as a qualification for the exercise of civil and political rights.*"

§ 25. *This Constitution examined.—The substance of all power vested in the Pope and his Cardinals.*—Such is an outline of the *Constitution* which Pius IX., after nearly two years of promise and evasion and delay, has at length presented to his subjects. Well may we apply to this worse than contemptible result of the protracted study and labor of the modern "*Apostle of Liberty*," the biting sarcasm by which the Latin poet rebukes the orator or author whose labored openings and mighty promises result only in abortion and imbecility—

"Parturiunt montes; nascitur ridiculus mus."*—HORACE.

If anything were wanting to convince the American people that their congratulations were premature, and that Pius IX. is no more the friend of genuine liberty than the spiritual despots and tyrants who have preceded him on the Papal throne, surely this miserable abortion of a constitution is sufficient!

How ingeniously is this instrument constructed, so as, while apparently making concessions to the people, to retain all the substance of power where it has ever been since the establishment of the Papal despotism—with the Pope, his Cardinals, and Priests. The members of the Senate are to be appointed *by the Pope.* The President and Vice-Presidents are to be appointed *by the Pope.* The Legislative Chambers are to be convoked and prorogued, at his pleasure,

* The mountains are in travail—and a little mouse is born.

by the Pope. The Council of Deputies, should they at any time prove refractory or disobedient, may immediately be dissolved *by the Pope.* The discussion of financial matters belongs *exclusively* to the Council of Deputies; but as though afraid to trust them for his own salary, Pius gives them to know that before entering upon the discussion of other financial matters, six hundred thousand dollars per annum must be secured for the endowment of *the Cardinals and the Pope*, with his corps diplomatique, Pontifical guards, apostolic palaces, museums, &c., besides a neat little perquisite of thirteen thousand dollars more, from canons, tributes, and dues, to be "*at the entire disposal of the Pope.*" The College of Cardinals is to be constituted a Senate, and these "princes of the church" are to be chosen, of course, *by the Pope.* The Ministers are to be chosen and confirmed *by the Cardinals.* Should a Pope die, then, lest the people should presume upon a little more liberty, the rights of temporal sovereignty are to be exercised, during the interregnum *by the Cardinals.* Is any preference to be shown in the choice of members of the Senate? That choice is to rest first *on prelates and ecclesiastics;* after them, upon ministers, judges, councillors, lawyers, and rich men, with an income of at least four thousand dollars per annum.*

It is true that in addition to this noble "High Council," there is to be a popular assembly, called the "Council of Deputies," but what they are to do, and what they are not to do? Why they are

* The baneful effects of the overwhelming influence of priests and nobles, throughout Italy, is forcibly exhibited in the following extract from a recent number of Blackwood's Magazine:—

"Italy has two evils, either of which would be enough to break down the most vigorous nation—if a vigorous nation would not have broken both, ages ago. These two are the nobles and the priesthood—both ruinously numberless, both contemptibly idle, and both interested in resisting every useful change, which might shake their supremacy. Every period of Italian convulsion has left a class of men calling themselves nobles, and perpetuating the titles to their sons. The Gothic, the Norman, the Papal, the 'nouveaux riches,' every man who buys an estate—in fact, every man who desires a title—all swell the lists of the nobility to an intolerable size. Of course, a noble can never do anything—his dignity stands in his way. The ecclesiastics, though a busier race, are still more exhausting. The kingdom of Naples alone has eighty-five prelates, with nearly one hundred thousand priests and persons of religious orders, the monks forming about one fourth of the whole! In this number the priesthood of Sicily is not included, which has to its own share no less than three archbishops and eleven bishops. Even the barren island of Sardinia has one hundred and seventeen convents! Can any rational mind wonder at the profligacy, the idleness, and the dependence of the Italian Peninsula, with such examples before it? The Pope daily has between two and three thousand monks loitering through the streets of Rome. Beside these, he has on his ecclesiastical staff, twenty cardinals, four archbishops, ninety-eight bishops, and a clergy amounting to nearly five per cent. of his population. With these two millstones round her neck, Italy must remain at the bottom. She may be shaken and tossed by the political surges which roll above her head, but she never can be buoyant. She must cast both away before she can rise. Italy, priest-ridden, noble-ridden, and prince-ridden, must be content with her fate. Her only chance is the shock which will break away her encumbrances."

"not to propose laws which may affect ecclesiastical or mixed affairs." Otherwise, poor priest-ridden Rome might, perhaps, be relieved from a portion of the misery and oppression which the Papal despotism has imposed on her for ages. They are not to meddle with laws which might affect the "canons or discipline of the church." Otherwise, the secrets of inquisitorial chambers might be brought to light, or the lust and cruelty of Roman nunneries might be exposed and denounced. They are not to do anything which may even "tend to *vary or modify the present statues!*" Otherwise, the hateful fabric of tyranny which ages of oppression have reared, might be seen crumbling beneath the rays of the sun of modern freedom which has just arisen upon the world. They are forbidden even "to discuss the religious diplomatic relations of the Holy See to foreign countries." This, of course, is a matter which no profane hand must touch. The Pope is "God's vicegerent upon earth," and his plans of universal empire and control, must be left entirely to himself and his priests.

Thus fully does this *Constitution* tell the Council of Deputies what they must *not do*. If we ask what they *must do*, the answer is —They must provide for the Pope's salary—they must do the Pope's bidding—and when *his Holiness* needs their services no longer, they must be dissolved at his bidding, and return whence they came. To crown all, these obedient servants of the Pope, under the name of a popular assembly, are to be elected, not by the people, but by mayors, priors, and other privileged characters, and possessors of at least three hundred dollars—and these must be exclusively Papists, for "*the profession of the Popish religion is indispensable for the exercise of civil and political rights!*" Is any further proof needed that the Papacy and Liberty are entirely and utterly antagonistic? or that the professed and loudly-vaunted liberalism of Pope Pius IX. is "*vox, vox, prætereaque nihil*"?

§ 26. *War with Austria.—The Pope's opposition.*—The few months that have elapsed since the granting of the above Constitution, have been chiefly occupied by disputes between the Pope and the Roman people relative to the question whether war should be proclaimed against the Austrians, the tyrants and oppressors of northern Italy Soon after the breaking out of the Revolution of 1848 in France, the people of Lombardy and Venice rose in arms against their Austrian conquerors, expelled the garrisons from several of their cities, and under the generalship of Charles Albert, of Sardinia, gained several signal victories over their oppressors. Encouraged by this temporary success, the people of the different Italian states formed the idea of national unity and independence of all foreign rule. The subjects of the Pope joined in the national enthusiasm, and longed to march against the Austrian invaders. Pius IX., fearful of offending the Austrian bishops, and thus creating a schism in the church—unwilling to offend or to alienate that mighty empire,

which had for ages been the great bulwark of the church, refused to second the wishes of his subjects; pocketed the affront of the invasion of Ferrari, and exhorted his subjects to submission and to peace. In a secret consistory of the College of Cardinals held at Rome, April 29th, 1848, the Pope expressed himself as follows:—

"Everybody knows, Venerable Brothers, the words which we addressed to you last year, when we reminded princes of the paternal kindness and attentive care which they owe to the people placed under their power, and *the people of the fidelity and obedience which they owe to their princes.* Afterward, we neglected nothing to impress these same sentiments on all. Would to God that the effect had responded to our paternal exhortations! But every one is aware of the public commotions which have taken place both in Italy and in other countries. *If any one should wish to pretend that the path was opened to such events by the acts which our love and kindness prompted us to carry out at the commencement of our reign, that man certainly is mistaken,* and can not justly impute such things to us, since we have done nothing but what appeared necessary for the prosperity of our temporary state. With respect to those who in our kingdom have abused our benefits, we shall, in accordance with the example of our Divine Master, pardon them from the bottom of our hearts, We call them back to better thoughts, and we pray God to turn away from their heads the chastisements which fall on ungrateful men.

"Besides, the people of Germany can not reasonably complain of us, because *we were unable to contain the ardor* of such of our subjects in the temporal order who have applauded what was done in Italy, who, inflamed with the love of their own nation, united their efforts to those of the other Italian populations. Many other princes in Europe, whose armies were more numerous than ours, beheld themselves eqally unable to oppose the uprising of their people. In that state of things, we, however, gave no other orders to our troops than to protect the integrity and security of the Pontifical state.

"However, several persons manifest a desire to behold us, in accord with the other populations and princes of Italy, declare war on Germany; in consequence we judge it our duty to announce in your assembly that *nothing can be more distant from our thoughts than such a course,* which would be altogether unbecoming our position, as holding on earth the place of Him who is the author of peace."

§ 27. *Intense Excitement in Rome.—Pius IX. almost deposed from his Temporal Power.*—The excitement produced in Rome by this address was intense. The Pope was virtually made a prisoner in his own palace. On Sunday, April 30th, the whole general staff held a sitting. The municipality went in procession to the Pope, to demand explanations as to his policy, and recommend him to abdicate. The civic guard took possession of all the gates of the city, and had orders to let no one, whether priest, bishop, or even the Pope himself, leave the town. The ministry notified the Pope of their intention to resign, and all was in preparation for the formation of a provisional government, if the Pope did not yield.

The morning came for the decision—the streets were filled with people waiting the answer of the Pope—the answer did not arrive; and at eight o'clock in the morning, a new deputation was sent to the Pope, who asked till twelve o'clock to make his decision. At this moment the anxiety and agitation doubled; the Guard took possession of the fort Saint Ange, the arsenal and mint, the prisons, and all

the public establishments; Duke de Rignano declared to the Pope that he could not depend upon the National Guard; there was not a moment to lose; and yet the Pope remained firm. At noon, the Minister Mamiani tried one more effort; the Pope yielded; Mamiani announced it to the people that the ministry had been sustained, and received *a carte blanche for things temporal, and that it comprised a power to declare war.* The joy was expressed in popular demonstrations, the correspondence of the cardinals that was seized was read to the public on the capitol by a senator. The cardinals, seeing the impossibility of getting away, assembled round the Pope, who, it is said, had made every preparation for departing himself. The ministry promised to co-operate with all the forces of the state in expelling the Austrians; and the Austrian minister was sent away from Rome.*

From that time to the last advices from Rome and Italy, the war against the Austrians has been prosecuted with various reverses, though from recent defeats which Charles Albert and the Italians have sustained, and the recapture by the Austrian general Radetsky, of Milan, and several other cities, from which the Austrians had been expelled, there is too much reason to fear that the cause of Italian freedom will, for the present, be prostrated, and that Austria will regain her former authority in Lombardy, Venice, and other parts of Italy.

§ 28. *Reasons for the Pope's Policy.—His love for Popery stronger*

* The effect of this policy of the Pope has been almost entirely to destroy the popularity which he so lately enjoyed. "Eulogies to the Pope have now ceased; the hymn of Pius IX. is forgotten; reproaches and accusations take the place of applause, and the Pope is often stigmatized as a *Jesuit*"—a reproach which his reluctance to the recent expulsion from Rome of these intermeddling pests of society, seems to justify. A correct idea of the present state of the public mind of Italy toward Pius IX. may be formed by reading the following extracts from recent numbers of three well-known Italian journals.

The *Contemporaneo*, published at Rome, says: "The Pontiff has saved the Prince, but in doing so he has compromised the glory of both, and the calamity of Italy will be his condemnation. There remains to this land only *God and her rights.* Let our Italian brethren be assured they do not deceive themselves in relying on the people—those are deceived who rely upon the Papacy for the redemption of Italy."

La Patria, published in Tuscany, says: "The Pope is the friend of Austria's emperor—may God pardon him! If repentance could be a reparation, Italy would rise once more from the abyss into which Pius IX. has plunged her. But repentance only expiates faults—it does not change their effects. As *Prince*, let him put himself at the head of his people, whom he has thrown like lambs into the mouth of wolves—as *Pontiff*, let him anathematize, instead of weeping over his throne and altar."

The *Courier Mercantile*, published at Genoa, says: "We do not flatter ourselves that our words can reach the ears of him who has done everything to cast us back into the slavery of Babylon—to present us as a holocaust to the Austrian idol. But should they reach him, we would boldly say—'*You are not the vicar of God, but the vicar of the Austrian emperor. You fear the schism of the Austrian prelates*, and heed not the curse of nations. Wait awhile, and you will reap such fruit as you deserve. *Poor Italy! whither has the dominion of the Pope led you?* After this protest, what have we to hope for from our Pontiff? Nothing. Mark well, O people! THESE ARE THE TERRIBLE EFFECTS OF THE TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES."

than his Patriotism.—The position of the Pope since the declaration of war against Austria, has been extraordinary. Compelled by the force of circumstances to sanction the war, and yet fearful of cutting off the right hand of the Roman church, by creating a schism in Austria, with which he had been threatened by German priests and Jesuits, he has endeavored to escape from the dilemma—by keeping himself aloof from all connection with the war—thus throwing his moral influence in the scale of Austria—and transferring all the responsibility of the war to the ministry he had created, with these extraordinary powers. This strange posture of affairs in Rome has been so well explained in a recent article in an able religious journal,* that we can not better close the present sketch than by transferring the larger portion of it to our pages.

To explain how the collision has taken place which has already, in effect, divested the Pope of his civil and secular power (says this writer) nothing more is necessary than to look at the condition of the Italian people, and to recollect, in connection with the existing state of facts, some of the plainest principles of international right.

1. Italy is in fact one country, and the Italians are one people. If it were an island, instead of being a peninsula, its extent, and the natural demarcations by which it is separated from all other countries, could hardly be more definite. Throughout its whole extent there is essentially one race, one language, one religion. The people have a common history, and a common literature. They have common sympathies and prejudices, and a common character, distinguishing them from all their neighbors, the French, the Swiss, the Spaniards, the Greeks, and the Germans. They are known and spoken of, the world over, as one people, with their own national designation, not as Lombards, or Tuscans, or Neapolitans, but as Italians.† Italy is one country, marked out and shaped into unity by the God of nature and of history, more completely by far than Germany or Switzerland.

2. Italy then being a nation, with boundaries distinctly marked by Him who "hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation," has, by a charter from God, all the rights that belong to a nation. It has a right to its own national unity, and

* The New York Evangelist.

† The population of the different states of Italy is as follows: —

Naples and Sicily, or the kingdoms of the two Sicilies	8,566,900
Piedmont and Sardinia	4,879,000
Roman States	2,877,000
Tuscany and Lucca	1,701,700
Monaco	7,580
San Marina	7,950
Modena	483,000
Parma and Placentia	477,000
Venetian Lombardy	4,759,000
Italian Tyrol	522,608
Istria	458,000
Total	24,739,738

to a complete national independence.* No Congress of kings at Vienna or Verona, chaffering, and bargaining, and bartering provinces and cities, with all their population, as speculators bargain village-lots, can take away such a right from the Italian people. The Italians have the same right to a complete national independence, and the same right to model their political institutions according to their wants that the French have—that we have. Foreigners have no more right to govern Italy, or any part of it, than the British have to govern France or any part of it. The Austrians in Italy are foreigners. Their only right to govern those parts of Italy which they have had in their possession, is the right of the sword; and the moment the Italian people have it in their power to drive out the intruding government, that right ceases. Whenever Italy, as a whole, has the power to assert her national unity and independence, she has a right to do so; and in that hour every part of Italy has a right to protection and support from every other part. This is the principle on which the Italians are acting.

3. Whatever existing form of government in Italy is found to be an obstacle in the way of a combined effort to establish national unity and independence, ought to be reformed. The people under that government have a right, and it is their duty to reform it. If the government of any Italian state is so constituted that it must needs weaken the power of the entire Italian people to assert their national

* There is one man, at least, in the world, who dissents from these enlightened views, who looks with horror upon the awakened spirit of freedom in Italy, who groans in spirit at beholding the downfall of hoary despotism, and who stigmatizes all who are sighing and daring for the deliverance of their native countries from royal and priestly despotism, as "miscreants—the spawn of hell—doing their best to desolate Europe." That man is an American, but he is a Papist. His name is Orestes A. Brownson. Here is an extract from a late number of his Quarterly Review:—

"Nor have these Italian liberals been content with expelling Jesuits. They have proceeded farther, and at this moment the Holy Father is in a sort of durance—'honorable imprisonment,' as it is termed—because he does not choose to violate faith, conscience, and duty, at the bidding of a graceless mob. And we have men among us—men passing for Catholics even—who are frantic with joy, throw up their greasy caps, and cheer them on with their loud hurrahs, as the genuine friends of freedom. Stupid dolts! do these sympathizers not know that the foundations of liberty are never laid in injustice, never established in outraging law and religion—and that the men who know not how to obey, who will not respect the rights of others, and who demand freedom only for their own selfish purposes, can only be the assassins of liberty? *These liberals, these miscreants, the spawn of hell, who are doing their best to desolate Europe*, and replunge the nations, civilized by Christianity, into the darkness of barbarism, deserve the execration of every man who has a human heart under his left breast; and the man who calls the Church his Mother deserves something far worse if he but dreams for a moment that there is the remotest possibility that the least conceivable good can be effected, even for the temporal condition of the people, by their exertions."

For an extract from the writings of this same Brownson, relative to the designs of the Pope upon America, and his right to possess this country, and the aid afforded him in securing this right, by the Catholic prelates, priests, and Jesuits, see the foregoing History, page 643.

independence, and to establish their common liberty, then the common necessity of all Italy requires that the constitution of that government be changed. And when that necessity is felt by every Italian heart from the Alps to the straits of Messina, the mischievous anomaly *must* be removed.

4. Such an anomaly has been found to exist in the peculiar government at Rome. The sovereign of that state is at the same time the religious head, the chief-priest of the Roman Catholic world; and what he does in one capacity may be disastrous to his interests in the other. It so happens that Pius IX., whose wise and beneficent reforms in the administration of the civil government at Rome, were the beginning of the grand movement for the emancipation of Europe,* has found that his interests as a Pontiff and his duties as a ruler over a free people are incompatible. As head of the Roman government, which in many respects, aside from ecclesiastical influence, is the most important government in Italy, though in military strength inferior to some others, he ought to insist on the independence and federal union of all Italy, and therefore on the removal of the Austrian troops from Lombardy. All those patriotic feelings for which we give him full credit, prompt him to this course. All those desires, which, as a true-hearted Italian, weary with the sight of the degradation which results from political oppression, he can not but cherish, prompt him to say to Austria, "The time has come when Italy will no longer endure the presence of your barbarian armies on her classic soil. Our divisions are at an end; the day of our infirmity is passed, and the day of our deliverance is come." This is what Pius IX. would say if he was only a secular prince, and as such had nothing to regard but the welfare and the rights of his country. And a bold demonstration on his part would unite all Italy, and would bring upon the plains of Lombardy such a force as would compel the Austrians to go home and mind their own affairs. But, unfortunately, Pius IX. is also "His Holiness," "our Lord the Pope;" and as head of the church he must take care lest Austria become schismatic. The emperor of Austria is a dutiful son of the church. The Austrian empire has been for ages one great bulwark of the Papacy. Spain is fallen into ruins. France is no more to be depended on. Austria is undergoing political changes which predispose the minds of men to all sorts of novelties; and if at such a time as this the head of the church should become personally obnoxious to the Austrian government and to the people of Vienna, the church of Austria might declare itself independent of the Holy See. Expostulations and remonstrances from Austrian prelates have no doubt been addressed to *His Holiness*, with all reverence and humility, and yet with an earnestness that could not be

* Though this may be true in the order of time, yet we have seen that the Pope in his speech to the consistory (page 677) denies that the path was open to these "public commotions" (as he terms them) by any act of his own.

disregarded. He must either sacrifice the unity and independence of Italy to the interests of Popery, or the interests of Popery to the welfare of his country.

This was and is a painful dilemma. We give him credit for a hearty attachment to the Roman Catholic unity, and to those interests which are committed to him as the head of the church. We give him credit, also, for a true love to his country. Surrounded by his cardinals, he speaks as Pontiff. He tells them that he is a minister of the gospel; that the Austrians are a portion of his pastoral charge; that the emperor is a dutiful son of the church, and that he cannot make war upon Austria.

But all Rome cries out that the Austrians must be expelled from Italy, and that Italy must bring her whole strength, undivided, to make the expulsion speedy, safe, and final. And with an earnestness of tone in which there seems to be some echo of the voices that expelled the Tarquins, Rome tells him, "If your conscience as a minister of the gospel will not permit you to perform your duties to us and your country in your capacity as a civil ruler, resign that power into hands that can wield it for the welfare of Italy and of the world!"

What the result is to be, does not yet appear. The Pope has made farther concessions to his people—concessions almost equivalent to the abdication of his secular sovereignty. That this is the end, who will say?

New York, Nov. 12, 1849.

§ 29. *Continuation till* 1852.—*Flight of the Pope from Rome.*—The foregoing portion of this Supplement was written previous to the flight of Pius IX. from Rome. The conduct of the Pope during his exile at Gaeta, and since his restoration by means of the French soldiery, up to the present date, A. D. 1853, has proved that the estimate we formed of his character in the preceding pages was literally correct. Pius IX. has proved himself no less a tyrant and a despot than his predecessors on the papal throne.—We shall now proceed to relate the particulars of the Pope's flight from Rome, and of other remarkable events, illustrative of the history and character of popery, that have occurred in the three or four years that have since transpired.—Pius IX. having resisted and frustrated for a time the Italian movement for nationality, was at length obliged to yield. His prime minister, Rossi, a pupil and imitator of Guizot, the late prime minister of Louis Philippe of France, on the 15th of November, 1848, was assassinated, in spite of his guards, near the spot where Julius Cæsar fell. The conspirators seem to have had much more generalship to take advantage of their bloody deed than Brutus and Cassius had. Since the revolution in Paris, it had become evident that the ecclesiastical supremacy of Pope Pius IX. was seriously imperilled. The reconquest of Lombardy kept down, but did

extinguish, the aspirations of the liberals for Italian unity. It was seen that the project, if allowed to assume a practical shape, would extinguish the spiritual claims of tbe Pontiff. Without means to stem the torrent, the Pope applied all his resources and every temporizing expedient to turn it aside. During the conflict, his personal popularity melted away. His antiquated assumptions came to be regarded as the great stumbling-block to Italian nationality, and to the settled establishment of constitutional freedom. His government was despised and powerless.

At length Count Rossi undertook the difficult task of reorganizing the papal government. A man of energy and experience, and a pupil of M. Guizot, he brought to the task much of the talent and unbending austerity which distinguished his master, without the resources to carry his intentions into effect. His haughty spirit and contemptuous bearing marked him out as the special object of popular enmity. On the 15th of Nov., 1848, he proceeded to open the Chamber of Deputies, and met the execrations of the populace by scowls of scorn and defiance. In a sudden outburst of popular fury, the prime minister was attacked, and, though surrounded by a military force, fell beneath the poniard of an assassin in the crowd. Like Cæsar, he had been warned of, but disregarded his danger, and he fell within a few yards of the spot where the Roman dictator was sacrificed. The death of Rossi assured the triumph of the populace.

After the death of the premier, a sudden pause ensued, though toward evening groups of mingled soldiers and citizens, with lighted torches, were heard singing in chorus along the streets,

> "*Benedetta quella mano che il tiranno pugnalo!*"
> ("Blessed be the hand that stabbed the tyrant!")

On the morning of the 16th, the city was in commotion. A gathering began in the great square del Popolo, and symptoms of a menacing character to any one cognizant to Roman peculiarities were perceptible in the leading streets. The civic guards and troops of the line in fragmentary sections commingled with the people; and carbineers, whose uniform had hitherto been invariably arrayed against the populace, were now for the first time seen to fraternize with the mob. From the terrace of the Pincian hill, the spectator could count nearly twenty thousand Romans in threatening groups, and mostly armed. Printed papers were handed eagerly about, all having the same purport, and containing the following "fundamental points: 1. Promulgation and full adoption of Italian nationality. 2. Convocation of a constituent Assembly, and realization of the federal pact. 3. Realization of the vote of the war of independence given in the Chamber of Deputies. 4. Adoption in its integrity of the Programme Mamiani. 5. Ministers who have public confidence—Mamiani, Sterbini, Cambello, Saliceti, Fusconi, Lunati, Sereni, Galletti."

The ostensible object was to proceed with these five points to the

Chamber of Deputies in a constitutional manner. But the chiefs finding themselves in such numbers, and many deputies being found mixed up with the crowd, the cry was raised to march to the Pope's palace, and accordingly the procession moved on orderly enough through the Babuino, and reached the Quirinal by the avenue opened by Sextus the Fifth. At one o'clock, the members of the chambers presented themselves as the mouthpiece of the multitude, and transmitted the five points to the monarch. In about ten minutes, the president of the late ministerial council, Cardinal Soglia, came forth from the private apartment, and informed the deputation that Pius IX. would reflect on the subject, and take it into his best consideration.

This answer was proclaimed to the people, but a general murmur of dissatisfaction gave evidence of its insufficiency to meet the crisis, and the crowd insisted on the deputation getting a personal audience with the Pope. This was obtained, and in about a quarter of an hour Galletti, the ex-police minister, appeared on the balcony to acquaint the people that the Pope had positively declined adhesion to their request, and had stated that "he would not brook dictation."

At two o'clock, the position of the Pontiff began to grow critical. All the avenues of the Quirinal palace were blocked up by dense crowds; and as no preparation had been made for this unanticipated influx of visitors, there was but the usual small detachment of Swiss guards on duty. These men were known to be resolute, and, had there been but a few more of them, the monarch might have cut his way through the mob, and gained Subiaco, in the Apennines, whither it had often been a question of retiring from the rabble of Rome on previous outbreaks. As it was, one of the advanced sentinels having been seized and disarmed by the mob, the Swiss body-guard instantly flung back and barred the gates of the palace, presenting their muskets, in readiness to fire at once on the immense multitude of the populace which beleagured the Quirinal.

At this stage of the proceedings, it was evident that the die was cast. From the back streets men emerged, bearing aloft long ladders, wherewith to scale the pontifical abode; carts and wagons were dragged up and ranged within musket-shot of the windows, to protect the assailants in their determined attack upon the palace; the cry was, "To arms, to arms!" and musketry began to bristle in the approaches from every direction: fagots were produced and piled up against one of the condemned gates of the building, to which the mob was in the act of setting fire, when a brisk discharge of firelocks scattered the besiegers in that quarter. The multitude began now to perceive that there would be a determined resistance to their further operations, but were confident that the Quirinal, if not taken by storm, must yield to progressive inroad.

The drums were now beating throughout the city, the disbanded groups of regular troops and carbineers reinforcing the hostile display of assailants, and rendering it truly formidable. Random shots were

The Pope's secretary killed.—A shot fired into the Pope's room.

aimed at the windows, and duly responded to; the outposts, one after another, being taken by the people, the garrison within being too scanty to man the outworks. The belfry of St. Carlina, which commands the structure, was occupied. From behind the equestrian statues of Castor and Pollux a group of sharp-shooters plied their rifles, and at about four o'clock Monseigneur Palma, private secretary to the Pope, was killed by a bullet penetrating his forehead. *A shot is also said to have entered the room where the Pope was.* Of the people and troops, twelve were wounded, and none killed. Two six-pounders were now drawn up by the people and duly pointed against the main gate; and a truce having been proclaimed, another deputation claimed entrance and audience of the Pope, which the monarch ordered to be allowed.

The deputation were bearers of the people's *ultimatum*, which was a reproduction of the five points before stated; and they now declared that they would allow the Pope one hour to consider; after which, if not adopted, they announced their firm purpose "*to break into the Quirinal and put to death every inmate thereof, with the sole and single exception of his holiness himself.*" Pius IX. no longer hesitated. A popular ministry was at once appointed, and the other demands of the people were referred to the Chamber of Deputies.

The week following this popular outbreak, the Pope remained a close prisoner in his palace. The business of the government went on in the Pope's name, but without his sanction or co-operation. At length, on the 25th of November, Pius IX. disguised himself as an attendant of the Bavarian ambassador, and made his escape from Rome to the city of Gaeta, where he was cordially received by that tyrannical and cruel despot, Ferdinand, king of Naples.

The following curious particulars of the Pope's flight, which will be new to our American readers, are related in an interesting little work, recently published in Scotland, by a distinguished Italian officer, and participant in these stirring events, G. B. Nicolini, to whose graphic pen we shall be indebted for a portion of the following details of the noble struggle of the Roman patriots for freedom, and their final expulsion and defeat by the French army. While the Pope was amusing his too credulous counsellors with protestations of liberalism, says Nicolini, he was, with Madame Spaur, the lady of the Bavarian Minister, planning the means of flight, and meditating the ruin of Rome.

The evening of the 25th of November was dark and cloudy. Rome was profoundly tranquil. Few persons were to be seen in the streets. Only at intervals was the silence of the night broken by the watchword of the patrols. At the corner of the Via delle Quattro Fontane stood a carriage. At some little distance were lurking several persons, apparently watching for its safety. Every other minute a gentleman leaned out of the carriage window as if impatiently waiting for some one. The coachman, too, often turned on his seat and looked anxiously about At

length a person habited like a priest, approached the carriage with a circumspect demeanor. The door flew open, the priest stepped in and the horses started off at full speed At the city gate the coachman shouted "Baviera," and was permitted to pass. The carriage rolled onwards by the Via Appia towards Albano. While this mysterious equipage is so rapidly advancing on the road, another is waiting in the middle of the wood between Albano and Gensano. The few passers-by are surprised to see it standing in such a place at such an hour. From the window of *this* carriage it is a *lady* who looks out in anxious expectancy. A wag, observing that she had waited a very long time, cried out—"La belle has come too early to the rendezvous." At last two carabinieri who were patrolling the road, approached and inquired of the lady why she waited.—"I expect my husband and my chaplain," was her answer. They asked her name;—she prudently gave it. They obligingly offered to stay with her as a protection till her husband arrived;—to avoid suspicion she consented, and descending from the carriage remained with them, still evincing the greatest impatience. At twelve o'clock, the other carriage arrived. The person in the priest's dress, on seeing the carabinieri, hesitated to dismount, but the lady relieved his embarrassment by exclaiming—"Well, Count! what a time you have kept me waiting! and you too, Signor Abbate!" added she, patting the priest on the shoulder. The courteous carabinieri assisted the lady and the "Abbate" into the carriage, which immediately dashed away.

It was not an Abbot. It was the Pope! It was the successor of St. Peter! It was the shepherd who in its greatest need had deserted the flock committed to his care! It was Pius the Ninth, —the *religious* Pius, who had thrown away the pastoral crook that he might resume a tyrannical sceptre! It was Mastai, who once a mild, charitable man, had become a cruel and vindictive despot!* Upon the arrival of the fugitive Pope at Gaeta, a seaport town of the kingdom of Naples, a messenger was dispatched to King Ferdinand, who, upon the reception of the news, immediately sent two regiments of soldiers by steamer, as a guard of honor to the Pope, and soon followed himself in another steamer with the queen and the royal family; and upon their arrival, did homage to the Pope, in the usual manner, by kissing his foot.

§ 30. *Consequences of the Pope's flight.*—The flight of the Pope was immediately followed by that of most of the prelates and cardinals, and caused, along with great joy, much apprehension and uneasiness. Peaceable and timid citizens feared that some great evil was about to fall upon their abandoned city. The priests secretly augmented this fear. Many there were who yet shrunk

* History of the Pontificate of Pius IX., by G. B. Nicolini, of Rome, deputy to the Tuscan constituent assembly, and officer of the general staff of the Roman army, page 85.—Edinburgh, 1852.

from the curse of Pius, whom they had regarded as the messenger of heaven. The more considerate and reflecting among the citizens were afraid lest the people should let loose their inveterate hatred against the priesthood, and drench the town with blood.

The patriots, on the other hand, who now assumed the name of Republicans, were dissatisfied with the new Ministers, still governing in the Pope's name. In such a state of affairs both the Parliament and the Municipality of Rome sent a deputation to Portici to entreat the Pope to return to his own capital. Pius the Ninth would not even permit the deputies to fulfil their mission, and this still more enraged the Republican party, which now increased every day, and which was desirous that the Government should at once renounce all allegiance to the Pope. Yet it still persisted in its moderate policy, governing in the name of Pius the Ninth, and sent to him a second deputation to entreat him to return. This deputation met with as little success as the first. A third deputation, with offers of still greater concessions, was dispatched to Gaeta, but Pius still refused to give them an audience.

At last the people, growing impatient and clamorous, menaced the Ministry if they should persist any longer in acknowledging the Pope's sovereignty. Consequently, on the 14th of December, the Parliament named a Provisional Government, and called to Rome a Constituent Assembly. During this interval,—namely, from the flight of Pius to the nomination of the Provisional Government,—we behold the noble and gratifying spectacle of a people without rulers, governing themselves. Some of the provinces were still governed by prelates all devoted to the fugitive Pope; others, on the contrary, were impatient to cast off entirely the clerical yoke. The priests were exciting civil war; monks, priests, and Jesuits frightening the population and above all the more timid sex, with threats of a thousand different temporal and spiritual punishments. The people, thrown at once from a state of political slavery into a state of uncontrolled liberty, were the real and absolute sovereign. Yet this people, who had many wrongs to avenge, cannot be reproached with a single criminal act—a single day of tumult—a single transgression. Is not this, asks Nicolini, a noble and sublime spectacle?

It would have been strange if the populace of Rome, thus delivered from the presence of their haughty oppressors, the prelates and cardinals, had not shown their joy by some imprudent, yet very natural manifestations. The wonder is that they were not guilty of more criminal excesses. The following two instances may be given of the feelings of the Roman populace towards the fugitive cardinals.—One day, a Roman passing through the Corso, saw exposed in a shop many cardinals' and bishops' hats; and cried out, "What do these hats here?—let us send them to Gaeta by the Tiber." No sooner said than done. In three hours all the shops were denuded of their scarlet glories. The shopmen were offered

payment for them ; some accepted, but most refused. The people, who had now gathered by thousands, rushed to the banks of the Tiber, and cast upon the waters all those insignia of ecclesiastical vanity. Every one acquainted with the form of a Cardinal's hat may imagine what a comic appearance they made floating on the surface of the river. The flow of the Tiber is not very rapid, so that they moved on slowly and majestically, just as if their Eminences were beneath them. It seemed a grand procession of Cardinals and Prelates, of whom the great crowd prevented more than the tops of their heads being seen. The shouts of jubilee were deafening. The multitude accompanied this flock of aquatic birds of a new species far on their way down the river, and the boys still farther.

On another day was enacted a scene of an equally amusing but of a more serious and rather illegal character, and productive afterwards of very sad consequences. In a coach-builder's premises there was found by some of the populace a Cardinal's gorgeous carriage. "Let us burn this *Eminentissimo!*" shouted one, and immediately the equipage was dragged by the people into the public place, and consigned to the flames amidst their huzzas and laughter. On the two or three days following, all the Cardinals' coach-houses were broken into, the carriages abstracted and made bonfires of.

§ 31. *Manifestoes of Pius IX.*—A few days after his arrival at Gaeta, the Pope addressed a manifesto to the people of Rome, under date of November 28, of which the following is an extract:

PIUS IX. TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

"The outrage in latter days committed against our person, and the intention openly manifested to continue these acts of violence (which the Almighty, inspiring men's minds with sentiments of union and moderation, has prevented), have compelled us to separate ourselves temporarily from our subjects and children, whom we love, and ever shall love.

"The reasons which have induced us to take this important step —Heaven knows how painful it is to our heart—have arisen from the necessity of our enjoying free liberty in the exercise of the sacred duties of the Holy See, as under the circumstances by which we were then afflicted, the Catholic world might reasonably doubt of the freedom of that exercise. The acts of violence of which we complain can alone be attributed to the machinations which have been used and the measures that have been taken by a class of men degraded in the face of Europe and the world. This is the more evident as the wrath of the Almighty has already fallen on their souls, and as it will call down on them sooner or later the punishment which is prescribed for them by his Church. We recognize humbly, in the ingratitude of these misguided children, the anger of the Almighty, who permits their misfortunes as an atonement for the sins of ourselves and those of our people.

"But still we cannot, without betraying the sacred duties imposed on us, refrain from protesting formally against their acts, as we did do verbally on the 16th day of November of painful memory, in presence of the whole diplomatic corps, who on that occasion honorably encircled us, and brought comfort and consolation to our soul, in recognizing that a violent and unprecedented sacrilege had been committed. That protest we did intend, as we now do, openly and publicly, to repeat, inasmuch as we yielded only to violence, and because we were and are desirous it should be made known that all proceedings emanating from such acts of violence were and are devoid of all efficacy and legality. This protesting is a necessary consequence of the malicious labors of these wicked men, and we publish it from the suggestion of our conscience, stimulated as it has been by the circumstances in which we were placed, and the impediments offered to the exercise of our sacred duties."

The Pope then proceeded to nominate several individuals as a "governing commission" in his absence, but the people of Rome contemptuously rejected these appointments, and to shun the dangerous honor, several of the functionaries named, escaped beyond the frontier as fast as they could.

The Pope also issued the following protest against the validity of the acts of the existing authorities in the city of Rome:

"We declare to be null and of no force or effect in law, the acts which have followed the violence committed upon us, protesting, above all, that this Junta of State, established at Rome, is a usurpation of our sovereign powers, and that the said Junta has not and cannot have any authority. Be it known, then, to all our subjects, whatever may be their rank or condition, that at Rome, and throughout the whole Pontifical States, there is not, and cannot be, any legitimate power which does not emanate expressly from us; that we have, by the sovereign *motu proprio*, of the 27th of November, instituted a temporary commission of government, and that to it belongs exclusively the government of the nation during our absence, and until we ourselves shall have otherwise ordained.

"PIUS PAPA IX."

§ 32. *Proclamation of the Roman Republic.*—These proclamations of the Pope, however, had lost their power to terrify or to persuade the people of Rome, and on the 9th of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly decreed the deposition of the Pope from his temporal power and the establishment of a Republic. The number of representatives present was 144. M. Armellini, in the name of the Provisional Government, first came forward and resigned into the hands of the Assembly, the powers which it had heretofore possessed, when M. Savini moved, and the Assembly, by almost a unanimous vote, adopted the following decree:

Joy of the people. A noble Roman boy.

"ART. I.—The Popedom has fallen, in fact as well as in law, from the temporal government of the Roman States.

"ART. II.—The Roman Pontiff will enjoy all the guarantees necessary to the independence of his *spiritual* power.

"ART. III.—The form of government of the Roman State will be pure democracy, and will take the glorious name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC.

"ART. IV.—The Roman Republic will have with the rest of Italy, the relations which a common nationality requires."

A Triumvirate, or executive of three men, was appointed to administer the new government, consisting at first of Armellini, Salicetti, and Montecchi; but upon the arrival of the celebrated Mazzini in Rome, on the 22d of February, changed to Armellini, Saffi, and Mazzini.

At the proclamation of the Republic, the city of Rome was in a state of apparent joy and enthusiasm. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, the flag of the republic was hoisted on the tower of the capitol, amid the cheering of thousands of spectators, and saluted by the firing of 101 guns from the castle of St. Angelo. The next day there was a civic demonstration in its honor, and the decree relating to it was read from the capitol; and on the 11th, a grand *Te Deum* was chanted in the church of St. Peter's on the occasion of its proclamation.

The people of Rome, ground down for ages by the tyranny and oppression of popes and cardinals, fondly hoped that the hour of their final deliverance had arrived, and that the temporal dominion of the Pope was ended forever. As an illustration of this feeling, a single incident may be mentioned. While the cannon of St. Angelo was announcing the formation of the republic, and a deputy from the battery of the capitol was reading to the assembled multitudes the decision of the members of the Assembly, for the abolition of the Pope's temporal government, at the same moment the funeral bell of the capitol, which only tolls on the death of a Pope, pealed forth its solemn knell. An English traveller, aware of this custom, asked of a Roman youth the question—"What means the sound of that bell?—Is the Pope dead?" "No, Signore," replied the young man, his eyes gleaming with excitement and joy, "it is not Pius IX. who is dead, but the popedom."

These expectations of the patriotic Romans, however, were premature. They were doomed to the bitter disappointment of seeing a neighboring government, which had also just proclaimed itself a republic, send its armed battalions for the purpose of crushing the spirit of Roman liberty, and restoring to his throne the most imbecile, yet the most despotic of the crowned tyrants of Europe. It is a just retribution, that the French nation, who thus disgraced itself in the eyes of Europe and of the world, has since been compelled to exchange its boasted but short-lived republican government, for a despotism scarcely less degrading than that which they brought

back to the Romans—the rule of that arch-traitor to his country, and to the cause of human liberty, who styles himself the Emperor Napoleon III. Yet although the expectations of the Romans have been for the present disappointed, the chains of papal despotism have been broken, and none can mend them. Henceforward an impassable abyss yawns between the Pope and his Roman subjects. All mutual confidence is gone forever. The pontiffs will continue to fear their subjects as enemies, while the latter will perceive in the Pope nothing more than a usurper imposed upon them by foreign force, whose yoke they will gladly shake off, when the "tide of affairs" shall remove or weaken the force which has imposed it.

§ 33. *Exposure of the horrors of the Roman Inquisition.*—One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, was the abolishment of the Inquisition at Rome, which had been in full operation up to the time of the flight of Pope Pius. By the same decree, which ordained the destruction of this iniquitous and terrible tribunal, the Assembly charged the triumvirate with the duty of erecting a lofty column, to commemorate the overthrow of one of the greatest evils that ever darkened the face of the earth. But the scenes of this world change. On the 1st of July, 1849, the Roman republic, after a brief existence of five months, capitulated to the French, and in May, 1850, Pius IX., after an exile of one year and six months, returned to his capitol, proscribed the triumvirate, and re-established the Inquisition in all its former power.

The following particulars of the opening of the palace of the Inquisition at Rome are from the pen of an eye-witness of the scenes he describes.* "On Sunday last, the palace of the Inquisition was thrown open to the public, after some days devoted to an inventory of its contents, and investigations, which resulted in the discovery of some relics of the diabolical practices with which this tribunal has been associated. Curiosity had been whetted by the accounts which appeared from time to time of prisoners, bones, and tortures, and more recently by the proclamation announcing that the building would be opened, which spoke of 'horrid prisons, skeletons, and instruments of torture.'

"The people poured into it in crowds. I went with a crowd, and found my way at last into a quiet garden, with a bubbling fountain in the centre, which seemed the very spot for sacred meditation; but around the garden was a low building with grated windows. The rough walls of the rooms within were covered with inscriptions marked with a bit of charcoal—some ascriptions of praise, some bitter and complaining. In one I read, '*Let us pray to God that the good people may have pity.*' In another, '*Take away oppression, O God.*'—'*Too long have I been confined here at the caprice of calumniators, without admission to the sacraments.*'—'*How much have I suffered here!*' Here, beneath a death's head and cross-bones

* The foreign correspondent of the New York Tribune.

was written, '*O mori!*' Here, '*Scipio Gaetani—eight years have I been imprisoned here.*' There was one short but expressive sentiment in the English language: '*Is this the Christian faith?*' In one prison a heavy trap-door was lifted from a dark opening, exposing a deep black vault; below, in a corner, lay a mass of bed-clothes and tattered garments, among which I recognized a worn, dirty strait-waistcoat, apparently intended for a female. In several of the rooms were pipes, through which, probably, food was given to the wretched inmates. In another part of the building a dense crowd was assembled around the entrance to a vault, which seemed to pass beneath the whole palace. I made my way through the mass and down the rough steps, and recognized, by the light of the torches upon the walls, heaps of human bones scattered over the floor. Others were protruding from the wall of earth at the sides, yet untouched; and although it was difficult to distinguish in this confused mass, sex, age, or even the different parts of the body, one at least seemed to be that of a female; and the seventeen thigh-bones which might be counted here and there, told the story of nine poor victims.

"The excavations are yet unfinished, and it is not easy to conjecture how much the number may be increased. But even these few relics afford room for the darkest suspicions. How many years have passed since these vaults received their last victim? Did he waste away slowly under torture and starvation, or did the *holy* fathers, more merciful than usual, give him the blessing of a sudden death? But these are conjectures without limit. It is difficult to account for the presence of these relics upon any supposition favorable to the holy office. They are found imbedded in earth, filling the brick arches which form the foundation of the building, and must therefore have been placed there since its construction—a fact inconsistent with the supposition that they belong to an ancient cemetery on this spot, if any existed: and it is but too clear, from the appearance of the bones, that their possessors were born long since the erection of the building. Perhaps the unfortunate nun, who was found in her cell, when recent events threw open the doors of the palace, might tell us something that would aid in explaining these discoveries."

Another reliable witness, writing from Italy, published in the New York Journal of Commerce the following additional particulars of the horrors discovered in this den of papal cruelty and abomination. "In Turin I met the American consul of Rome, who had passed through the entire revolution in the Eternal City, and who was present when the doors and dungeons of the Inquisition were opened by the decree of the Triumvirs, its prisoners released, and the building converted into an asylum for the poor. It was interesting to hear from the lips of an intelligent eye-witness, the most ample confirmation of the published statement relative to the condition and appearance of this iniquitous establishment The

The trap-door and pit of death.

Holy Inquisition of Rome is situated near the Porta Cavalligeri, and under the very shadow of the sublime dome of St. Peter's Cathedral, and capable in case of emergency of accommodating three thousand prisoners. The consul was particularly struck with the imposing dimensions of the 'Chamber of Archives,' filled with voluminous documents, records, and papers. Here were piled all the proceedings and decisions of the holy office, from the very birth of the Inquisition, including the correspondence with its collateral branches in both hemispheres. Upon the third floor, over a certain door, was an inscription to this effect—'*Speak to the first inquisitor.*' Over another—'*Nobody enters this chamber except on pain of excommunication.*' They might as well have placed over that door the well-remembered inscription of Dante over the gates of Tartarus—'*Abandon hope, all ye who enter here.*' That chamber was the solemn hall of judgment, or doom-room, where the fates of thousands have been sealed in death. Over a door directly opposite, another inscription read, '*Speak to the second inquisitor.*' Upon opening the door of the department, a trap-door was exposed, from which the condemned, after they left the hall of judgment, stepped from time into eternity.

"The well or pit beneath had been built in the ordinary cylindrical form, and was at least eighty feet deep, and so ingeniously provided with projecting knives and cutlasses, that the bodies of the victims must have been dreadfully mangled in the descent. At the bottom of this abyss, quantities of hair and beds of mouldering bones remained. Not only at the bottom of the pit, but also in several of the lower chambers of the building, were found human bones. In some places they appear to have been mortared into the walls. The usual instruments of torture in such establishments were likewise manifest."

As the existence of this modern Inquisition in Rome is a fact of startling moment, when considered in connection with the efforts of Roman Catholics in America, we add the additional testimony of Dr. Achilli, given at a recent public meeting.

"At a meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, recently, in connection with the Italian Evangelical Society, Mr. Philip Dixon Hardy stated, that he was anxious to put a question to Dr. Achilli. It had been denied that some of the things alleged to have taken place had ever occurred. The question he wanted to put was this—Was it a fact that at the time Pio Nono left Rome the Inquisition was in Rome? This had been denied, and he wished his friend to give an answer.

"Dr. Achilli thereupon rose and said: Pius IX. on leaving Rome with his cardinals, left there the Inquisition, and he left it hoping that by means of its work he would be the better able to return to Rome; and it is the fact the Inquisition is still in Rome, and was at work in Rome after the departure of Pius IX. Pius IX. left Rome in the month of November, 1848, and I was in Rome in the

month of February, 1849, and at this time the Roman Republic was proclaimed; and eight days after the proclamation of the republic, the *Te Deum* was chanted in the cathedral of St. Peter's; and on that occasion, I with some ten or twelve of my companions visited together the prison of the Inquisition, and this is what we found:—We found in this palace of the Inquisition, the Commissary of the Inquisition, together with his two companions, his secretaries, and his chancellors, and in addition to that we found the jailors of the Inquisition; and I myself asked one of the jailors whether there were any prisoners in the cells; because, I said, if there are jailors, we may naturally suppose that there are also prisoners. But the jailor, according to the laws of his order and of the Inquisition, was not at liberty to give me an honest answer; and was satisfied with merely shrugging up his shoulders; but for me that answer was sufficient, and I understood by the shrug of his shoulders, he meant to say there were plenty of them. And it was in consequence of this automatic answer that my companions, amongst whom were some French officers, were very much inclined to cause an uproar in the Inquisition. They wanted, right or wrong, to examine the cells and dungeons, and compel the jailors to open the gates; but I begged of my friends to desist from such a thing, and I advised them rather to make known this state of things to the government. And that was done; and the government sent officers to verify whether the Inquisition was still in operation, and they found matters as I have described them. In addition to that, the government found three prisoners in the dungeons, and one of these prisoners was a bishop, who had been there in his cell for twenty-five years; and this bishop, together with another prisoner, was almost carried in triumph through the streets of Rome; and every child in Rome knows that Bishop Cashur, from Cairo, was carried about in triumph after having been delivered from the prison of the Inquisition.

"But I will tell you also of another case. There was another of the prisoners of the Inquisition, although he was not immured in the dungeon of the Inquisition itself; he was imprisoned in one of the convents of Rome, and whoever has been at Rome will know the convent of Franciscan Friars, called the Convent of Aracoeli. This prisoner was a wretched monk of about sixty years of age; he had been for twelve years immured in a most horrible hole. This unfortunate man was not a Roman, he was not an Italian—you will be surprised to find that he was an American; he was not an inhabitant of the United States, but a man from the republics of the South. This wretched monk, when he heard that the republic was proclaimed in Rome, and that the Inquisition was thrown open, contrived by some means or other to let it be known that he was there, and the messenger brought the news to the National Assembly, that this man was a prisoner in the Convent of Aracoeli. A deputation was at once sent to the superior of the convent, in order to ascertain the truth of the matter, but the father abbot

strenuously denied it. However, they compelled him by threatening him, and at last he condescended to open the door of his cell. The monk was drawn out, and the wretched man, after twelve years' immurement there, was almost reduced to blindness, and he was scarcely able to stand on his legs—and they had to support him to enable him to go along. In this state he was brought before the National Assembly, and I was there myself. I have seen him with my own eyes, and if any one would deny it, I appeal to Rome, to every one in Rome, to confirm the truth of what has been said. On arriving at the National Assembly he was an object of curiosity, and every one hastened around to examine him, and every one was anxious to hear something from him, and he had but one answer for them all, 'I have not the most remote idea why I was for twelve years kept in that dungeon; and I had always settled in my mind, and was at peace with myself, never having the slightest hope of seeing the daylight again.'

"He turned round and thanked them one after another, for he said it was to them he owed his life. He then asked for some assistance to return to his own country, and on that same evening a collection was made among us, and we gave him a small sum to enable him to return to America, and I believe, at this moment, the monk is in South America, thankful for his deliverance. Therefore, there is no doubt the Inquisition existed in Rome up to the first days of the Roman Republic; and that the Inquisition was restored with the return of the Papal Government, I am," said Dr. Achilli, "myself a living proof—and when you will consider that the Papal Government itself has not the hardihood to deny that I was in the Inquisition—when the government has confessed and acknowledged it—you will scarcely find any one to deny it. Therefore you may well conclude from this, that the Inquisition is still in existence at this present moment in Rome; and if I were rash enough to go to Rome now, I will just tell you what would happen—though you may guess it—I don't think I ever would see the face of the sun again."*

* The name of Dr. Achilli has of late become familiar to the Protestant world, from the remarkable adventures through which that gentleman has passed. Formerly a Romish priest in Italy, the land of his birth, of high distinction and honor—he was led to renounce the errors of Popery, and to avow himself a Protestant believer. His persecutions and sufferings in the Inquisition at Rome and elsewhere, have been detailed by himself in an interesting volume entitled "Dealings with the Inquisition."

After his providential escape from the dungeons of the Inquisition, he took refuge in England, and became a preacher of the gospel to his Italian countrymen in London. A desperate and unprincipled attempt was there made to ruin the reputation of Dr. Achilli, by charges of immoralities, alleged to have been perpetrated by him, long before he abandoned the Romish priesthood; but the author of these charges, Dr. Newman, formerly of Puseyite notoriety, and now a most bigoted and zealous Papist, has been convicted by a British jury, and brought to punishment for his vindictive and disgraceful libel.

In the attempt to establish these infamous charges, the whole power, influ-

Sensation produced by the Pope's flight. Achilli, and the cry of "wolf!"

§ 34. *Effect of the Pope's expatriation upon the Catholic world.*—The sensation produced by the flight of the Pope from Rome upon the whole Catholic world was most intense and exciting. In France and other European countries, the Ultramontane party confidently proclaimed that Pius IX. would triumphantly re-enter his capital at the end of a few days from his banishment. They said in their journals: "The Romans will speedily repent of their ingratitude. It is an act of madness which cannot last; they cannot do without their Sovereign Pontiff. You will see that they will fall upon their knees, strike upon their breasts, before the most Holy Father, and that with many tears they will beseech him to return to the Vatican! Pius IX. is as necessary to the Romans as the air they breathe, and they will renounce all their vain political liberties rather than consent to part with their spiritual and temporal head!" After the lapse of a few months, however, these prophets came to the conclusion, that more *forcible* arguments were needed to bring the refractory Romans to submission, than their reverence for the man who had deceived and abused them. They then came to the conclusion that the Pope's temporal subjects were very bad Catholics.

ence, and wealth of the Romish priesthood were enlisted; and yet, whether they were false or true, the conclusion was equally disgraceful to the Romish church. If the charges are false, then the facts reveal a most infernal and deep-laid plot, such as could be hatched only in the brain of a Jesuit, to crush and ruin a good man, for no other reason than that he had forsaken their communion. If they are true, then the fact is established, that a Romish priest may be guilty of the grossest licentiousness, without injuring his standing as a priest; nay more, that in spite of this conduct, he can make his way to honor and distinction in the priesthood, and need fear no exposure, unless he should forsake the Romish church. This latter conclusion, whether applicable in the present case or not, we are perfectly satisfied is literally true. As a proof, see an extract from Rev. Pierce Connolly's letter, Appendix 10.

The fact is well known and admitted, that long after Achilli's alleged offences against chastity and morality, he was not only regarded as a good Catholic priest, but was honored, and appointed to various important ecclesiastical posts and duties. When Achilli left the Roman church, his popish accusers denounced him as "a wolf," who had long been devouring the flock. In allusion to this epithet, and upon the supposition that some of the alleged charges might be true, the Christian Remembrancer, for October, 1852, very pertinently says: "Talk of the 'wolf,' then, as much as you please; but what if the shepherds pulled in the wolf by the head and shoulders; what if, when the wolf had eaten two or three of the sheep, the shepherds gave him a comfortable kennel in the midst of the fold, 'in the hope of reclaiming him;' what if his reformation was under such circumstances slow, and he ate several more of the sheep; what if the shepherds, still bent upon a kindly reformation of the wolf, in order to melt and captivate him by an act of unqualified trust in his sincerity, send him on a commission to bring in some stray sheep; and what if the wolf concludes an affectionate appeal to these wanderers, with a meal made out of some of them? In that case, the fact is certainly too evident, that he is a wolf; but neither are you good shepherds. The good shepherd does not stand by, while the wolf, time after time, devours the sheep, and reserve his indignation till the time when the wolf has taken it into his head to leap over the walls of the fold, and is off elsewhere—then, and not till then, when all the mischief has been done, and a controversial end is to be gained, with pious horror to shout, Oh, wolf! dreadful wolf!"

Then they loaded the Roman patriots with the most abusive epithets. In the vocabulary of these slaves of the Pope, they were "infernal beings, vile radicals, disgusting wretches, infamous creatures;" and since threats and promises, abuse and flattery, excommunications and exhortations, had all failed to induce them to abandon the struggle for liberty, these journals invoked the assistance of Catholic princes and Catholic bayonets to compel the "rebels" to submission.

In America the excitement among the Roman Catholics was scarcely less intense than in Europe; at least, among those whose residence in a free country had not yet been sufficiently long to wean them from the notion so zealously taught by Romish priests everywhere, that Catholics all over the world are still subjects of the Pope, and that their allegiance to him is of a higher and more imperative character than that which they owe to any earthly government. Said Bishop Hughes, in a sermon preached in New York soon after the Pope's flight, upon "the present position of Pope Pius IX.:" "It is necessary for Christendom, that the Pope should be free, and if there be no middle state between a subject and a secular sovereign, then I say that *for him to be a sovereign is necessary.*" And again he says: "If necessary, the Church has resources. There is no sovereign on earth that counts so many SUBJECTS as Pius IX., independent of those petty states of Rome. Two hundred millions of men cherish him in their hearts, all of whom direct their best wishes towards his sacred person. Sooner than we should see him subject to any sovereign, or president, or petty prince, or king, we should have recourse to the old institution, and Peterpence from every point of the compass would constitute a treasury to raise him above that subjection, even though he should occupy an island in the Mediterranean Sea a single square mile in extent."

Some Catholic writers warmly proposed that the expatriated Pope should be invited to make America his future home, and the city of St. Louis was frequently named as the future Rome of America, and the throne of the Pope upon the western continent Others opposed this project upon the ground that America was as yet not sufficiently *civilized*, to give him a suitable reception. Among the Catholic journals who took this ground was the organ of Bishop Hughes in New York, edited by a renegade Protestant named McMasters, and misnamed the Freeman's Journal. The following extract from this paper, is worthy of record, for future reference as one of the curiosities of American literature, and as an exposition of Catholic views of papal man-worship and American civilization.

"EXILE OF HIS HOLINESS.—In the touching pastoral of Bishop Maginn, in another column, will be found an allusion to the asylum that his Holiness might find in the Republic of the United States. This is all very well as a poetic hypothesis; as a proposition, however, it makes our blood thrill with horror. No! Sooner than that

impracticable absurdity should occur—sooner than the consecrated foot of the Vicar of Christ should bear him to a soil where more than half of the public press would insult him, and more than half the remainder exhaust themselves in efforts to make political capital out of him; sooner than he should come to a land where more than one half the Catholic population, ignorant of the etiquette that so distinguishes even the poorest peasantry of a Catholic land, would *gape at him with their hats on, or sit in his presence with their heels up in the air,*—we would exclaim with the 'Cercle Catholique' of France, 'Rather we will go to you; our arms, our wealth, our lives are at your service; yes, *we love you far more than we love our country* or our homes; we are ready, at a sign from you, to chase out these robbers from the Patrimony of St. Peter, and to re-establish your throne in the Vatican;—but, Holy Father, do not afflict our Catholic hearts by seeing you in a land which is so unworthy of you, and which is *too little advanced in the race of the Christian civilization* to know how to receive you becomingly!'

"Such would be the language that we would address to the Sovereign Pontiff. But we shall have no opportunity of doing so. There are too many nations baptized by the Church, who vie with each other to do honor to the Pope, to afford us the necessity of meeting him on these shores."

§ 35. *The Pope's appeal to foreign powers.*—While these speculations and conjectures were circulating throughout the world, in reference to the probable future home of the expatriated Pope, Pius himself was planning with his cardinals at Gaeta, the most effectual means of being restored to the throne from which he had been driven in the city of Rome. In order to the accomplishment of this object, a Pronunciamento addressed to the European powers was drawn up by Cardinal Antonelli, the Pope's prime minister, dated February 18, 1849, calling, in the Pope's name, upon the Catholic kingdoms and sovereigns of Europe, and particularly upon Austria, France, Spain, and the kingdom of the two Sicilies, for their armed intervention to conquer his rebellious subjects, and to restore him to the throne from which he had been driven. As this document is an able and compact statement of the papal view of the events we have detailed, it is worthy of being placed on record, as the most powerful argument and plea on the papal side of the question:

THE PRONUNCIAMENTO OF THE POPE TO THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

From his accession to the popedom, his Holiness had only in view to lavish on all his subjects benefits in accordance with the epoch, by providing for all their welfare. In fact, after having pronounced words of pardon for those who, in consequence of political offences, were in exile or in prison—after having established a Council of State and instituted a regular ministry—after having accorded, by the imperative force of circumstances, the institution of the civic guard, the new law for a fair liberty of the press, and finally, a fundamental statute for

the states of the Holy See, he had a strong title to that gratitude which subjects owe to a prince who looked on them as his children, and who promised them only a reign of love. But very different was the recompense of so many benefits and concessions which he had lavished on them. After brief demonstrations of pleasure then excited by those who had already in their heart the most culpable intentions, he soon reaped the bitter harvest of ingratitude.

Violently urged by an unbridled faction to engage in a war against Austria, he was obliged to pronounce, in the consistory held on the 26th of April, 1848, an address, in which he declared that his duty and his conscience did not permit him to consent to such a course. That was sufficient to cause machinations, prepared beforehand, to burst out in open violence against the exercise of his full and free government, in forcing him to divide the ministry into two parts, one lay and the other ecclesiastical, a division which he never admitted. However, the Holy Father hoped that, in placing at the head of the various ministerial departments men of ability and friends to order, matters would have assumed a better appearance, and that the evils which already forebode so many misfortunes, would be in part arrested. But a homicidal steel, directed by the hand of an assassin, destroyed, by the death of the minister Rossi, the hopes which he had conceived. That crime, cried up as a glorious act, imprudently inaugurated the reign of violence; the Quirinal was surrounded by armed men; an attempt was made to burn it; shots were fired against the apartments of the Sovereign Pontiff, and one of his secretaries was killed. In fine, efforts were made to besiege his palace with cannon and enter it by force, unless he consented to admit the ministry which was imposed on him.

In consequence of such a series of atrocious acts, being obliged to yield, as every one knows, to force, the Pontiff saw himself under the necessity of quitting Rome and the pontifical states, in order to recover that liberty which was forced from him. Thanks to Providence, he withdrew to Gaeta, and there received the hospitality of a prince eminently Catholic. There, surrounded by a part of the Sacred College and by the representatives of all the powers with which he was on friendly terms, he did not delay a moment to cause his voice to be heard, and to announce by the pontifical act of November 27, the motives of his temporary separation from his subjects, the nullity and illegality of all the acts emanating from a ministry formed by violence, and he named a commission of government to take the direction of affairs during his absence from his states.

Without paying any attention to his wishes, and seeking to extenuate their influence with the inexperienced classes by the aid of false pretexts, the authors of these sacrilegious acts of violence did not fear to commit greater crimes; arrogating to themselves, rights which belong only to the sovereign, they instituted an illegal form of government, by the title of Provisional Junta of State. By another document of December 17, the Holy Father protested against this new and grave sacrilege, announcing that this Junta of State was only a usurpation of sovereign power, and could not, consequently, have any authority. He hoped that such protests would have recalled his misled subjects to their duty, but a new and more monstrous act of open felony, of absolute rebellion, crowned his measure of bitterness. Such was the convocation of a National General Assembly of the Roman State to establish new political forms to be given to the States of the Holy See.

It was then, that, by another document of Jan. 1, he protested against that act, and condemned it as an odious and sacrilegious crime, committed against his independence and his sovereignty, deserving of the chastisements denounced against such acts by both divine and human laws, and he forbade all his subjects to take part in it, warning that whoever dared make any attempt against the temporal sovereignty of the Sovereign Pontiff, rendered himself liable to the censures and excommunication of the church—a punishment which he declared to be incurred by those who in any manner whatever, and under false pretexts, had usurped and violated his authority. How did the anarchical party receive such a protest, and so imperative a condemnation? It will be sufficient to state, that every possible

effort was made to prevent its divulgation. Severe penalties were threatened against whatever person should dare to inform the people of it, and against any that should not second the views of the anarchists. However, notwithstanding such unheard of violence, the majority of his subjects remained faithful to their sovereign, exposed themselves to all sacrifices, even to the extent of their lives, rather than fail in their duty as subjects and Catholics. The anarchical party, still more exasperated to see their designs thwarted, redoubled in a thousand ways their violence and their reign of terror, without any regard for rank or condition; but, being anxious at any price, to consummate this access of crime, they had recourse to the vilest mercenary means.

Proceeding from excess to excess, they abused even the benefits accorded by the Sovereign Pontiff particularly in converting the liberty of the press into the most revolting license. After the most unjust appropriations of property, in order to recompense their accomplices, and not to tolerate the presence of honest and timid men, after so many assassinations committed under their eyes, after having everywhere disseminated the seeds of rebellion, immorality, and irreligion; after having led away the imprudent young men of the capital, without respecting even the places consecrated to public instruction, in order to convert them into barracks for the most undisciplined soldiers, composed of fugitives and offenders from foreign countries, the anarchists desire to reduce the capital of the Catholic world, the seat of the pontiffs, into a seat of impiety, destroying, if they can, all idea of sovereignty in him, destined by Providence to govern the universal Church; and who, in fact, in order to exercise freely his authority over the whole Catholic world, enjoys a state as patrimony of the Church.

At the sight of so manifest desolations and massacres, the Holy Father cannot be but profoundly afflicted, and at the same time moved by the cry of his faithful subjects, calling for his assistance to be delivered from the most dreadful tyranny. His Holiness, as is known, a short time after his arrival at Gaeta, on the 4th of December last, raised his voice to all the sovereigns with whom he was in relation. On making known to them his departure from his capital and the pontifical states, with the causes which compelled him to take this step, he invoked their aid in defence of the domains of the Holy See. He has a pleasing satisfaction in declaring that all, answering his appeal in love, have taken a most lively interest in his griefs and painful situation; have offered to intervene in his favor, and at the same time testified the most lively sentiments of devoted attachment towards him. In the expectation of such happy and generous dispositions, while her Majesty, the Queen of Spain, with so much solicitude, promoted a Congress of the Catholic powers to concert the means of promptly re-establishing the Holy Father in his states, in full liberty and independence, a proposition in which several powers acceded, and to which the accession of others was expected, it is painful to have to recall to mind that the papal states were a prey to a devastating incendiarism, the work of a party subversive to all social institutions, and which, under the specious pretext of nationality and independence, has not abstained from any effort to accomplish its criminal designs.

The decree, called fundamental, which emanated on the 9th (February) from the Roman Constituent Assembly, constitutes an act which exceeds the blackest felony—the most abominable impiety. In this, principally, the Pope is declared *de jure et de facto*, deprived of the temporal government of the Roman state, and the republic is proclaimed; and by another act the arms of the Holy Father are decreed to be taken down. His Holiness, seeing his dignity as pontiff and sovereign degraded, protests in the face of all the sovereigns and nations, and of all the Catholics upon the earth, against this access of irreligion—against a violent attempt which despoils him of his most sacred and imprescriptible rights. If a prompt remedy be not applied to this state of things, succor will not arrive until the states of the Church, now a prey to their most cruel enemies, will be reduced to ashes.

The Holy Father, having exhausted all the means within his power, obliged by his duty towards the Catholic world to preserve in its integrity the patrimony of

the Church and the sovereignty which is annexed to it, so indispensable for maintaining his liberty and independence as Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, moved by the groans of his faithful and devoted subjects, who implore with loud voices the succor which is necessary to relieve them from the yoke of iron and tyranny they can no longer endure, *he once more turns towards the foreign powers*, and especially towards the Catholic powers, who, with so much generosity of soul, and in a manner so marked, have manifested their firm resolution to defend his cause. He feels convinced that they will be anxious to co-operate, by their moral intervention, in re-establishing him in his See, in the capital of those domains which have been piously constituted to maintain his full liberty and independence, and which have been guaranteed by treaties forming the basis of the public right of Europe. And since Austria, France, Spain, and the Kingdom of the two Sicilies, are, by their geographical position, in a situation to efficiently co-operate by arms in re-establishing, in the domain of the Holy See, the order which has been destroyed by a horde of sectarians, the Holy Father confiding in the religious interest of these powers, demands with full confidence *their armed intervention* to deliver principally the States of the Holy See from that faction of wretches, who, by all sorts of crimes, exercises there the most atrocious despotism.

It is the only means of succeeding in restoring order in the States of the Church and in giving back to the Sovereign Pontiff the free exercise of his supreme authority, as his sacred and august character, the interests of the Church, and the peace of nations, require. It is in that way that he will be enabled to preserve the patrimony which he received in accepting the pontificate, in order to transmit it in its integrity to his successors. It is the cause of order and Catholicism, and it is on that account that the Holy Father indulges in the hope that, whilst all the powers with whom he is on friendly terms, and who, in the situation to which a factious party has reduced him, have in so many ways manifested to him the most lively interest, will give a moral assistance to the armed intervention which the gravity of circumstances forces him to apply for, the four powers mentioned above will not lose a moment in accomplishing the work which he demands from them, and thus will be sure to merit well of public order and religion.

CARDINAL ANTONELLI.

Gaeta, February 18, 1849.

§ 36. *The appeal of the Roman Patriots to France and England.*—In order to counteract, as much as possible, the force of the Pope's appeal for armed intervention, the Constituent Assembly of Rome prepared the following bold and manly address to the governments and parliaments of France and England:

The Representatives of the free Roman people confidently appeal to the Governments and to the Parliaments of the two freest and most powerful nations of Europe.

It is well known that we have been for many years governed by the Church, with the same special and absolute authority in all matters temporal as in spiritual, whence it happened that, amid the enlightenment of the nineteenth century, we are surrounded by the darkness of the middle ages. Civilization was combated at times with open warfare, always with the force of inertia, to such a degree that it was considered a crime in us to feel and call ourselves Italians.

It is well known that we have on many occasions attempted to achieve our own liberty; but Europe has made us expiate by a harder slavery those very attempts by which other nations have been rendered glorious. At length, after our long martyrdom, the day of redemption appeared to have arrived, and we trusted to the power of ideas as well as to that of events, and to the mild character of the prince. We desired above all things to be Italians; this was a crime. We believed ourselves free; this was an illusion. The day came when the Prince abandoned us, and we were left without government; all attempts at

conciliation failed; messengers and messages from Parliament and the municipality were rejected; the people awaited their time with patience, but the emigrated government no longer proffered a single word of liberty or of love; it stigmatized three millions with the guilt of an individual, and when we deliberated on employing the only means which remained to us for constituting an authority which the Prince had, in fact, abdicated, the Priest pronounced a malediction upon us.

It is well known that our Assembly had its origin in universal suffrage; that Assembly, exercising of necessity an imprescriptible right, decreed the dethronement of theocracy forever, and proclaimed the Republic.

No one opposed it. The only voice of complaint arose from the theocracy which we had overthrown. And yet it is to this voice that Europe is willing to listen, and seems to forget the story of our woes, and to confound what lies within the province of spiritual authority with that which is purely temporal.

The Roman Republic has sanctioned the independence and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Pope, and has thereby demonstrated to the Catholic world how profoundly deep is its conviction that the liberty of religious action should be inseparable from the Supreme Head of the Church. To maintain this liberty in the fullest integrity, the Roman Republic adds to the moral guarantee afforded by the devotion of all our Catholic brethren the material guarantee of all the force at its disposal. But Europe is not contented with this, and it is repeated that the existence of the temporal power of the Pope is essential to Catholicism.

For this reason we invite the Governments and Parliaments of France and England to consider what right can be alleged by any power to impose any form of government whatever on an independent nation, and where is the wisdom of attempting to restore a government, by its very nature irreconcilable with liberty and civilization—a government long since morally abolished, and actually so far, upward of five months, without any one among the clergy having attempted to set up its fallen standard; or where is the wisdom of resuscitating a government universally detested, incapable of a long existence, and on the contrary, certain to provoke continual conspiracies, disturbances, and revolutions.

And if we assert that such a government cannot be identified and reconciled either with liberty or civilization, we have surely good grounds for such an assertion, since the experiment we have lately made of a Constitution has proved how much the attempt to establish an affinity and combination between the temporal and spiritual concerns has impeded its working and development. Here ecclesiastical canons nullified civil statutes; under the empire of Theocracy public education and instruction were the privilege and monoply of the clergy—the ecclesiastical privilege of mortmain impeded the transmission of property. Ecclesiastics were exempted by privilege from appearing before the civil tribunals, while the laity were subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals, all which constituted a condition of things so far removed from real liberty or civilization, that any free nation must prefer the alternative of waging ten wars to enduring a single one of them. And how can Europe—so often thrown into commotion by the sacerdotal power which launched the thunder of the Church against her states—how can she expect three millions of men to submit at the present day to an authority which not only exercises its political right of temporal punishment against the offender, but even threatens damnation to his soul? Europe cannot reason herself into the belief that free institutions can be fitly carried out under a prince who can, under cover of his political power, turn the enormous authority of the priest to perplexing and disturbing consciences.

We trust that England and France, so justly jealous of their own independence will never willingly consent that there should exist in the centre of Italy a people neutral with respect to other nations, made serfs for the sake of the rest of the Catholic world, excluded from the rights of nations, made a mere appanage for the clergy. The Roman people claim to be masters of the Roman States. And if Catholic nations may interfere in behalf of their religious affairs, surely

they have no right to interfere with our political rights, or our social compact. However neutrality may be imposed on a whole nation, it surely cannot be imposed on the central district of a country with regard to the rest, it being impossible for the centre to have by itself a national life by the mere force of treaties or protocols.

The representatives of the Roman people would consider it an insult to the political wisdom of the Governments and Parliaments of France and England, were they to doubt their acknowledging the importance of the rights and arguments herein slightly touched upon, no less than the advantage to Europe herself, who must insure its own lasting tranquillity by securing the abolition of the government of the priesthood.

Undoubtedly it can never be expected of us that we should not oppose the restoration with a bold, determined, and irrevocable will; nor can Europe impute to us the threatening catastrophe that may ensue, nor the inevitable injury that a violent and bloody restoration would occasion, even to the Catholic authority of the Papacy. We are convinced that England and France will lend us both aid and counsel in order to avert such evils, and to draw closer the bond of amity in which all free nations should now be united.

For the National Assembly.

G. GALLETTI, President.

§ 37. *Response to the Pope's appeal. Invasion of the French.*— The appeals from the Pope to the priest-ridden kingdoms of Austria, Naples, and Spain, were promptly responded to; and at the command of their sovereigns, the armies of those countries prepared to array themselves on the side of papal tyranny and oppression; and the cloud seemed to darken that hung over the prospects of the Roman patriots. They knew well that they had nothing to hope from Austria, or Naples, or Spain. All that they could reasonably expect from Protestant England, which would probably be unwilling, by interference, to embroil herself in a general European war, was what they succeeded in obtaining, the sympathy and approval of her greatest and wisest men, and that moral influence which words of encouragement and cheer could afford to champions and martyrs for liberty. From the newly-born republic of France, they might well hope, either for active and efficient aid in their noble struggle, or, if reasons of state should forbid that, they might certainly be assured that "*La Grande République*" would, at least, be deaf to the summons of the banished oppressor, who called upon them to rise and crush their brother republicans of Rome. In this, however, they were doomed to a painful disappointment. The acting President of the French Republic, at that critical time, was an unprincipled and needy adventurer, whose ambition could rest satisfied with nothing short of establishing himself as Emperor upon the ruins of the republic, and who would hesitate at no acts of meanness or baseness which might further his views. The story of the invasion of Italy, by the French troops, and of their eventual success, after a terrible and bloody struggle, in crushing the liberties of the Romans, and restoring the Pope, must be told in the simple but graphic words of one who was an actor in those scenes. The Austrians were menacing the Roman Republic on its northern,

and the Neapolitans on its southern frontier; and, says Nicolini,* "All the energies of the government were directed against the foreign enemies who threatened us. The most extraordinary efforts were being made to defend ourselves to the last, when a rumor began to circulate, which, though certainly believed by few, filled the country with still greater alarm—the rumor that we were invaded by a new enemy—one, alas! whom we had been used to regard as a friend. Louis Napoleon, thirsting for empire, perceived the necessity of ingratiating himself with the French priests and Jesuits, whose great influence over the peasantry might secure his re-election as President, and also of making friends of Austria and Russia, whose opposition he deprecated; and knowing that nothing would tend more to conciliate all these parties than the destruction of the Roman Republic, offered his services for that purpose to the Holy Father.

Towards evening on the 24th of April, the news that the French army had landed at Civita Vecchia reached Rome, and threw it into a state of feverish excitement. Various were the opinions concerning the event. Few were those who would believe that the French Republicans came to fight for the Pope against their Italian brethren. Some pretended that they had taken possession of Civita Vecchia only as a military station in the expectation of a forthcoming war. Some, that they had come upon the invitation of the Triumvirs. The conduct of Oudinot gave plausibility to all these conjectures. The French general announced that he came to oppose the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, which were then advancing upon Rome. The military and civil authorities held a council of war, and after being satisfied of the impossibility of resistance, granted what they could not refuse. The moment Oudinot had set foot in the town, he published an order of the day, rather alarming to the existing government; but when he saw the irritation it produced, he immediately issued another, written with exquisitely Jesuitical art, according to which he appeared to be the friend of every one. The Triumvirs sent Rusconi, the minister of foreign affairs, and Pescantini, a deputy, to ascertain the general's intentions. They came back in high glee, with the report that the French came as their friends. Yet as they had received but the equivocal word of Oudinot, and not any written declaration, Nicolini, along with two officers of the national guard and two members of the Roman municipality, went on a second deputation. "We presented ourselves," says Nicolini, "at the general's residence. He received us with French courtesy, and at our first word of complaint, he feigned to be still more astonished than indignant, and said, 'How is this? An Austrian and a Neapolitan army march against you. I come to protect you, and you grumble at it, and threaten to oppose my coming! *Ma fois! tant pis pour vous!*—So much the worse

* Nicolini, Epoch the Fourth, p. 112, &c.

for you.' It would take too long and be tiresome to repeat, word for word, all the evasive answers, the circuitous locutions, by which the general tried to deceive us. He took the greatest possible pains to avoid coming to the point, or giving a direct answer. After an hour's fencing, during which he was always parrying, being pressed too hard, he exclaimed—'*Nom de Dieu! Eh bien! oui; nous venons pour remettre le Pape sur le trône.*'—'Well, then—I answer yes—we do come to restore the Pope to his throne.' 'Ah! that is clearly spoken,' answered I, 'and I as clearly tell you that we shall receive you at our sword's point.' 'Well, gentlemen,' replied Oudinot, 'it may be that you will ere long require my protection from your own people, eager for your blood. You are but a handful of despots, who impose your republic upon an entire population, and that must not be.' We replied, that he would become aware of his mistake to his own cost—and departed. The account of our interview dissipated all doubt in Rome. The French came as enemies!—we must fight them! Next morning, by order of the Triumvirs, the national guard passed in review before the Assembly. The President addressed to them, from a balcony in the Piazza di Seiarra, a few patriotic words. Then Sterbini put to them the following simple question—'Shall we, or shall we not, receive the French?' a loud, thundering, and prolonged 'No!' was the answer. 'Shall we yield or defend ourselves?' 'Defend ourselves to the last!' answered again the civic militia. At these words the deputies threw themselves into the arms of their brethren of the national guard, and many were the tears shed upon the occasion."

This happened on the morning of the 28th of April. From that moment all indecision ceased. One thought, one wish pervaded the entire population—to fight to the last! The walls were as far as possible at once repaired, and mounted with cannon. Barricades were erected with prodigious rapidity both within and without the gates. The streets of the city were unpaved, and the materials piled into ramparts. Pikes were forged, guns repaired, ammunition distributed. Men of all ranks—of all ages—were incessantly engaged in these different tasks. The gentler sex were preparing lint, washing linen, carrying mattresses to the hospitals, erecting beds, and preparing medicaments for those to whom the fortune of the day might prove injurious. And all this was done with such good will, such unanimous concord, that the beholders were moved to tears.

§ 38. *The French beaten by the Roman patriots.*—"On the evening of the 29th, we heard that the French had halted for the night at a distance of fourteen miles from Rome. Next morning all Rome was on the walls. Garibaldi, who had arrived by forced marches from Riesti on the previous evening, posted himself with about fifteen hundred men at Villa Pamfili, a mile from the gate. Towards noon the enemy had advanced almost within musket-shot of Garibaldi's position, and the fire began. Garibaldi, jealous of the

French military renown, attacked them furiously. The French stood the attack bravely, but our young soldiers and national guards, unable to contend with the military skill of the enemy, charged at once with the bayonet, and put their opponents to the route. Long before the evening closed, the French had retired in disorder, leaving two hundred and seventy-eight prisoners, and some hundreds dead. The Roman troops under Garibaldi had displayed prodigies of valor. Of killed and wounded altogether they lost scarcely one hundred men. Garibaldi's red mantle had been pierced by thirteen bullets, yet only one had touched himself, having but slightly grazed his little finger. The townspeople, who had at first fought from behind the walls, seeing the French retire, rushed out with the greatest impetuosity, and it was not without great exertions they could be prevented from pursuing the enemy. It had been said by some of their officers at Civita Vecchia, and the same was now repeated by all the prisoners, that when they embarked they had been informed that they were going to fight *against the Austrians*;—that in Rome they would as a matter of course support the republic, after expelling a few of the ultras. Next morning, at the enemy's request for medical assistance, the Romans sent to their camp nearly all their surgeons: the greater number of theirs had been lost in the attack. They then offered to exchange their prisoners for the five thousand guns which the enemy had retained at Civita Vecchia while on their way to Rome. The offer was not accepted. Notwithstanding this, however, the Triumvirs issued the following decree:—

'ROMAN REPUBLIC.

'*In the name of God and the People:*

'Whereas Rome and the French people are not, and cannot be, at war with each other;

'Whereas Rome, in virtue of her right and duty, defends her inviolability, but deplores every attack directed against the two republics as a crime against their common faith;

'Whereas the Roman people does not regard soldiers, who fought from obedience, responsible for the actions of a mistaken government:

'The Triumvirate decrees—

'ART. 1. The French, made prisoners on the 30th of April, are free, and shall be sent back to the French Camp.

'ART. 2. The Roman people will, at noon, bid a fraternal adieu to the brave soldiers of the French Republic, our sister.

'*The Triumvirs,*

'ARMELLINI, MAZZINI, SAFFI.

'*Rome, the 7th of May,* 1849.'

"So we," says Nicolini, "if not wisely, at least very generously, released our prisoners, whom, after banqueting their officers, we accompanied on their way back, for some miles beyond the gates—our bands playing the Marseillaise. The poor deceived fellows, overcome by our generosity, shed tears of gratitude. The prudent

Indignant rebuke of the French by the Romans.

Jesuit, Oudinot, in order to prevent their telling their comrades what they had witnessed in Rome, immediately sent them off to Africa." On the 10th of May, the French renewed their attack upon Rome, with more regularity and order than before, and were again repulsed. Soon after Garibaldi, with a much inferior force, ignominiously defeated the cruel and dastardly Ferdinand, king of Naples, and chased him and his army of 14,000 men back into the heart of his own dominions.

About this time an eloquent and indignant remonstrance was sent by the Romans to the French, rebuking, in burning words, their dastardly intervention to crush the liberties of Rome, and to restore the dominion of the Pope and the priests. The following is an extract: "Frenchmen, your ancestors brought us liberty, but you bring us slavery. In destroying the Roman Republic, you destroy your own. Oh shame! You stood by during the misfortune of Lombardy. You had not a word of consolation for the fall of Piedmont. Your venal writers calumniated the heroic efforts of Hungary. On this day, with an impudent mockery, you come to destroy Roman liberty. Are you indeed soldiers? If you are, choose a foe worthy of your courage. Do not come to defy the rising strength of a petty state. If you wish to combat against republican arms, cease to be republicans yourselves. Frenchmen, answer truly, whom do you wish to restore to power? Are they *the priests?* That hereditary race who have caused so much blood to flow and occasioned so many woes to France itself? Study your own history, and you will see what you are about to do for us. *We have an implacable hatred to sacerdotal domination.* You wish to impose it on us by force. You are about to place us on a level with the Chinese. Frenchmen, before undertaking so detestable a work, ask of the sky above you, and it will answer that it has been polluted by sacerdotal iniquities in all ages. Ask your youth and our women, and learn an uninterrupted tale of seduction, of debauchery, and of venality. Ask of your farmers, for whom they have labored? They will answer—'*for the priests!*' Ask to whom belong the most luxurious abodes, for whom are the most exquisite delicacies, and who are those obeyed by thousands of menials. The reply will be—'*the priests!*' Frenchmen, your mission is the work of hell!"

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§ 39. *French treachery. The Sunday battle.*—Soon after these events, the French government dispatched M. Lesseps, a member of the Assembly, to Rome, to inquire into the true state of affairs, and to act accordingly. He arrived on the 15th of May, and soon discovered that the struggle of the Roman patriots was not, as had been reported, and as General Oudinot had said, a scheme of "a handful of despots," but, as Lesseps wrote to his government, "a whole town in arms—a population determined to resist—and reject-

ing all exaggerated estimates, at least 25,000 determined combatants:"* So favorably was Lesseps impressed with the young republic, that he agreed upon a suspension of arms between the French and the Romans, and drew up a convention between the two governments, the most important article of which was a recognition of the Roman Republic, on the part of France, and agreed that if the French government should refuse to ratify that convention, the armistice should remain in force fifteen days after that refusal. This agreement, however, was shamefully and perfidiously broken. Louis Napoleon telegraphed an order to General Oudinot, giving him full power to disregard the convention of M. Lesseps, and to proceed at once to take the city of Rome; and, accordingly, the French general informed the Roman Assembly that he, being the sole representative of the French government, disapproved of the arrangements of M. Lesseps, and should recommence hostilities on Monday, June 4th. At this announcement, the Romans were very much alarmed. Their best troops were away from the city; some with Garibaldi on the Neapolitan frontier, and others had been sent in the opposite direction against the Austrians. The Romans, however, made the best preparation they could. Garibaldi was at once recalled, and came back to Rome, June 2d. "During the short time allowed us," says Nicolini, "we made the best preparation that we could, and impatiently awaited the dawn of the Monday, when the fighting was to recommence. But Oudinot, forgetful of all military honor, and regardless of the infamy which he brought upon himself and his country, began the assault on *Sunday the 3d,* an hour before daybreak. Our troops on the advance posts, confiding in the word of honor of a French commander, were not on their guard, and were surprised and made prisoners. Almost all our outposts were thus treacherously taken. Among others there was an isolated villa called the Casino del Quattro Venti, which commanded the road, and which we had fortified to intercept the march of the French. The soldiers who garrisoned it were surprised like the others, and the house fell into the hands of the enemy. It was in the attempt to retake this villa that we lost so many of our noblest and most courageous soldiers. Twice was the house retaken and lost. From dawn till nightfall we fought as only those will, who fight for their homes and their country. No one deserted his post —no wound was received in the back. We contested our ground inch by inch, but were at last obliged to yield. Neither the prodigious valor of the general, nor the devoted gallantry of the five or six thousand soldiers under his command, could withstand the assault of six times that number of the best troops of Europe. The French remained masters of the outposts. We retired into the town, saddened by our many losses, indignant at the treachery of the enemy, but neither daunted nor discouraged, and determined to fight to the last.

* *Ma Mission à Rome*, par Ferdinand de Lesseps, p. 23

Mazzini's noble reply to Gen. Oudinot.

"The French, who had found to their cost what determined men can do, saw at once how imprudent and hazardous it would be to storm a town so defended. Consequently they commenced a regular siege, daily battering our bastions with cannon, and showering on the town a perfect storm of bombshells. Still we were not dismayed. Who can ever relate the many proofs of heroism which were given by the people of Rome! who can describe the ardor and intrepidity of the men—the devotedness and charity of the women! From the boy of twelve years to the white-haired man, all were on the wall. Servants and masters, professors and scholars, friends and foes—all united with one accord in defending the city."

A few days after this battle, a conference was proposed between the patriot Mazzini and the general of the French. The following reply of this "noble Roman" to the perfidious Frenchman, is worthy of the best days of the ancient Roman Republic—of a Brutus, a Cincinnatus, or a Regulus:

Rome, June 13.

Sir,—It is impossible for me to go to the advanced posts to see you. Our conversation besides, unfortunately for us, could have no issue favorable to your views and ours. I have the conviction that we have exhausted all possible means of conciliation, and that it only remains for us to fight. *We will do so—we will do so, you may be assured, from wall to wall, from street to street, from barricade to barricade. We may be conquered, but not put down.* We had flattered ourselves with the hope that France would at length feel how much there is noble, sacred, and worthy of herself in our attitude, and what there is—permit me to be frank—contradictory and tyrannical in the part that she plays here with us.

We have proclaimed towards France, not a state of war, but a state of defence; we have sent back your prisoners; we have rejected all the occasions which presented themselves to us to combat your troops with advantage; we offered healthy cantonments to those who could not be accommodated at Civita Vecchia, and we declared that we were ready to concede all, one thing excepted—the occupation of Rome. And yet that is what is required. France, after having fought against us, blockaded us, disarmed us, deprived us of all our resources, condemned us to see, with arms in our hands, our territory invaded by Austria, now says to us, "I will have Rome. I will have it without conditions, without a programme, or I will endeavor to crush it, to bombard its monuments, which are venerated by all Europe, and to massacre its brave population." So that you must perceive, sir, there is only one reply to make, and we shall make it. I know not whether we shall fall, but I know that there are falls which confer honor. Joseph Mazzini.

§ 40. *Rome taken by the French.*—All this patriotic and valiant opposition of the Romans, however, availed nothing against the hosts of their perfidious assailants. The odds were too great. On the

The Romans, at length, compelled to yield.

22d of June, in the middle of the night, the French made a desperate attack. They showered upon the town thousands of shells, and vigorously assailed the walls, hoping that in a sudden and general panic the Romans would yield. "They forgot," says Nicolini, "that we were no mercenary soldiers, but citizens fighting for home and liberty. The tocsin was sounded from the capitol, and in an instant, roused from her agitated slumbers, Rome was on foot. Men and women prepared to fight. Neither wife nor mother attempted by tears or entreaties, to stay her husband or son, but with a blessing and a kiss sent him forth against the enemy.

"O glorious Rome! O my noble country! when I remember thy heroic deeds, the joyful readiness with which thou didst sacrifice thy children to achieve thy liberty, hope lends me patience to endure the longing and misery of exile! Such a people cannot long remain under the ignominious yoke of the priests!

"At last we could no more. Four armies beleaguered us now still closer. We had only a few thousand soldiers; the rest of our defenders were but inexperienced citizens. Our bastions were battered into breaches, our houses in flames, our hospitals crowded, the flower of our bravest hourly being cut off—the necessaries of life few, the necessities many. No resource! no hope! Garibaldi himself, the bravest of men, from whom every one received an inspiration of courage—who was everywhere, dared every thing—even he began to despair of the possibility of a longer resistance. On the 3d of June the Assembly declared that the heroic defence could be no longer maintained. All that a brave people could do had been done. Our honor was saved. Such a defeat was more glorious than many victories. To protract the siege would be to sacrifice many useful lives and brave men to no purpose. The Assembly therefore gave orders to the triumvirate to come to terms with the enemy. The triumvirs, unwilling to comply with that order, resigned. Another triumvirate was named, but it too refused the disagreeable task. The Senate of Rome then sent a deputation to the French general, not to enter into any formal capitulation, but simply to declare that we withdrew from the contest, and yielded only to superior force, but that we protested to the last against the shameless invasion of our national rights. On the 1st of July our troops were withdrawn from the wall, and on the 2d, the French entered the city amidst the hootings and execrations of the citizens."

§ 41. *Rejoicings at Gaeta and the Pope's address to the Romans.* —The French general Oudinot immediately repaired to the Pope at Gaeta, where he was received as an angel of deliverance, and rewarded with the title of Duke of St. Pancrase. In the mean time, the Pope gave orders that a solemn *Te Deum* should be chanted in all the churches of the state, for the victory of the French over his Roman subjects; and a few days later he addressed his "beloved children," whom he had been so long treating with *confections*, in

the shape of bullets and cannon-balls,* in the following hypocritical letter:

PIUS IX. TO HIS BELOVED SUBJECTS.

"God has raised his arm and has appeased the stormy waves of anarchy and impiety. He has guided the Catholic armies in sustaining the rights of humanity, which were trampled under foot, of public faith which was attacked, and in restoring the rights of the Holy See and of our sovereignty. Glory to God, who in the midst of his anger has remembered his mercy.

"Beloved subjects, if, in the midst of the hurricane of the past frightful events, our heart has been filled with bitterness in reflecting on so many wrongs suffered by the Church, by religion, and by yourselves, it has not felt less of that love for you it has always had, and ever will have. We anticipate with pleasure the day that shall see us once again in the midst of you, and when that day shall come we shall re-enter with the earnest desire to afford you consolation, and with the desire to use all our energies for your true interests, applying the proper remedies to cure the various ills that afflict you, and consoling our loyal subjects who, while desiring institutions in accordance with their wants, yet, above all, desire, as we do, to see guaranteed the liberty and independence of the Sovereign Pontiff, so necessary to the Catholic world.

"In the mean while, in order to organize public affairs, we are about to appoint a commission, which, armed with full powers, and assisted by a ministry, will regulate the government of the state.

"We implore to-day with the greatest fervor that the blessing of the Lord may descend upon you. It is a great consolation for our soul to hope that all who by their errors have forfeited his blessing, may render themselves worthy of it, by a sincere return to the paths of right. PIUS IX.

"Given at Gaeta, July 17, 1849."

The Pope was too well pleased, however, with the flatteries and homage that he was enjoying at Gaeta, to be in any great haste to return to Rome. Perhaps the thought, also, of the miseries which he had inflicted upon the Roman people, and the feelings that this treatment must have awakened towards himself, tended to delay that event. It was not till the 12th of May, 1850, that the Pope returned to Rome, after an exile of about one year and six months.

§ 42. *The Pope's entry into Rome.*—When the Pope determined to leave the Neapolitan territory, he was accompanied to the frontier of his own dominions, by King Ferdinand, generally known, for his tiger-like cruelty to his subjects, as "the Butcher of Naples," and the Duke of Calabria. When the Pope descended from his carriage, the King and the Duke immediately prostrated themselves at his feet and embraced them, and implored the pontifical blessing. The Pope replied—"Yes, I bless you, I bless your family, I bless your kingdom, I bless your people. I cannot express my gratitude for the hospitality I have received from you." He then caused the King to rise from his knees, and embraced him with the greatest affection; and after the Pope had remounted his carriage, the King, the Duke, and all their attendants, devoutly kissed his foot. The

* During the bombardment of Rome, the cannon-balls fired into the city were borne in procession through the streets of Rome, with the words inscribed upon them—"*Confetti di Pio Nino mandati a suoi figli*," that is—"The sweetmeats sent by Pius IX. to his children."

Pope arrived at Rome at four in the afternoon of the same day, May 12th, 1849, and was received with presented arms by the French and papal troops, while the merry pealing of the bells and the booming of the cannon from the French artillery and the castle of St. Angelo, were intended to give the appearance of joy to his return to his devastated and humble capital. In the evening the cupola of St. Peter's, the capitol and other public buildings were brilliantly illuminated, and all who were too timid to brave the anger of the priests or the coarse brutality of the French soldiery deemed it prudent to put a candle in their windows. As the pyrotechnic displays that followed the Pope's return to Rome were about to terminate, and the cannons of St. Angelo were hushing the roar, and the stars, and birds of paradise, and roses, and showers of gold on the battlements, had already paled away, there suddenly arose, like the creation of magic, before the bewildered eyes of the Roman people, a silver palace, blazing with the inscription—

"*Pius IX., author of the renewed prosperity!*" "A scenic sarcasm!" said an eye-witness. "A glittering mockery!—With a bankrupt treasury, an exhausted credit, a worthless currency, taxation increasing, confiscations multiplying, domiciliary visits without number, arrests and commitments without end, the Inquisition re-established, the Jesuits restored, spies and informers everywhere, 30,000 men within twelve months proscribed, driven away, killed, or imprisoned—11,000 languishing in dungeons, and a legion of them within the very walls that upheld the glaring figment—a Ruler, stripped of all his pristine glory, shielded by 12,000 foreign bayonets, and tremblingly awaiting but the first dark tidings from the North, to flee away from his capital, a miserable fugitive—a people penniless, hopeless, godless, priest-ridden, *sbirri*-hunted,* janizary-crushed, their mouths sealed, their intellects shrouded, and their souls abandoned; and notwithstanding all this, the municipality of Rome impudently blazoned the air with a boast of *Renewed Prosperity!*"

A more faithful index of the true popular feeling, and a singular commentary upon all this brilliant pageantry of external joy, was seen in a printed sheet, which was secretly but largely distributed throughout the city on that day, of which we append a few paragraphs as specimens of the whole:

"Rejoice, O Pope! Thou art at Rome; thou art on the throne; thou art King.

"Thou hast poured out blood, thou hast caused to be poured out

* The Roman *sbirri*, so often employed as the instruments of papal and priestly tyranny and cruelty in Rome, are armed policemen in plain clothes. It has been stated in English journals, upon the authority of letters from Rome, that since the Pope's return, Rome has been infested with eight hundred spies and two thousand *sbirri*.

the blood of men whom thou hast called, whom thou still callest thy sons.

"But rejoice, thou art King!

"Thou, Pope, like other popes, hast delivered the fatherland to enemies, to foreigners.

"But rejoice, thou art King!

"Pius IX., dost thou remember the crowd, palpitating with love for the fatherland, which watched all night, deliberating how to applaud thee at sunrise—thee, the future Saviour of Italy? The poor man sold his last garments to buy torches to make thee a perpetual ovation. Where now is that crowd? Where? In prison, in exile, or dead upon the Janiculum! The remainder, terrified, trembling with patriotism, flee thee, detest thee.

"But rejoice, O Pope! thou art King!

"But thou tremblest at the Vatican; thou durst not go forth and visit the miserable Rome which weeps and curses thee. The Cardinals tremble with thee, and repeat that Rome is a nest of assassins. Tremble not for that, O Pope! A King is well upon his throne, and is worth more than another who may succeed him. Thy presence augments the confusion, the uncertainty, the fear.

"O behold, and rejoice!

"For *thy* ruin we are not impatient. Thou ruinest thy successors, and we rejoice at it. We mock at thee, Pope!—at thee, a new Pharaoh, who to destroy thy people, escaping from oppression, hast plunged thyself blind and furious, into a sea of blood. The sacred college, inundated with blood, will remain barren; it will never bring forth another Pope. The people hate the priests; hate them so much as to have a horror of touching them, of slaying them. The people mock at them, and at thee, at you all, who would sell us Paradise by force, and keep for yourselves the felicities of this earth. Your end, O Priests! will be that of parricides—the earth will refuse to bear you. Like Nero, you will find neither friend nor enemy to put an end to your lives.

"Rejoice, therefore, O Pope! and be King!"

§ 43. *Blow to the papal power in Sardinia. The Siccardi law.*—About the time of the Pope's return to Rome, events were transpiring in the kingdom of Sardinia, well calculated to undermine the almost omnipotent influence which the priests of Rome had for centuries wielded in that country; ever since the time when the Dukes of Savoy, the ancestors of the present King of Sardinia, had, at the bidding of the popes, so often deluged his valleys and mountains with the blood of the faithful Waldenses.

The cause of this difficulty was as follows: Early in the year 1850, a bill had been introduced into the Sardinian legislature, for the abolition of ecclesiastical courts and privileges which were at variance with the new Constitution of the Sardinian States, the glorious fruit of the revolution of 1848. This law, which rendered

the priests amenable for their crimes to the civil tribunals of the state, the same as other citizens, and abolished several other abuses which had arisen from the unrestrained influence of the priesthood, was enacted April 9th, 1850, and was called by the name of the *Siccardi law*, from the name of its principal originator. The following were the articles of the law, which were chiefly objectionable to the papal clergy, and their master at Rome:

VITTORIO EMANUEL II., &c.

The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies have adopted, and we have ordained and ordered as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. Civil causes between ecclesiastics and the laity, or between ecclesiastics alone, shall be referred to civil jurisdiction, whether the actions are of a personal nature or of a real or mixed character of whatever kind.

"ART. 2. All causes concerning the right of naming, either actively or passively, to ecclesiastical benefices, or to the property of them, or to any other ecclesiastical establishment whatever, shall be regarded as other professions, and shall be placed under the civil jurisdiction.

"ART. 3. Ecclesiastics are subject as the other citizens to all the penal laws of the State. Under these laws it is contemplated that causes shall be adjudicated in conformity with the forms established by the law of procedure in the lay tribunals, without distinction as regards crimes, offences, and contraventions.

"ART. 4. The punishments enacted in the laws of the State shall not be applied unless through the civil tribunals, saving always to the ecclesiastical authorities the exercise of its attributes to the application of spiritual penalties in conformity with the terms of the ecclesiastical laws.

"ART. 5. If the causes contemplated in the preceding article (the 4th) appear, in reason of person or matter, to be of an ecclesiastical character, they shall be referred in the first instance to the cognizance of the judge of appeal, so that care shall be taken to sustain the stability of the existing laws. The judge of appeal shall have the cognizance of the cause, and shall determine as to its nature.

"ART. 6. In cases of refuge in churches, or other places which were considered places of immunity, such persons who are under orders for capture under the proper process may be immediately followed and arrested, as in other places, in conformity with the rules established in the code of criminal procedure. In arrests, however, regard must be had to the character of the place, so that the necessary caution is taken that no disturbance is excited during the exercise of Divine worship, but in the shortest possible time application should be made to the rector of the church in which it is proposed to execute the arrest."

Among the ecclesiastical privileges abolished by this law, one of the most scandalous and demoralizing, was the right, claimed by the priests, of *asylum* to criminals in churches. It was everywhere grossly abused in the Sardinian States, but worst of all in the island itself. Nor was this privilege a nuisance to the subjects of the House of Savoy alone. Clerical criminals from foreign countries took refuge in Sardinia, or in Piedmont. The famous or infamous curé Mingrat found an asylum there, and the instances of the French government, whether made in good faith we know not, were insufficient to procure his extradition. He was for a long time concealed in the very fortress of Fenestrelle where Archbishop Franzoni himself was recently a prisoner. Another case of clerical impunity almost equally notorious, was that of the Frate

Monghero, who murdered the husband of the woman he had seduced. In this case not only did the monk escape punishment, but likewise the guilty wife who aided him in the murder; so that not only the clerical assassin but the lay murderess, were shielded by ecclesiastical privilege.*

This law gave universal satisfaction to the people, but was openly opposed by the popish clergy; and Franzoni, Archbishop of Turin, on the 18th of April, issued a circular to his clergy virtually advising them to disobey the law. For this offence the Archbishop was tried, condemned, and on the 23d of May, sentenced to pay a fine and the costs of the court, and to be imprisoned for one month. Soon after the expiration of the Archbishop's sentence, another cause of collision between him and the government took place. One of the ministers of the King of Sardinia, Santa Rosa, a supporter of the late revolution in Rome, and an advocate of the Siccardi law, being at the point of death, Franzoni forbade the priest of his parish, and all other priests, to administer the last rites of the Romish Church to the dying man, although he professed to be a faithful son of that Church and to die in her communion. The archbishop also attempted to deprive the deceased statesman of the rites of burial, and whatever of priestly service was performed was extorted by force. This instance of prelatical arrogance and vindictiveness was copied upon the model of Thomas à Becket, Pandulph, or Anselm, and was worthy of the darkness of the middle ages. The refractory ecclesiastic was tried a second time, and, together with the Archbishop of Cagliari, who had joined with him in his resistance to the law, was banished the kingdom of Sardinia, and the law was sustained. During this controversy the Archbishop was sustained by the Pope with the whole weight of his authority, and flattered and glorified as a champion and a martyr.

Soon after the events we have just related, another circumstance of great significance occurred in the capital of the Sardinian kingdom, which affords abundant and cheering evidence that times have greatly altered since the Pope had power to command and compel the princes of Savoy to deluge the neighboring valleys of Piedmont with Protestant blood. Professor Nuyts, of Turin, published a book in which he took such a view of the Canon Law, as *denies the right of the Church to persecute*, or to use the temporal power to enforce its edicts. The Pope issued a bull against it, on the ground that it destroys the constitution of the Church by taking away its coercive power, a virtual acknowledgment that *the very existence of Popery depends on its retaining the power to persecute.* This bull was utterly disregarded. The Sardinian ministry refused to depose the offending professor. The people received him with enthusiasm at his lectures, which were attended by the flower of

* See a Review in the London Daily News of a volume containing the Debates in the Sardinian Parliament upon the Siccardi law.

the city. In his introductory lecture, Professor Nuyts said, if the government should disavow the principles of religious freedom it would commit suicide. In closing, he said, "My young hearers, fear not the excommunications lately launched by Pope Pius Ninth against the doctrines taught by me. These excommunications are valid neither at home nor abroad. They are also null, because not founded in justice; and they are but an attempt to maintain a division of Italy. My young hearers, we are religious, but of an enlightened religion, and not of religion corrupted, darkening, and superstitious." Universal shouts of applause followed these emphatic words, and the speaker was followed by the whole audience through the streets to his dwelling with cries of "Long live the Professor!" "Long live his doctrines!"

It is a significant fact that Turin is close to the Piedmontese valleys where the simple-hearted and pious Waldenses have for ages maintained the doctrines of the gospel uncorrupted, though in so doing they have been obliged to shed their blood like water.

§ 44. *The Pope's address to his Cardinals.*—Eight days after the Pope's return to Rome, and during the progress of this quarrel in Piedmont, the Pope convened his Cardinals in solemn conclave, and pronounced before them a discourse, in which he expressed his views relative to the recent revolution, his own restoration to his temporal power, and his obligation to the Catholic sovereigns and armies, by whose aid he had been replaced on his throne. In this address he also expressed his views of the events we have just related, transpiring at that time in Piedmont. The document was published in the journals of France, and for the following analysis and review of it, the author would acknowledge his indebtedness to one of the ably written articles of the Rev. G. De Felice, the well-known French correspondent of the New York Observer.

In this document, the Pope begins by returning thanks to the *wonderful providence of God*, who, in these last two years, has vouchsafed "a *wonderful assistance to the apostolic see.*" For after quitting Rome with incredible grief, Pius IX. has "returned amidst the joy of the people and the applauses of the world. God, in answer to the prayers and tears of the whole Church, has deigned to lay this frightful tempest raised by *hell*, and to baffle the prince of darkness, who had vomited *all his rage* against the chair of St. Peter."

You see that the Pope has not in the least mended his style. His adversaries are of course "children of Satan,"—"wretches who speak and act under the instigation of hell." The same language which the bishops of Rome held in the sixteenth century, against Luther, Calvin, and Zwingle, they employ now against the poor democrats who have asked for a little liberty.

We admit with the Pope that nothing happens here below without God's permission, and if the Pontiff is returned to Rome, it is surely under the will of Divine Providence. But we do not

believe at all that the Lord has granted his special aid to the Romish Church. God allows the accomplishment of evil as well as of good, in his mysterious wisdom, and it is impossible for us to see the fatherly hand of the Prince of Peace in the bloody conflicts which have brought back the Pope to his see. This victory can easily be explained without the intervention of a miracle. Four armies—30,000 French, 20,000 Austrians, 12,000 Spaniards, 10,000 Neapolitans—rushed at once upon the unhappy inhabitants of the Roman States, as vultures upon their prey; and, killing some, and imprisoning others, they led back Pius IX. to his throne after surrounding him with a wall of bayonets. All this is very simple, very natural; and no person of good sense will see here the *marvellous* blessings of which the pontiff speaks.

As to the *joy* of the people and the *applauses* of the world, that is another thing. The great majority of the Roman people have not rejoiced at all at the return of Pius IX., and the world, far from applauding, have been indignant to see the pretended vicar of Jesus Christ re-enter his States over heaps of dead bodies. If Pius IX. supposes that such conduct has elevated his moral character, he is greatly mistaken. Popery has received a mortal blow by the means used for its restoration, and experience will show once more the truth of this word of Jesus Christ, that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

After returning his thanks to God, the holy father gives his most sincere thanks to the Roman Catholic powers who aided him in his troubles. And first comes the illustrious king of Naples, *Ferdinand II.*, "our very dear son in Jesus Christ," says the pontiff. This Ferdinand II. possesses "a *singular piety*, a *rare devotedness*;" he is "generous, hospitable, virtuous, worthy of admiration, as well as *his august wife, Maria Theresa.*" "These especial favors of a very pious king towards the holy see," says Pius IX., "are so engraven upon our hearts, that the sweet remembrance can never be effaced." It is happy that the Neapolitan prince obtains the Pope's praises; for we doubt much if he can find on earth another panegyrist. Ferdinand II. is generally regarded as a false, cruel, perjured man, an enemy of all progress, despised and detested from one end to the other of his kingdom. But he enjoys the affection of Pius IX.: this must be a precious consolation for him.

Next, the pontiff thanks the *very noble French nation* and the *illustrious President of the French Republic.* This is very proper. The French soldiers shed their blood, and the government of France spent its money, to restore the Pope. But, alas, this very noble French nation is very far from being devoted to Romanism. Voltaire has more influence in France than the Council of Trent, and our President Louis Napoleon, is not possessed of great piety. If a French army was sent into Italy, it was for *political* reasons rather than from religious motives. Our soldiers fought bravely, because they received orders; they obeyed the rules of discipline, and

maintained the honor of their flag. But they laughed at the Popish superstitions; and if to-morrow orders were given them to drive Pius IX. from Rome, they would show probably as much good-will as they had to overthrow Mazzini.

Austria is not forgotten in Pius IX.'s thanks; for the Austrian troops invaded Bologna, Ancona, all the territory of the Legations, and shot without mercy hundreds of democrats. These services well deserved honorable mention.

The little queen, *Isabella*, obtained in her turn the cordial felicitations of his Holiness. "We owe also," says Pius IX., "a very grateful remembrance to our dear daughter in Jesus Christ, Maria Isabella, Catholic Queen of Spain . . . .; for, so soon as she learnt our misfortunes, she earnestly aroused the Catholic powers to maintain the cause of their common father, and she sent brave troops to defend the possessions of the Church of Rome." We presume that the innocent Isabella will attach little importance to these pontifical compliments: she prefers balls, concerts, and the theatre. Her popish zeal is quite suspicious, and those who know her affirm that her heart is not at all inclined to bigotry.

The holy father next turns to the bishops and cardinals, upon whom he bestows the most fulsome eulogiums. The bishops of the Catholic world have shown a faith, a love, a piety, a liberality, a generosity, a courage, a zeal, and a thousand other virtues, above all praise! They are indeed angels upon earth! They fought heroically for the good cause, and their sublime devotedness greatly comforted the heart of Pius IX. "We will express also," says the Pope, "our profound gratitude to you, venerable brethren, cardinals of the holy Romish Church, who have given us so much consolation, have shared our sorrows, have breasted adversity with an invincible courage, and being ready to suffer all things for the Church of God . . . . have not neglected to come to our aid by your counsels and your labors."

This is very well; Pius IX. could not fail to extol his ministers, and the intrepid defenders of his triple crown; but the public voice —even in Roman Catholic countries—will not second these fine eulogiums. The cardinals, for example, far from affording a model of all that is good and noble, show for the most part contemptible qualities. They are intriguing, greedy, avaricious, dissolute in their private life, and scandalous stories circulate at Rome of the loose lives of these high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

In general, it is evident that the members of the popish clergy, especially in Italy, are below the common standard of morality. As they are very wealthy and have almost nothing to do, they lead immoral lives, and, instead of practising what they preach, many of them give themselves up to the indulgence of their passions. The law of celibacy which is imposed upon them is a constant source of corruption. The priests are devoted faithfully to the interests of popery, but certainly they do not serve those of true

religion, or of good manners; for the most depraved people are the very ones who are most under the influence of the clergy.

The news from *Piedmont* of the passage of the Siccardi law, and the punishment of the refractory archbishop, occupies a place in the sovereign pontiff's allocution. It inspires in him "*cruel* grief." Pius IX. pretends that the sacred rights of the holy see have been trampled under foot. "A law has been promulgated," says he, "contrary to the rights of the Church and to the solemn covenants entered into with this apostolic see. All good men at Turin and elsewhere are in mourning; for, in these last days, the illustrious pontiff of Turin, our venerable brother, *Louis Franzoni*, was taken by an armed force from his episcopal residence, and led to the citadel." The pope adds, that "in *the bitterness of his heart*" he has addressed to the Piedmontese government earnest remonstrances against the law, and against the insult done to the archbishop of Turin.

Pius IX. also turns his attention to the "*illustrious nation of Belgians.*" He says that it has ever been distinguished by its zeal for the Catholic religion, but that of late, it has weakened the force and authority of the holy Roman see. The Pope deems it necessary to express publicly his grief. What then has happened in Belgium? Let us see.

The Jesuits and priests had usurped the control of all the colleges and classical establishments of education. They appointed or deposed the professors according to their good pleasure, presided at examinations, and prevented obstinately all kind of progress in the national schools. The liberal party which is now predominant in Belgium, felt the great evils of such a state of things, and tried to correct them. A law was passed, according to which *liberty of public instruction* is fully secured. Every citizen, affording evidence of capacity and of good moral character, will have the right, like the priests, to set up schools and colleges. This is what excites the complaints and remonstrances of Pius IX.!

Observe how the priests change their principles, language, conduct, according to times and places. What did they ask in France under Louis-Philippe? Nothing more than freedom of national instruction, an *equal right* to teach. They opposed monopoly, and asked only for leave to open schools as members of the University. But in Belgium, this is precisely the mode established by the new law. The free and equal right to instruct exists for all; and the Pope is angry! and the Belgian bishops protest to the government! What a farce! Why, then, does not that which suffices for the Romish clergy in France seem sufficient in Belgium?

The Pope continues his harangue, addressing compliments to the emperor of Austria. "It was a great joy to us in the midst of so much anguish, when we learnt the decrees made by our very dear son *Francis-Joseph*, emperor of Austria, apostolic king of Hungary, king of Bohemia:—decrees by which, following the inspirations of his piety, fulfilling our wishes and requests, the wishes and requests

of our venerable brethren the bishops of his vast empire, to the glory of his name, to the delight of all good men, he has, in concert with his ministers, and with an ardent heart, decreed in his States the liberty so desirable for the Catholic Church. This conduct, so worthy of a Catholic prince, deserves the praises which we award to this illustrious emperor and king."

What are then the famous decrees which excite to so high a pitch the enthusiasm and gratitude of the Pope? Let us briefly explain them. The emperor Joseph II., towards the end of the last century, had introduced into Austria something like the liberties of the Gallican Church. The bishop could no longer correspond with the holy see, nor publish letters from the Vatican, without obtaining leave of the civil government. They were constrained to ask the same leave to convene provincial councils, &c. But, the new monarch, Francis-Joseph, undid this work of Joseph II. All the barriers set up by the government against the episcopal body were broken down. The bishops now have the right to decide and to do as they please. They can, if it suits them, be completely subject to the Roman pontiff, set up again the inquisition against members of the Catholic Church, refuse to sanction mixed marriages; in a word, they are omnipotent in the domain of religion. This is what Pius IX. calls *liberty* for the Church: the priest will govern the people despotically.

It is easy to understand why the Pope is so perfectly satisfied; but it is well to add, that the Austrian people do not share at all in this satisfaction. On the contrary, the German journals are unanimous in attesting that the inhabitants of Vienna and of all Austria felt highly indignant on learning that the laws which Joseph II. had made were cancelled. A number of Romanists have embraced Protestantism; others declare openly that they will not submit to the priests' new demands, and the opposition is so strong that there would be open insurrection in Vienna, if the presence of a numerous army did not prevent. We shall watch the result of this affair. Popery will not congratulate itself long on the complaisance of her *very dear son* Francis-Joseph. It is not prudent, in the nineteenth century, to set before the nations the hated notion of a theocracy.

But if Pius IX. is gratified by the affairs of Austria, he is disquieted by other events. The anti-Romanists, the socialists, the revolutionists, who abound in Italy, leave him not a moment's repose. "You know, venerable brethren," says he, "the frightful and inexorable war which exists between light and darkness,—between truth and error,—between vice and virtue,—between Belial and Christ. You are not ignorant by what artifices and by what manœuvres our enemies attack and seek to trample under foot the things of our holy religion, to pluck up the germ of every Christian virtue, to propagate everywhere unbridled licentiousness, to infect with fatal errors the mind and heart, to destroy all human and divine rights, and—if this could happen—to overthrow effectu-

ally the Catholic Church and the chair of St. Peter." After sketching this dark picture, the Pope exhorts all ecclesiastics, great and small, to contend with all their might aginst the evil, in order to bring back perverse men into the pale of Roman Catholicism.

Such language reveals sufficiently the anxieties of Pius IX. and his cardinals. They have returned to Rome with the aid of cannon, bombs, and bayonets; but the antipathies of the people remain, and even increase. In vain the holy father declaims against *darkness* and against *Belial.* Popery is under the judgment of God, and this judgment will be executed. She has filled the measure of her iniquities. She has, for ages, resorted to wicked impostures, sold salvation for money, corrupted souls, degraded and oppressed the conscience, transformed the divine religion of Christ into a vile traffic, and defended her usurpations by brute force. Popery will bear the penalty of her crimes before God and before men. We do not apologize for revolutionists and socialists. They have committed great iniquities and adopted detestable errors. But in combating Romanism, they discharged a duty imposed by Providence. Their constantly growing numbers prove that the nations are tired of bearing the popish yoke, and that the hour is nigh when the pontifical see will fall under the blows of mankind. Socialism is like a war-engine, designed to beat down the fortress of popery; and then when the ground is cleared, the Gospel will come forward to impart its treasures of instruction, of deliverance, and of hope to all the earth. Bishops of Rome, your days are numbered; sentence is pronounced against you, and your violent clamors will not retard the ruin which threatens you. Your power will perish, your crown will be broken in pieces; and a grateful world standing over your grave, will bless the Lord for having granted so necessary an emancipation."

§ 45. *Condition of Rome since the Pope's restoration.*—No events of very special importance have occurred in Rome since the Pope's restoration to his temporal throne. Pius IX. has taken no measures to win back the alienated love of his subjects. Not the slightest amelioration of their miseries has been made, nor a single grievance redressed. The French garrison of Rome cannot help perceiving that they themselves, and the Pope whom they have restored, are alike objects of bitter hatred and disgust to the Roman people. To awe the vanquished Romans into submission, the most exemplary vengeance was taken, and the dungeons were soon full of the proscribed. Thousands of political prisoners are even now pining in prisons, or toiling in the galleys of Rome. On the register of the prison of Monte Citerio alone, were inscribed the names of 3,745 prisoners who were sent there in the few months that followed the Pope's return. Calandralli, the colonel of artillery who so bravely conducted the defence of Rome against the French, and who became a triumvir for a few days after the resignation of Mazzini, was taken and condemned to death, but in consequence of the interest of the Prussian government on his behalf, his sen-

tence was commuted to 20 years of slavery at the galleys, and he was *mercifully* spared from death to be chained to another officer named Ripari, and sent to Ancona like a common thief, to a bondage more cruel than death.

Among the devastations laid to the charge of the republicans during their temporary sway in Rome, was the destruction of the guillotine. The Pope and the priests upon their return, however, very soon re-established it, and in order to prevent it from being so easily demolished again, they rebuilt it of iron. They had hoped, doubtless, to see the blood of the brave and noble Mazzini and Garibaldi, and the eloquent Gavazzi, flowing beneath it. In this, however, they were disappointed, a kind Providence conducted these patriotic men to an asylum of freedom, and the priestly tyrants of Rome thirsted in vain for their blood.

Not so favored, however, was the noble and lamented Ugo Bassi, the friend and associate of Gavazzi, in the work of encouraging the Roman patriots, in their noble struggle against papal despotism and slavery. The following narrative of the life, and the barbarous and horrible death inflicted upon this great man, for loving his country better than the Pope, is communicated to us from the pen of Colonel Forbes, who was himself a soldier in this Italian war for freedom:

"Among the many martyrs whose blood has been shed by the merciless papal and imperial governments, there are none whose memory is held in greater veneration than Ugo Bassi—the friend and chaplain of Garibaldi. He was born at Bologna, on the 8th of August, 1806, and was placed at a seminary with a view to his following religion as a profession. Having completed his studies and being admitted to the order of the priesthood, he was no sooner directed to preach, than the power of his eloquence became manifest, and he was sent, as is customary with eloquent preachers, to various parts of Italy. His peregrinations conducted him to the principal cities in Italy, from Venice to Palermo, and on every occasion in which he addressed the people, the churches were sure to be completely filled. Thus he procured the means of mixing with the world, more than he would have done if he had remained secluded in his convent, and he soon became known among the liberals as one of the ardent supporters of the cause of progress. His sermons prior to the revolution were deeply tinged with liberal sentiments, but they were introduced in so masterly a style, that the clerical authorities could not accuse him of having deviated from the strict exemplification of his text, and of Christian duties. The purity of his life (*so extraordinary in a priest*), and his popularity, rendered it imprudent to interdict his preaching, and he consequently continued to travel to various parts, truly performing the mission of an apostle.

The first visit of Ugo Bassi to Palermo was in the year 1835, as a preacher. In the year 1837, at the time when the cholera laid

desolate the Island of Sicily, Bassi volunteered to visit Palermo to attend the sick. His indefatigable exertions, heedless of all personal danger or fatigue, acted as a stimulant to others to imitate his noble example; his words of comfort and encouragement raised the drooping spirits of the dismayed population—the good effected by him during this mission of charity was incalculable.

On the commencement of the popular agitation in 1846, when the people began to make their voices heard and their will respected, Ugo Bassi was frequently called upon to address the people in the open squares or market-places, when being no longer controlled by that secret inquisitorial influence which had in previous years checked the flow of his eloquence, he contributed not only to the diffusion of progressist ideas among his fellow-countrymen, but likewise he strenuously urged the propriety of the people restraining themselves from any acts of violence or of reprisal. His discourses were especially directed to the working classes, on whom his religious character gave him a great influence—for then the priest, when good, was respected, and that class was not, as now, hated and mistrusted merely from the frock they wore.

On several occasions when, during the revolution, the excitement of the betrayed people made the papal authorities tremble, they hastened to fetch Ugo Bassi, that by his persuasive discourse he might preserve public order—and how was their gratitude displayed?—On the first opportunity, the monsters took his life!

When, in the spring of 1848, the patriots flew to arms to expel the invader from their country, Ugo Bassi did not abandon the youth whom he had encouraged to take the field, but he accompanied the Bolognese Volunteers in the quality of chaplain. Until then, he had owed his influence on his fellow-citizens to his exemplary morals, to the purity of his exhortations, and to his eloquence—but from the time when he joined the camp, his previous titles to esteem, great as they were, became eclipsed by his courage in the hottest of the fire, and his untiring attention to the wounded.

When Treviso was attacked by the Austrians under Nugent, the garrison under the command of Guidotti made an heroic resistance. Having repulsed the assailants, General Guidotti made a sortie, which he led in person, and in which he fell pierced by a bullet in the breast. Ugo Bassi was by his side encouraging the Volunteers by his example and his words, till he was struck by a ball almost at the same instant that Guidotti was killed. The wound, though serious, was not fatal—the ball had pierced his arm and lodged in his side, breaking a rib. Before his wound was properly healed, he was at his post, and continued his duties till the end of the campaign.

Upon the occupation of Bologna by the Austrians in August, 1848, the National Guard and the population were disarmed; but the Austrians presumed upon the defenceless condition of the inhabitants—they renewed their usual exactions and insolence—and

the people, armed merely with common knives, but encouraged by the appeal of Ugo Bassi, rose upon the Austrian troops and drove them ignominiously from the city, with the loss of their cannon and equipage.

When the French expedition against Rome occurred, Bologna hastened to send assistance to the capital, and Ugo Bassi again found himself called upon to assume the functions of chaplain to the Bolognese Volunteers. On the 3d of April, when Garibaldi, at the head of his Legion, repelled the attack and captured 350 of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, the élite of the French army, Ugo Bassi, regardless of danger, and only caring about the wounded to whom he was administering assistance, was, while occupied in this work of charity, captured by the French. Oudinot, the commander of the expedition, having taken no prisoner but Ugo Bassi, allowed him to go to Rome on *parole*, to propose the exchange of the 350 captured by Garibaldi's Legion, in lieu of the Italian battalion which Oudinot had arrested at Civita Vecchia. The Roman government, however, refused to put the prisoners of Oudinot upon the footing of prisoners of war, since they had not been captured in battle, but had been arrested by surprise, while Oudinot was actually making professions of peace and friendship to them.

Having failed in his mission, Ugo Bassi returned to the French camp to give himself up as prisoner, in accordance with his *parole*, which so surprised Oudinot that he gave him his liberty—which was the only good action he performed in Italy.

Upon the retreat of Garibaldi from Rome with the wreck of the patriotic troops, July 3d, Ugo Bassi accompanied him as his chaplain, suffering during that long march all the privations of the meanest soldier. When the remnant, not amounting in all to 300 men, embarked in a few open fishing-boats at Cesenatico, on the 2d of August, 1849, Ugo Bassi was in the same one as Garibaldi, Ciceroacchio, and other patriots.

The thirteen little boats sailed for Venice, to endeavor, under the cover of the night, to enter that port notwithstanding the blockade. But having been discovered, attacked, and dispersed by the Austrian squadron during the night, some of the boats were run aground, some were captured, and some have not since been heard of. The boat in which was Ugo Bassi and some twenty others regained the shore, and the handful of patriots, finding that the firing at sea had given the alarm to the Austrian land forces, dispersed in twos and threes to facilitate escape, till circumstances might enable them to recommence the struggle with adequate means.

Ugo Bassi, with a single companion, took the direction towards Bologna, where, in the centre of devoted friends, his chance of procuring a secure temporary asylum was probable. On the way, however, he fell in with a party of papal police and Croats, by whom he was conducted to Bologna. The commander of that patrol was, shortly afterwards, killed in open day in Bologna by a patriot.

Ugo Bassi first scalped and flayed to *unpriest* him, and then shot.

Without loss of time he was brought before an Austrian court-martial. He did not attempt to make any defence—he avowed that he had done his duty as a man, and asserted that he was quite ready to die, if death were the penalty they attached to honor. The sentence of *death* was passed upon him instantly, but before it could be carried into execution, the Cardinal Legate interfered in the name of the Church, declaring that no priest could be put to death, and that he must first be handed to the clergy to be *desecrated.* To this the military made no objection, and the papal authorities proceeded to perform the desecration in the most horrible manner. The crown of the head, where the tonsure of the priests exists, the forehead, where the cross is made with holy oil, and the fingers and insides of the hands, which on the performance of Mass had touched the Holy Wafer, being considered sacred, *the skin was flayed from the flesh!* In this state did the Romish priests, whom Ugo Bassi had protected from popular vengeance, hand over their brother and former *protector* to the military to be executed, after having performed thus an act of barbarity even more revolting than the savage Indians, who before scalping their enemy have the humanity to kill him.

On the morning of the 8th of August, Ugo Bassi was brought out of his cell at an early hour, and was conducted to a field outside the city, where his grave had already been dug. Looking his murderers calmly in the face, he fell—one bullet piercing his breast, and another his shoulder. His comrade who had been arrested with him suffered death at the same time, with that resolution which perfect consciousness of innocence can alone give. The few persons who at that early hour became apprised of the completion of the tragedy, hurried to the spot to take a last look at their friend. Their handkerchiefs, dipped in the blood of the murdered patriot," says Colonel Forbes, "will one day serve as banners to lead the people against the assassins."

Many instances might be given of the merciless tyranny that is at present exercised under the papal government of Pius IX. at Rome. Let the following one suffice as a specimen of the whole. A young man, named Ercoli, was sentenced to the galleys for extinguishing the *allumette* of a companion, and preventing him from smoking, upon the ground of hostility to the duty reaped by the Pope from tobacco; while the master of a *café*, who witnessed the affair, was sent to the galleys for five years for deposing that the whole affair was only a joke between the two young men.

And now the city which witnessed so noble and patriotic a struggle for liberty, is wretched and priest-ridden as before. Priests in flowing robes sweep along the walks with portlier mien, and cardinals in princely equipages roll through the avenues with prouder state than ever. The Inquisition having been re-established, hypocrisy has resumed its guise, and despotism its sceptre. Strong in the protection of 25,000 French and Austrian bayonets, Pius IX.

and his cardinals exercise an imperious and heartless sway. The people are stripped of the little means long adversity had spared, by extraordinary contributions. The functionaries of the fallen government are subjected to severe penalties, and the members of the Constituent Assembly are not only banished, but their property, to a large extent, is laid under confiscation. Domiciliary visits are frequently made; business, in all of its departments, and society, in all of its relations, are placed under the strictest espionage. True to their old policy, the priests seek to put the public mind asleep by shrouding it with darkness. Foreign journals are excluded with Argus-eyed vigilance, and the only paper of the city is an official sheet, made up of proclamations and edicts, and directions concerning the cut and color and trimmings of cardinal robes, and of edifying accounts of festas and indulgences, and masses and prayers, and relics and miracles. The Jesuits have returned, and are fast re-establishing their malign influence. In short, every thing in Rome, political, ecclesiastical, and social, is lapsing into a state worse than the first. The people meantime are suffering with mute despair. In one respect, at least, they are more degraded than the helots of Sparta; for their masters are not warriors and statesmen, men trained by noble pursuits and manly deeds, but bigots, and cowards, and profligates, and imbeciles.

Beneath all this apparent despair and submission to the existing order of things, there is, however, in the hearts of the Roman people a deep-seated abhorrence of the priestly tyranny under which they groan, and a longing desire for the day of deliverance to arrive; and the quiet that reigns is only like the calm that precedes an eruption of Vesuvius. Let the French and Austrian troops that awe the people into submission but remove, and this volcano would in a moment burst forth. Rome, the boasted metropolis of Christendom, and the Papal dominions around it, constitutes the most wretched of all the civilized nations of the earth, and in the scale of modern improvement, is at least a century behind them all. Says a shrewd and keen observer,* who has lately been an eye-witness of the effects of Papal rule in Rome, "Italy, beautiful, bounteous land! is everywhere haggard with want and wretchedness, but these seem nowhere so great and chronic as in the Papal territories. Every political division of Italy but this, has at least some section of railroad in operation; Rome, though in the heart of all and the great focus of attraction for travellers, *has not the first mile* of railroad, and no prospect of any; though it would seem a good speculation to build one, if it were to be used only in transporting hither the foreign troops absolutely essential here to keep the people quiet in their chains. 'And this, too, shall pass away.'"

§ 46. *The Bible in Rome and Italy.*—During the temporary existence of the Roman Republic, the friends of the Bible in England

* Horace Greeley, of New York.

and America took advantage of the absence of the Pope to employ efforts for the dissemination of the Scriptures in Rome and Italy. The following extract from a speech delivered at an anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, at Exeter Hall, London, by Captain Pakenham, giving an account of his labors in this cause, furnishes some interesting and important facts: "It was in the early part of last year that the munificence of your society intrusted to me a considerable sum, for printing the New Testament at Florence and at Rome—for we have at least established this little fact before we go further, that *when the Pope leaves Rome, we can print the Scriptures there, and when the Pope comes back again, we must lock the Scriptures up.* But I am happy here, in the presence of his Excellency, the American Minister, to express my thanks to the Consul of that free state, who has himself impounded, and not left it to the Pope to impound our Testaments. We have now here and there, threading all the by-ways of Italy, more than one citizen of the United States preaching peace through Jesus Christ. And I recommend the Sovereign Pontiff, whatever liberties he takes with a British subject, not to meddle with these gentlemen. It was in the beginning of January, last year, that we began the New Testament printing at Florence. We began with the edition of Martini. Martini was an Archbishop of Florence, and although his translation comes not exactly up to all the points of our Protestant translation, it is, nevertheless, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society have consented to distribute. And more than that, it is such as a previous Pope has put his approbation upon. It will seem strange to a set of English people, who consent to be guided only by common sense, how one infallible Pope can give his approval to a translation, which another infallible Pope sends and seizes. But this infallible Pope did send and did seize this edition of Martini, which was approved of by another infallible Pope, and it is now in the top story of a very high palace in Florence, the bottom story of which is the common prison.

"Well, the books were seized, and then I was subjected to an interrogatory, and knowing what they wanted, I made very short work of it; for I said to them at once, 'Yes, I am the culprit, I accept all the responsibility of it, and I am ready to meet you before any Tuscan tribunal, and we will have the thing out fairly.'"

The government, however, declined prosecuting Captain P., and arraigned the printer in his stead, and the latter was not deserted by the former. The captain determined to see him defended to the utmost of the Tuscan law.

"It pleased Providence," said Captain P., "to direct us to a very good Tuscan lawyer, who told them some home truths when the process came on—a process which, I believe, they are now very sorry they ever brought on. Turning to the judges, he said, 'It is very unusual to institute trials of this kind. This is a cause which is closely linked with civil liberty; and I am going to give you, who

are lawyers, a piece of sound law, as it respects Tuscany, and that piece of law is this—'*The Decrees of the Council of Trent have not the force of law in this country.*' That was well received by the audience, who did not know it before. 'And more than that, the prohibitory Index, issued by the Supreme Pontiff at Rome, may have effect in the territories of Rome, but must not come across the Tuscan frontier, for here it has no force.' After disposing of these two things, he said: 'In the name of common sense, I appeal to your worships on the bench. Here we are in a country where our churches are very much admired, and the decorations of them, it would not be too much to say, adored. Those decorations are taken —from what? All the subjects which are represented by your highest art, are subjects taken from the Scriptures, or avowedly or professedly so. You call upon our people to fall down before these subjects in admiration, if not in adoration; but the printed words which were given by inspiration of the Spirit of God, you will not let them be distributed. You will not let them come before the public eye. You will not let them be read at the domestic altar. You will not let the children of Tuscany be taught in this blessed book. No; they must go and look at your pictures and statues. That is the way they are to learn religion. But this blessed word of God's revelation, which can make us "wise unto salvation," that must not be read, that must be confiscated, burnt, and torn. I appeal, in the name of common sense,' he exclaimed, 'can you stand by that?'

"But after all that was said and done, for reasons of state, and by superior orders," said Captain P., "the case went against us."

It is a cheering fact, however, that the Bible has been circulated in Italy; the seed has been sown, and all the efforts of Pope and priests to root it entirely out will be in vain. As a striking evidence of this fact, we will relate an incident, upon the authority of the London Standard, which vouches for the honor and the truthfulness of the relator, who was one of the party. A small company of young Englishmen of evangelical principles, happening to meet at Rome last summer, determined upon an excursion into some of the neighboring mountains, carrying with them fowling-pieces, to take from their expedition the appearance of mere idling, and perhaps for defence. Benighted in the mountains, and not indisposed to see something of the domestic life of the mountain peasantry, they asked for shelter in a cottage, which had an appearance of comfort, and found a hospitable reception. From some remarks made by one of the young men as to their conscientious scruples against indulging in wine, the aged cottager was led to conclude that they were religious men, and exclaimed, "What! you Englishmen, and will not drink wine in opposition to your religious principles? You must be the Englishmen that I love, because you love *this book*.' He then opened a crypt beneath the floor, and produced a Bible in the Italian language, for the production of which it was plain the whole family of the cottage, children and grandchildren, had been waiting

with manifest impatience. The patriarch then read two or three chapters of the New Testament; and the astonished visitors asked him how he dared to do so, when, though he, of course, had nothing to fear from Protestants like themselves, any neighbor coming in might detect and betray him. "I am not afraid of my neighbors," replied the old man, with a smile. "Climb the top of this hill to-morrow morning—and it is a high one—look round as far as your eyes can reach, a very wide prospect, and you will not see a cottage in the range in which *this book* (laying his hand on the Bible) is not to be found." "Then," said one of the visitors, "you are in fact all Protestants?" "We *are*," replied the old man emphatically, "but we dare not own it; that is, in the country we *are* all Protestants, but in the towns, may God forgive and convert them, they are *nothing*." We have but to add that the same party, having passed from Rome to Naples, found the rural peasantry everywhere substantially *Protestant*, the town population too generally *infidel;* but found genuine Popery throughout the whole extent of Italy *nowhere*, if not under the priest's frock.

§ 47. *Imprisonment and banishment of Count Guicciardini for Protestantism.*—The feelings of the whole Protestant world have been recently aroused to a high pitch of excitement, by the recent instances of persecution for conscience' sake, in different papal governments, by which a most conclusive proof has been furnished that the persecuting spirit of Popery remains unchanged. It is certainly a significant fact, and one which American freemen should never forget, that the recent cruel imprisonment and banishment of the exiles of Madeira, already related, and the no less inhuman treatment of the noble Count Guicciardini, and of the two Madiais in Tuscany, have been everywhere excused and palliated, or else openly justified by Roman Catholic editors and priests, not excepting Archbishop Hughes of New York,—a most conclusive proof that they would do the same in this country, and in every other, if they possessed the power.

Before closing this supplement, we shall place on record for future reference, the facts and documents relative to those most recent instances of papal intolerance and persecution.

Count Guicciardini—descended from one of the oldest and noblest families in Florence, and who boasts the historian of that name for one of his ancestors—had been a Protestant for at least three or four years past. He had regularly attended the Swiss church, and communicated there, and until lately was never interfered with. He was no politician, and took no part whatever against the government in 1848–49. He is a man of the mildest and gentlest spirit imaginable, and a true Christian. After the Italian preaching was put down by the Tuscan government in the Swiss church in Florence, Count Guicciardini was called up before the delegate of police and examined, and afterwards had an interview with Landucci, the Minister of the Interior, in which he recalled to his re-

membrance the change which must have taken place in the minister's opinions within two years, as in 1849, the count had a conversation with him about liberty of conscience, in which, at that time, Landucci fully agreed. This interview, however, ended in Guicciardini being told *that there were laws against apostacy still unrepealed, and that these must be put in force.* He was also served with an inhibition preventing him from attending the Swiss church. The count, however, was a man of too high character and standing to be easily and summarily disposed of, and it was intimated to him that if he would keep quiet, and not interfere in the cases of other Florentines—his fellow-Protestants against whom they might proceed—all proceedings against him would be stopped. This he most manfully refused to do, and declared his determination to leave his country, and to publish to the world *that his only reason for doing so was, because in it there was not liberty to worship God according to his conscience!* The following week it was his intention to have left, and he had gone one night to the house of one of the Protestant Italians, to meet a few who were of like precious faith, when gendarmes fully armed burst into the room, seized their Bibles, and marched them all off to the *Bargello*, or common prison. Application was made next day at the prison by some English gentlemen, who knew the count, to be permitted to see him, which the delegate of police refused. These gentlemen proceed at once to Mr. Sheil, the English minister, who acted most promptly and kindly on their behalf. He expressed his deep regret and decided conviction of the impolicy of such conduct on the part of this government, and through his kind interference they obtained admission to the noble prisoner.

The gentlemen found Guicciardini looking very ill—he had not slept, from the stench and the vermin of the cell into which he had been thrust. They found also eight persons in the Bargello, for no offence whatever but that they wished to read the word of God, and hear it preached. Some of them poor, and depending on the sweat of their brow for their daily bread, and their families in destitution.

After being imprisoned for some time in this loathsome cell, the excellent Count Guicciardini was sentenced to banishment, and at the last advices, was in Scotland, living under a Protestant government, where liberty of conscience is enjoyed by all.

§ 48. *Trial and sufferings of Rosa and Francesco Madiai for Bible-reading.*—The most recent instance of popish persecution, and one which is still agitating the public mind, throughout all Protestant Christendom, is that of Rosa and Francesco Madiai, two humble but deeply-pious disciples of Jesus, who at the moment we write are pining in the dungeons of Tuscany, for no other crime than that of reading and inviting others to read with them the blessed word of God, and to love and trust in that Saviour whom it reveals. The following account of their trial and imprisonment is taken chiefly

from a translation from the *Buona Novella,* an Italian journal published at Turin. Upon their apprehension, they were put in separate cells at the Bargello prison; and after several weeks of strict confinement, the government notified them that their trial would take place on the 4th of June, 1852. Being too poor to employ counsel in their defence, Signor Odoardo Maggiorani, one of the most learned jurists of Tuscany, generously and gratuitously offered his services to the two prisoners, and his example was imitated by three other eminent lawyers, viz., Vincenzo Salvagnoli, Adriano Mari, and Leopoldo Galeotti.

Great anxiety prevailed among the population of Florence as to the results of these proceedings—a great many citizens applied for admission to the halls of justice, but the government notified that the trial should be conducted with closed doors.

The presiding judges (as there was no jury) were Mr. Nervini, who, during the whole trial, appeared very bitter against the culprits, Cocchi, the interrogating judge, and Bicchierai, the public prosecutor.

At ten o'clock, A. M., the gendarmes brought the prisoners into the court. Francesco Madiai appeared happy to see his wife again, and pressed her hand, and Rosa was pale and trembled with emotion. The few persons present were surprised and moved with the tranquillity and firmness of the two accused.

At the commencement of the trial, the presiding judge asked Francesco Madiai if he was born in the bosom of the Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic Church. A. Yes, sir, was the reply; but now I am a Christian according to the gospel.

Q. Who has made you such, and does there exist an act of abjuration amongst those you are united to? A. My convictions have existed for many years, but have acquired strength from the study of the word of God.

Q. Who advised you to leave the Catholic faith? A. Nobody; it has been a matter between God and my own soul.

Q. Have you ever made a public abjuration? A. Yes, sir.

Q. When and how? A. When I took the communion in the Swiss church.

Q. Have you distributed among the people any publication contrary to the dogmas of the Roman Church? A. No, sir; the tracts I gave people to read contained only passages of the Holy Scriptures, but nothing of controversy between the two communions.

Q. Did you ever hold religious meetings in your house? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you say and do? A. That we were all believers in the Evangelical church, and as such we used to congregate and pray.

Here Casacci, the witness, said to the president, that many were Catholics, and Francesco and Rosa Madiai persuaded them to leave the papal church.

Q. What have you to say, Francesco Madiai, against the deposition of the present witness? A. Those who were yet Catholics desired to become acquainted with the eternal truth, and under such circumstances I could not refuse them admittance to my house.

Q. Have you ever had any religious controversy during the time you spoke against the church? A. Yes, sir, only when I was provoked; I spoke of the dogmas of the church as contrary to the Bible, but have never used, during this conversation, any disrespectful language.

Hereupon the president ordered Francesco Madiai to sit down. His wife was called to stand up.

Q. Have you changed your religion for any material object? did you ever receive any pecuniary remuneration? A. No, sir, I have not changed my former religion lightly, or to please men; in such a case I could have done it when I was in England, where I lived seventeen years.

Q. What then could induce you to take that step? A. The reading of the Bible convinced me of the error and contradictions of the Romish doctrines.

Here the presiding judge imposed silence on the prisoner.

Q. Have you ever made any public abjuration? A. Yes, sir; as soon as I became firmly convinced of the truth of the evangelical doctrine, I abandoned the church, and made a public confession of faith by partaking of the Lord's supper.

Q. Where did the public confession take place? A. In the Swiss chapel, at Florence, when the former laws of our country gave and protected religious liberty.

Q. Have you at any time called the Holy Apostles men of hatred? A. No, sir; that accusation is totally untrue. I have never been guilty of such a thing, and shall prove the contrary by the words of St. Luke, chapter xxii., from verse 28th to 31st. But the judge interrupted Rosa Madiai, saying, "We are not speaking about religion now." The defendant replied, "As I am accused of religion, I am to answer and defend myself on that subject."

The president, with a stern look, bid her silence, for the second time.

Q. Have you ever said that the Christian religion has but eight commandments, and that our creed allows fornication?

The prisoner hereupon rose indignantly, and said in a high tone of voice, that as her only reply to that infamous charge, she should be allowed to say the ten commandments, in order that they might judge whether there were eight or ten.

"Silence!" was answered by the court; upon which, being angry, the defendant replied, "That it was not justice to impose silence on one's own defence."

The judge appeared somewhat milder, and asked the prisoner if she and her husband observed the ten commandments?

"Certainly," she answered, "as God dictated them to Moses on Mount Sinai."

Here the word "silence" was repeated, and the examination of Rosa Madiai was closed by the judge saying "that is sufficient."

The small audience, composed of a few English gentlemen, who had been admitted through the influence of Sir Henry Bulwer, were struck with the simplicity and sincerity of the Madiais.

On the following day the witnesses were examined. On the 6th of June, Mr. Maggiorani announced to the court that he was ready for the defence, which he made with so much warmth and feeling as to draw tears even from the eyes of the prosecuting attorney.

The learned defender said: "Honorable gentlemen, here before you stand two aged persons, charged by the accusation, not for Protestant proselytism, nor for having spoken disrespectfully of our church, *nor for having taken, at any time, any part in the political events which have lately desolated our country,* but they are guilty, before our modern laws, of being apostates, and becoming members of the evangelical communion. For this crime, of which my two clients openly and candidly confess being guilty, they are, perhaps, to be condemned by this tribunal. If our present legislation is contrary to all religions except our own, I see no reason why honorable citizens should be tried as unbelievers or hired emissaries. The court should know, that although the so-called Evangelical Christians do not acknowledge the authority of Rome, and disagree in some parts with its doctrines, yet they are rigid observers of Christian morals, and profess all those principles which most satisfy the human heart, and are adapted to the intellect. The prosecuting judge was grossly mistaken when he accused the defendants for acting as Evangelical Christians merely for the sake of money, for they lived on their toils, and are two of the most pious, upright, and honest persons, and were acknowledged to be such by those same persons who the more wished to aggravate them; even the curate of their parish has done justice to the Christian probity of the two prisoners, testifying moreover of having been received several times at Madiai's house, with the greatest and kindest hospitality, and has ever admired their charity and modesty."

The counsel then read to the court a letter from a nun belonging to the convent of the Salesiane of Massa, in the valley of Nievole, near Pescia, wherein she states, on plain truth, of having known, before she took the veil, Rosa Polini and Francesco Madiai, who are now married and living in Florence. "I have lived," adds the nun, "with the wife, in the service of several foreign families, for almost two years, and have always esteemed her and her husband for their upright, honest, and charitable actions in every respect, although concerning religion they belonged, to my knowledge, to a heterodox communion." This declaration is dated the 22d of May, 1852, signed by Sister Rosa Felice Massei, and authenticated by Sister

Anna Maria Bartoli, Abbess of the Monastery of the Salesians, and by Pietro Forti, Bishop of Pescia, in Tuscany.

On the morning of the 7th of June, the public prosecutor summed up the charge, and on the fourth day the court remained long in consultation; the votes were divided, and one vote decided the question, two being in favor of acquittal, and three of condemnation. At last the clerk of the court announced to the prisoners to stand up, for sentence was to pass upon them. The presiding judge read with a trembling voice the sentence, of which the following is an accurate copy:*

"Considering that the penal laws, agreeing with the interpretations of the most illustrious juries, recognize proselytism as a crime punishable by the civil authorities—

"Considering that Francesco and Rosa Madiai, born and brought up in the Catholic religion, have, within the last four or five years, been induced to abandon it, and embrace the religion which they call Evangelical—

"That Francesco Madiai, availing himself of the lessons in the French language which he gave to a young man of sixteen, endeavored, though without success, to detach him from the Catholic religion, gave him, in concert with his wife, *a prohibited copy of the Bible*, in French and in Italian—

"That he has made to other persons proposals tending to show the superiority of the religion called Evangelical to the Catholic religion, counselling such persons not to hear the priests, reproving the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints as an idolatry, and especially turning into derision the pious custom of burning tapers before the image of the holy Virgin—rejecting the doctrine of the real presence of the consecrated host, characterizing as an insult towards God intercession by the Virgin and the saints, rejecting the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff; saying that the observance of feast-days other than Sundays, and abstinence from certain aliments, were inventions of sinful men; saying that in the sacrament of the communion, the transubstantiation of bread and wine is not true; that confession is useless, because it is made to man and not to God—

"That to make a young girl of twenty, who was in their service, abandon her religion, the Madiais *taught her to read*, so that she might understand the books which they gave her, such as *the Bible*, translated by Diodati, and the Book of Prayer, printed in London by the Society for the Diffusion of the Christian Doctrine, in which it is said that Purgatory and the worship of images are ridiculous inventions—

"Considering that what has been said by the defence on the subject of liberty of conscience and of religious tolerance is foreign to

* This copy of the judicial sentence of the Madiai was translated from the *Univers*, a leading Roman Catholic journal, issued in Paris, and its accuracy will not therefore be disputed by Catholics.

the question, seeing that the first is not attacked when citizens are called to answer for their external acts, and that the second is protected, instead of being violated, when one preserves another from the danger of seduction and abandonment of her religion—

"The court declares that the crime of impiety has been committed by the Madiais in the way of Proselytism—and it condemns Francesco Madiai to *fifty months' imprisonment at hard labor*, and Rosa Madiai to *forty-five months' imprisonment*, and to a fine of 300 livres, and at the expiration of their punishment to three years' surveillance by the police."

The conduct of the Madiais during their trial did them the greatest honor, and awakened the admiration of the audience. They listened to the sentence with great firmness and dignity. Francesco was in perfect peace, and received the final blow in a spirit of holy submission, and the only expression of suffering was squeezing the hand of a friend near by, saying—"There is need of patience, and the comfort, the joy of the Holy Spirit never changes with me, however it may with my poor body. I am always happy. God has been with me all the time of my imprisonment, and he will always be with me as long as I remain in prison, and I am sure he will be with me unto death."

Rosa Madiai, as soon as she returned to the Bargello prison, knelt and prayed for some time; afterwards she wrote the following letter to her husband:

My Dear Madiai,—You know that I have always loved you; but how much more ought I to love you now, that we have been together in the battle of the Great King—that we have been beaten, but not vanquished. I hope that, through the merits of Jesus Christ, God our Father will have accepted our testimony, and will give us grace to drink, to the last drop, the portion of that bitter cup which is prepared for us, with returning of thanks. My good Madiai, life is only a day, and a day of grief. Yesterday we were young, to-day we are old. Nevertheless, we can say with old Simeon: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Courage, my dear, since we know by the Holy Spirit that this Christ, loaded with opprobrium, trodden down and calumniated, is our Saviour; and we, by his holy light and power, are called to defend the holy cross, and Christ who died for us, receiving his reproaches, that we may afterwards participate in his glory. Do not fear if the punishment be hard. God, who made the chains fall from Peter, and opened the doors of his prison, will never forget us. Keep in good spirits; let us trust entirely in God. Let me see you cheerful, as, I trust, by the same grace you will see me cheerful. I embrace you with my whole heart. Your affectionate wife,

(Signed) Rosa Madiai.

Before leaving the Bargello for his final imprisonment, Francesco Madiai applied to be allowed to carry with him a supply of clean linen, clothes, &c. But this was not permitted. He smiled, saying, "Well, all things according to the will of God." He spoke very audably of his wife, and requested a friend to tell her "that his prayer was that God would go with them to their prisons, and that he felt

The Madiais consigned to their respective prisons.

sure that God would be their companion there." He was not allowed to see his wife, but was conveyed to his jail of Volterra, and thrown among criminals. A few days after he was removed from the common galleys and put into cellulary confinement.

The same gentleman, who had visited Francesco Madiai while in the city prison, went to see his wife, who, hearing of the sudden departure of her husband, became much oppressed; and her mind was also tortured by the idea, that, at her advanced age, having always lived amongst virtuous and religious people, she should now be thrown with females of bad conduct. At the same moment, and almost unexpectedly, the prison-keeper brought a message from the police, that Rosa Madiai should be taken away from the Bargello, and carried to the prisons of Lucca.

At this dreadful notice, in presence of all the attendants and gendarmes, she burst into fervent prayer, asking God for more faith, more love to Jesus. Her kind lawyer, Signor Maggiorani, promised to go to Lucca to see that every thing that could be permitted should be provided for her; and the physician, who was also present, said that, although it was unusual, he would give a certificate as to the state of her health, requiring diet different from that of the common prisoners, as absolutely important to her life.

Having quickly dressed herself, she asked for her bonnet, and to a remark made by one of the jailers, why she did not comb her hair, answered, "For what use, as in a few hours they will cut it off." She bid farewell to all those assistants, and told an English gentleman, in whose service she had been, "Remember me to all the brethren, and tell them, should they be called to follow us, to bear what may be appointed them to suffer, but never to forsake their God." This advice was addressed to the numerous prisoners who were yet under trial in the several prisons of Florence, accused of the same crime for which the Madiais had been condemned.

A special order of the Tuscan government prescribed that the Madiais should be entirely deprived of all religious service and books of their faith, nor should any Protestant clergymen be allowed to visit them—a rule which is not even applied in the same country to the worst criminals. They were soon separated from all the prisoners, and kept in a private and solitary cell—the husband on the hills of Volterra, and the wife at Lucca, a distance of fifty miles. When they are allowed to walk about, it is in a yard, surrounded by walls, from which nothing can be seen but the sky.

Dressed after the manner of all criminals, for the first weeks they were nourished with the common and unhealthy victuals of the prison, and it was but lately that they were allowed to receive victuals from without. In the cell of Rosa Madiai can be seen *a large chain hanging to the wall*, as a threat in case she should rebel against the prison discipline.

§ 49. *Earl Roden's interview with Madiai. Lord John Russell's letter, &c.*—The news that the Madiais had been condemned for

having become Protestants, and for proselytism against the papal church, awoke the indignation of all Protestant countries, and even of liberal Catholics, as may be seen from a very elaborate article which appeared in the Débats of Paris. Meetings were held to protest against the Tuscan government, and finally a deputation, composed of the most distinguished citizens of several countries of Europe, started for Florence, in order to implore from the sovereign the pardon of the Madiais. The deputation forwarded their petitions to the Grand Duke of Tuscany through his Prime Minister, the Duke of Casigliano, who answered afterwards that they could not be admitted to the royal audience of his sovereign, as they had petitioned; and that, concerning the Madiais, they having been condemned according to the laws of the country, he could do nothing in favor of the prisoners.

Earl Roden, a member of the deputation, has recently published the following affecting account of his interview with these poor suffering disciples of Jesus. It is a touching narrative of humble piety and patient suffering. Read it, American and British Protestants, and see the kind of people that Roman Catholic persecutors in the nineteenth century consider worthy of imprisonment and bonds.

"Having arrived here last night," says Earl Roden, "I proceeded at ten o'clock this morning (November 3, 1852) to the great prison, allocated to persons convicted of the worst crimes, containing within its walls at the present time above 500 criminals. This most imposing building is situated on the summit of the heights of Volterra, 1800 feet above the level of the sea. I waited on the *direttore,* who received me with civility. I presented to him my passport, that he might identify me as the person whom he had received orders from the government to admit to visit the prisoner, Francesco Madiai. He introduced me to the sub-direttore, desiring him to conduct me to Madiai's room. We passed through a very long corridor, with cells on either side, and reached the door of the infirmary where Francesco was confined. I was shown into a small room, where the window was on a level with the table, and there was air and light in abundance. Francesco rose from his chair, when the sub-direttore told him who I was; he then shut the door and retired, so that I had full opportunity to converse with the prisoner alone. In about a quarter of an hour the sub-direttore returned with the doctor. I thanked them both for their kindness to Francesco, particularly the latter; and I told Madiai, in their hearing, that I was at the head of a deputation which had come from England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland to implore the Grand Duke's clemency towards him and his wife; that, in so doing, we were not only influenced by compassion for them, and the deepest sympathy for their sufferings, but that our special object was to endorse the principle which they had maintained, and for which they were now suffering, namely, that *every individual in the world had a right to read the word of God,* without note or

comment; and that that principle was near and dear to our hearts as Christians. Neither the sub-direttore nor the doctor made any remark to this; but the latter said that Francesco's health had improved, that all fever had left him, though there was still much weakness. I then told Francesco that I had visited him and his wife at the request of my brother deputies, who, together with all who loved and valued the word of God, were warmly attached to them both, and were thankful to God for the confession which they had been enabled to make, and for the support which he had given them under their heavy trials, during their long incarceration, several months of which I was aware had been spent in the Bargello, the common prison of Florence, where the treatment of them had been most cruel—indeed barbarous.

"The sub-direttore and the doctor having retired, he spoke much to me of the state of his health, saying he was better; but in his weak and reduced frame, I could too plainly see the effects of all through which he had passed, and, although comparatively better, I have no doubt that a much longer confinement must terminate in his death. He talked of the comfort which he had in the Scriptures; he found the testimony of the Lord Jesus in them his great support; he cared little for other books in comparison with the word of God; he was allowed the Roman Catholic Bible by Martini, with notes.

"I told him that his wife, whom I had seen two days before, requested me to tell him that she was well. He was looking forward with great hope to his speedy liberation, and seemed much disappointed at the failure of our application. I said that the King of Prussia had taken a special interest in their case, and sent a nobleman from Berlin, Count Arnim, to plead their cause before the Grand Duke. His eyes then filled with tears, and he exclaimed, "How can I ever be grateful enough to God for his mercies to me!" He spoke of his own nothingness, and that, therefore, it could have been only God who had put it into the hearts of kings and nobles, and of Christians of distant countries, to be so interested in their behalf. He added, that he felt he was in God's hands, and that he would do with him as he pleased.

"I found in Francesco Madiai a simple-minded Christian, greatly depressed and worn down by severe suffering, mental and bodily. He made no complaints, and spoke with the greatest respect of the Grand Duke his sovereign, to whom, I had previously heard, he had been always a most attached and loyal subject. He evidently would have entered more at length into the particulars of his case, but I told him that I already knew them. When I asked him if I could do any thing for him he said, "Nothing but to pray for him." I then offered up a short prayer with him for the continuance of God's favor and support towards him and his wife, and bade him farewell, with feelings kindred to those with which I had taken leave of his poor wife. RODEN."

To the honor of the government of Great Britain it is to be recorded, that it has not been indifferent to the cruel persecutions of these two excellent people, but has actively interfered in their behalf. The following energetic dispatch has been forwarded to Sir Henry Bulwer, British ambassador at Florence, by Lord John Russell. We place it upon record as an additional testimony to the truth of the facts we have narrated, and an honorable expression of the views of Protestant England, through one of her most eminent and enlightened statesmen, of this instance of Popish persecution in the nineteenth century.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO SIR HENRY BULWER.

Foreign Office, Jan. 18.

SIR,—According to the last accounts received from you, the Grand Duke of Tuscany still hesitates on the subject of the Madiai. But this is a matter on which hesitation implies capital punishment. It is the same thing in effect to condemn a man to die by fire like Savonarola, or to put him to death by the slow torture of an unhealthy prison. It seems to be imagined, indeed, by some governments on the Continent, that if they avoid the spectacle of an execution on the scaffold, they will escape the odium to themselves, and the sympathy for their victims, which attends upon the punishment of death for offences of a political or religious character. But this is an error. It is now well understood that the wasting of the body, the sinking of the spirits, the weakening of the mind, are but additions to the capital punishment which long and close confinement too often involves. If, therefore, as has been lately reported, one of the Madiai were to die in prison, the Grand Duke must expect that throughout Europe he will be considered as having put a human being to death for being a Protestant.

"It will be said, no doubt, that the offence of Francesco Madiai was not that of being a Protestant, but that of endeavoring to seduce others from the Roman Catholic faith; that the Tuscan government had the most merciful intentions, and meant to have shortened the period of imprisonment allotted by law to his offence; that such offences cannot be permitted to pass unpunished.

All this, however, will avail very little. Throughout the civilized world this example of religious persecution will excite abhorrence. Nor will it be the least of the reproaches addressed to the government of the Grand Duke, that the name of Leopold of Tuscany has been thus desecrated, and the example of a benevolent sovereign thus departed from. The peaceful, mild, and ingenuous character of the Tuscan people makes this severity the less necessary and the more odious.

As this is a matter affecting a Tuscan subject, it may be said that her Majesty's government have no right to interfere. If this means that interference by force of arms would not be justifiable, I confess at once that nothing but the most extreme case would justify interference. But if it be meant that Her Majesty has not the right to point to a friendly sovereign the arguments which have prevailed in the most civilized nations against the use of the civil sword to punish religious opinions, I entirely deny the truth of such an allegation.

You are, therefore, instructed to speak in the most serious tone to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to lay before him all the considerations stated in this dispatch. You will do it in the most friendly tone, and take care to assure the government to which you are accredited, that none are more sincere in their wishes for the independence and happiness of Tuscany than the Queen of Great Britain.

I am, &c., J. RUSSELL.

All these benevolent efforts on behalf of these suffering martyrs of Jesus have hitherto been in vain. Their health is failing, espe-

cially that of Francesco, and the probability is that one or both of them will die in a prison, and be added to the number of the victims of that false and apostate church which has long been "drunk with the blood of the saints and of the martys of Jesus." To show how meekly and patiently they bear their sufferings for the truth, the following pious letters are given, written by them since their imprisonment:

LETTER FROM ROSA MADIAI TO A FRIEND.

Finally, my dear, if such an injustice of the Tuscan government is for the glory of God, may it be welcome; but pray continually for us that we may be enabled to serve and honor him truly in this heavy imprisonment. My husband is very unwell, and this the more afflicts me. I am grown very thin; but my health is much better, thank the good Jesus. I hope you, my dear, and your excellent wife are well; I shall never forget how much she suffered for me; kiss your children and their mother for me; tell them that I and my husband exhort them in their exile, not to fear the great of this corrupt world, for they will soon be reduced to ashes; let the cause of Christ alone be a sacred jealousy in their hearts and actions, to whom, with the Father and Holy Ghost, be honor and glory. Let the church pray for us; let us hope that through the blessing of God, which gives strength to the weak like us, that if some one be called to suffer for his cause, he will remember how much Jesus suffered for us. I do not say any thing more, for want of paper; remember us prisoners kindly to everybody.

Your sister in Christ,

ROSA MADIAI.

Rosa Madiai wrote lately, from her prison at Lucca, to her husband imprisoned at Volterra, the following letter:

You could not imagine what profound pleasure I have felt in hearing that thou wert better, and what tears of joy I have shed in thinking that God hath deemed thee worthy of suffering for his beloved Son, and that he has restored thy health. O, if we could only understand the price of the shame we suffer for having acknowledged one Mediator only between God and man! Dearest, thou speakest to me of waiting for our grace; but let me tell thee that the great grace we have already received, when after having been torn from each other by force—having been torn away from our home, and having lost every thing, we have been ourselves reduced to our present condition. However, no more than Moses would, for all Pharaoh's treasures, would we lose that sacred gift which, through supreme grace, the Holy Spirit granted us; faith in the divine word. That is what I call a grace, and a great grace. If a star is to shine for us, it must be that of justice. We have wronged none, and done harm to nobody. On the contrary, we have received evil, and have been sold for a few pieces of money. Our accusers are the descendants of Judas. Poor souls! I pray God to grant them Peter's tears, and to preserve them from Judas's punishment, that they may in the future enjoy Christ's salvation. If they were to come and ask alms from me, as I have done before, I would still give them. May God be our help. Amen. Dear Madiai, let us be ready for the Father's will, as his Son, our Master.

Let us not be anxious. Peter trembled in walking on the waters; fearing the waves, he forgot that if the Lord himself walked on them, he ought not to fear any thing. Let us remember the sacred word, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." Dearest, rest in the Lord for every thing, good and evil; every thing passes away; eternity, that is the chief thing. Be cheerful and try to gain health. God bless thee, and keep thee under the shadow of his wings, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

ROSA MADIAI.

An American Catholic's opinion of the "Madiai farce."

The following is a note which Francesco Madiai wrote to a friend, dated 20th November:

DEAR Mr. C——, I should wish to write more, but cannot, being very ill in bed. However, I do not think my sickness dangerous. Let God's holy will be done in every thing. All I can say, as a brother in Christ Jesus our Saviour, is, that the more my sickness increases, the more the Spirit of God increases in me. Please give my best respects to all my friends. I cannot write any longer. Your faithful servant and brother in Christ Jesus. FRANCESCO MADIAI.

P. S.—Do not tell my wife that I am so sick.

Let the reader read these touching memorials of suffering piety, and then let him compare therewith the following specimens of *American* Catholic abuse of the persecuted Madiai and their friends, and then decide, *first*, as to the justice or decency of these charges, and *second*, whether the persecuting spirit of Popery is not the same now as it ever has been. The extract is from a Roman Catholic journal called the Boston Pilot, upon what it is pleased to term "*the Madiai farce!*"

"Our readers have been somewhat amused, no doubt, by the conduct of certain persons, some of them knaves, others fools, others simply misinformed, who have been latterly raising a great cry against the Tuscan government, because it found it necessary to imprison a few individuals, who have been convicted, after a fair trial, of breaking the laws of the land.

"The Italian must be either a Catholic or an Infidel. The few who apostatize, and call themselves Protestants, are moved by political considerations. They are revolutionists, to a man. They find that Protestantism will let them live as they please. It affords no restraint to their unchained passions. It allows them to rob, and to commit murder, under the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It lets them indulge in wine and women until they grow tired of both, provided they will keep still about it.

"They are regarded by pious, Pope-hating male and female women in England and America, as converts from Popery, and money, men, *arms*, and tracts are sent to them.

"American Protestantism has gone mad over the Madiais. We do not think the proceedings of the Metropolitan Hall meeting in behalf of the Madiais worth notice, and we shall not comment upon them. The promoters of the meeting were and are conspirators against the religion and government of Italy. They wish to overturn these; they do not care a straw for the Madiais."

We cannot close our account of the cruel persecution of these pious and simple-hearted believers, without appending the following copy of a beautiful letter of thanks recently sent by the evangelical Christians of Tuscany to the Deputation who went to Florence, to intercede with the government on behalf of the Madiai. It is a cheering fact that, notwithstanding, the persecution which awaits them, if detected, there are at present thousands of evangelical Christians in Tuscany, who have been led, by the blessing of God on a distributed Bible to abandon the errors of Popery. It would be imprudent to publish at present, the *names* of the writers of this letter. Its pious and evangelical sentiments show that the doctrinal views and the religious experience of these Bible Christians, accord with those of true believers in Christ, in every land and age.

To the Christian Brethren forming the various Deputations sent to appeal in favor of Francesco and Rosa Madiai, held Prisoners in Tuscany for the cause of the Gospel.

Beloved Brethren in the Lord,—The evangelical Christians in Tuscany, greatly moved by the earnest proof of Christian love shown to them by many brethren of various countries and languages, but united to them in one common bond of faith, desire to express their thankfulness and gratitude for the love that has led you unsolicited by them, to come hither for the sole purpose of endeavoring to alleviate the sufferings of our brother and sister, Francesco and Rosa Madiai, now enduring hard bondage for reading the Word of Life, and for the open and free confession of that truth, believed and held by them with that constancy and steadfastness alone worthy of those who, like faithful sheep, know the voice of the "true Shepherd" that died to save them, and "follow him whithersoever He goeth;" but for which steadfastness they are now accused of impiety.

We believe it unnecessary to recapitulate the painful history of their long and severe sufferings, inasmuch as you are already well informed of all that has happened to us, and have with so much love watched all the trials we have been subject to within the last few years. You have heard, that having been bred up and instructed to assume at least the outward garb of religion, even if accompanied by a fatal and passive indifference, provided we did not openly question the customs and traditions imposed upon us; many of us became either solely wrapped up in the political vicissitudes of our unhappy country, or, "ignorant of *God's* righteousness," went about "to establish our own righteousness, not submitting ourselves unto the righteousness of God." (Romans, x. 3.) In this fatal delusion we must have remained, had we not had free access to the unadulterated Word of God, "able to make us wise unto salvation." It is through His mercy and grace alone that we now abide faithful unto that Word, notwithstanding the many trials daily renewed against us by our rulers. For these, indeed, we continually pray, knowing the many difficulties and obstacles they have to contend with, from those who are the worst enemies to the diffusion of God's Word, and whose influence our rulers have sought to enlist, by concessions in their favor and by severity against those who have separated themselves, under the idea that to uphold the predominant religion of the State is the best guarantee for the peace and prosperity of the country.

We are truly sorry that at this time, especially, we cannot personally render you an open testimony of our gratitude and love for the singular proof you have given us of your sympathy with our suffering brethren; but you are well aware that we are not permitted now even to meet together for mutual edification, and that we are obliged to abstain from assembling ourselves together even

for the sole purpose of worshipping God, through fear of either imprisonment or exile, and the consequent distress of our families. We are thus in difficulty between the laws of our country and the express law of our GOD. (Heb. x. 25.) We would gladly forego many of the rights of citizens, or willingly bear any other burden, if in exchange we could meet in the name of our LORD.

But though we cannot openly and collectively offer you the expression of our gratitude for the sympathy which you have so manifested towards us in our trials and sufferings, we cannot be hindered from offering up our prayers to the "Father of mercies" and "GOD of all grace," that he may crown your mission with success, and may grant us better days, when we may "worship GOD in quietness, none daring to make us afraid."

If, however, it must needs be that we should yet suffer for the truth, we commit ourselves in confidence to our Father in Heaven, who will not permit us to be tried above what we are able to bear, and who has graciously assured His people that "as their days are, so shall their strength be." (Deut. xxxiii. 25.) And we abide the issue of these trials with the calm assurance that He who permits them will overule them for His own glory and for our good; and that the things that befall us shall turn out, as in the early days of His Church, rather to the furtherance of the Gospel.

One other matter we cannot pass by. We have been accused of making a profession of the Gospel for the sole purpose of endeavoring to undermine the present political state of the country; but your deputation, coming from so many friendly States, is a clear and undeniable proof that we have not been actuated by political motives in searching, as we have done, the Scriptures of truth.

We entreat you, that when you return again to your native lands you will convey to our brethren who sent you the expression of our deepest gratitude; and tell them that we feel encouraged and sustained by their sympathy, and that the moral support of all the evangelical Christians of Europe is of the greatest value and consequence to GOD's people in this land, who desire to know for themselves the Word of Eternal Life. Above all things, request them to unite their prayers with ours, that the LORD may uphold us in all our need, and prepare us for all that He has prepared for us; and that His Word may have free course in this land and be glorified. Finally, that in all that concerns us His will, not ours, be done. Our trust is in Him from whom our strength cometh, and whose grace is sufficient for us; and for the joy set before us we gladly endure the passing afflictions of the present time, knowing that "He who hath loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood" shall guide us at last "to the rest that remaineth," when "the Lamb which in the midst of the throne shall feed us, and shall lead us to the living fountains of water, and GOD shall wipe away all tears from our eyes."

May our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the

Gospel, strengthen, comfort, and bless you above all that you can ask or think; and to His name be all the praise.

Florence, October 29th, 1852.

§ 50. *The Pope's Concordat, the cause of these persecutions. Conclusion.*—The cruel persecutions we have related exhibit the genuine spirit of popery. We are aware that Jesuitical cunning will answer these charges by throwing the blame and the responsibility upon the lay tribunals, and then proclaim, with consummate hypocrisy, as they did in the worst days of the Inquisition, amidst the fires of the *auto da fe, ecclesia abhorret a sanguine.* The key to these modern persecutions for conscience' sake, however, is to be found in a *Concordat* made between the Pope and Tuscany, bearing date, April 5th, 1851, in which the Pope binds the lay authorities to do the bidding of the church in the prosecution and the punishment of heretics. The leading points in this Concordat, as stated in the *Monitore Toscano,* of May 5th, are as follows. The provisions of this agreement which we have printed in italics are a sufficient explanation of the persecution of Count Guicciardini and of the Madiai, and of the apologies of the Catholic press of the world for these atrocious and despotic acts:

"Article 1 declares that the ecclesiastical authorities are perfectly free in the exercise of their sacred office, *and that the lay authorities are to aid them in the protection of morality and religion, and in the maintenance of the episcopal authority.*

By Art. 2, Bishops are perfectly free to publish whatever documents relate to their functions.

Art. 3 provides that the Bishops alone shall have the right of censorship over works treating *ex-professo* of religion, and shall moreover have the power of warning their flock to avoid reading any book they may consider contrary to religion and morality.

By Art. 4, Bishops shall appoint those they may think proper to preach within their dioceses.

By Art. 5, all communication of the Bishops and the faithful of the Holy See shall be free.

Art. 6 admits the right of lay tribunals to take cognizance of civil cases relating to the persons and property of ecclesiastics, as also to the property of the Church.

By Art. 7, all cases relating to the Faith, the Sacraments, and all other matters belonging to the spiritual jurisdiction by the Sacred Canons, shall be deferred to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Nevertheless (Art. 8), lay tribunals may take cognizance of matters concerning lay benefices.

By Art. 9, the ecclesiastical tribunals shall take cognizance of matrimonial cases in so far as the validity of the bond is concerned; the lay tribunal may, however, judge the civil questions connected with such cases.

By Art. 10, the Holy See consents to let ecclesiastics be tried by lay tribunals, in criminal cases not connected with religion; if con-

demned, they are to suffer their penalty in distinct prisons purposely set apart for them in the prison establishments of the State. *The ecclesiastical tribunals shall, however, take cognizance of religious crimes, such as apostasy, heresy, schism, simony, the profanation of Sacraments, &c., and pronounce canonical penalties, the execution of which shall be claimed by the Bishops from the lay authorities.*"

The object of the Pope and his priests, in the almost superhuman exertions they are making for the spread of Popery, is to establish similar *Concordats*, if it shall be possible, with France, England, America, and all the nations of the earth; to enlist other governments as they have that of Tuscany, in a crusade against Religious freedom and the Bible, and again to reign, as in the darkness of the middle ages, Despots of the World.

We believe, however, that the world has grown too wise ever to permit itself to be bound again by the iron shackles of the spiritual despotism of Rome; and notwithstanding all her proud boastings, we cannot doubt that the days of this apostate church are numbered. She may continue to hold the people under her despotic and iron sway, for a few years longer, in countries where she can shut out the newspaper and popular education, as in most of the priest-ridden nations of Europe. But the march of freedom and of light is onward—onward throughout the world; and in countries like our own free and happy America, Romish priests shall find themselves as unable to arrest that march, as to prevent the sun's rays from shining on the world. But let America and all Protestant Christendom remember that

"THE PRICE OF LIBERTY IS ETERNAL VIGILANCE."

THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE PIUS IX.

TO ALL PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS.*

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We, who during many years past were striving together with you, Venerable Brethren, to fulfil to the best of our powers the Episcopal charge—that charge so full of solicitude—and to feed that part of the Lord's flock committed to our care in the mountains of Israel, amid the streams and fruitful pastures, have been, in consequence of the death of *our illustrious predecessor, Gregory XVI., whose memory and whose illustrious and glorious deeds, written in letters of gold on the records of the Church, posterity will always admire,* quite contrary to all our thoughts and expectations, and with considerable alarm and trepidation, by the hidden designs of Divine Providence raised to the Chief Pontificate. For indeed if the charge of the Apostolic Ministry is justly esteemed and ever to be esteemed one of danger and importance, more particularly is it a matter of dread in these most difficult times for the Christian Republic.

Hence, fully conscious of our own weakness, and contemplating the most weighty duties of the Supreme Apostleship, particularly in the present critical state of affairs, we should have wholly given up ourselves to sad sorrowing and tears, had we not placed our hope in God our Salvation, who never deserts those hoping in him, and who in order to display the strength of his own power, chooses even the weakliest for the government of his Church, that all may more and more learn that it is God himself who rules and defends his Church by his admirable providence.

Our consolation is that we have, as companions and helpers, you, Venerable Brethren, who, called to share our solicitude, endeavor with every care and earnestness to fulfil your ministry, and to fight the good fight.

Hence, when first, though undeservedly, placed in this sublime seat of the Prince of the Apostles, we received that important charge bestowed in the person of Blessed Peter, by the Eternal Prince of Pastors, of feeding and ruling, not only the lambs, namely, the universal Christian people, but also the sheep, that is, the Bishops, nothing was more sought for or desired by us than that we might address you all with the deepest feeling of affectionate charity.

Wherefore, scarcely have we, according to the usage and custom of our predecessors, taken possession of the Supreme Pontificate in our Basilica of St. John Lateran, than we address unto you without

* This Encyclical Letter is copied verbatim from the Catholic Herald of February 4th, 1847. The italics and small capitals, and also the headings between the paragraphs, are our own.

delay this Epistle, in order to inflame your profound piety, so that with even greater alacrity, vigilance, and earnestness, keeping the watches of the night over the flock committed to your care, and with the strength and constancy of Bishops fighting against that most hideous enemy of the human race, strenuously, like good soldiers of Jesus Christ, you may "set up a wall for the House of Israel."

POPE PIUS DENOUNCES ALL THE OPPONENTS OF CATHOLICITY.

None of you, Venerable Brethren, but must be aware that in this our deplorable age, a fierce and formidable war is waged against every portion of Catholicity by those men who, *linked in nefarious companionship, not enduring sound doctrine*, and turning their ears from the truth, dig out from darkness every monstrous shape of opinion, and endeavor with all their might to exaggerate and disseminate them among the people.

We shudder indeed with horror, and we are bitterly affected with sorrow, when we reflect on all the monstrosities of error, and the various and multiform arts, snares, and machinations of mischief, by which these *haters of the truth* and of the light, and *most skilful artificers of fraud*, labor to quench in the minds of all men every aspiration after piety, justice, and honesty; to corrupt morals, to confound all rights human and Divine; and to rend asunder, to undermine, nay, if such a thing were ever possible, to overturn from their foundations, both the Catholic religion and civil society.

For you know, Venerable Brethren, that these *deadly enemies of the Christian name*, miserably hurried on by the blind force of a frantic impiety, rush forward with such a rash daring of thought, that with almost unheard of audacity, "opening their mouths in blasphemies against God," they blush not openly and publicly to teach that the solemn, sacred mysteries of our religion are fables, and mere inventions of men; that the doctrine of the Catholic Church is opposed to the good and advantage of human society; they even tremble not to deny even Christ himself and God. And the more easily to delude the people, and particularly, to deceive the unwary and hurry the inexperienced along with them into error, they assert that to themselves alone are known the ways of prosperity, and arrogate without hesitation to themselves the title of Philosophy, whose whole scope is the investigation of nature's truth, should reject that which God, the merciful Author of all Nature, had with singular beneficence and mercy designed to men in order that they might attain true safety and happiness. Hence, with a preposterous and most fallacious species of arguing, they cease not to appeal to human reason, and to extol it at the expense of Christ's most holy faith, audaciously setting forth that it is opposed to human reason. Than which conduct nothing certainly more insane, nothing more impious, nothing, in fine, more repugnant to reason itself, can be fashioned or thought of. For although faith be above reason, no real disagreement, however, no

hostility between them can ever be discovered, since they both flow from one and the same fountain of immutable and eternal truth—the Most Excellent and Mighty God, and so render assistance to each other, that right reason demonstrates, protects, and defends the truth of Faith; while faith frees reason from all errors, and wonderfully enlightens, confirms, and perfects it by the knowledge of Divine things.

Nor is the fallacy, Venerable Brethren, less of those enemies of Divine Revelation, who, extolling with loud-sounding praise, the progress or march of human things, would with clearly rash and sacrilegious daring thrust into the Catholic religion, as if that religion were not the work of God, but of man, or some philosophical discovery that could be perfected by human means. On men thus miserably mad the reproach of Tertullian to the philosophers of his day, falls with peculiar fittingness, that they (the Philosophers) had published a Stoic, a Platonic, and a Dialectic Christianity. And certainly, since our most holy religion was not invented by man, but revealed in mercy by God to man, every one must without difficulty see that religion, in fact, must derive all its force from the authority of the same God speaking, nor can in any wise be derived from, or ever perfected by, human reason. It behooves human reason, indeed, diligently to inquire into the fact of Divine Revelation, that it may be clear that God has spoken, and that to Him, that according, to the very wise teaching of the Apostle, he may render "a reasonable obedience."

POPE PIUS CONFOUNDS CHRISTIANITY WITH POPERY.

For who is ignorant, who can be ignorant, that implicit faith is to be given to God when he speaks, and that nothing can be more consistent with right reason than a firm consent and adhesion to those things which shall be proved to have been revealed by a God who can neither deceive nor be deceived!

But how numerous, how wonderful, how splendid, are the arguments by which human reason should most lucidly be convinced that the religion of Christ is divine, and that "every principle of our dogmas has taken its root from the Lord of the heavens on high." And, moreover, that nothing more certain, more secure, more holy, or which is founded on firmer principles—exists; to wit, this faith, the instructress of life, the expeller of all vices, the fruitful parent and nurse of all virtues—confirmed by the birth, life, death, resurrection, wisdom, wonders, and prophecies of Christ Jesus, her author and finisher; radiant on every side with the light of heavenly doctrine, and laden with the treasures of heavenly riches; illustrious and distinctively marked by the predictions of so many Prophets, the splendor of so many miracles, the constancy of so many martyrs, the glory of so many Saints; proclaiming the saving laws of Christ, gaining day by day more strength from the most cruel persecutions them-

selves; hath the cross, her only banner, journeyed by land and sea the whole earth; having beaten down the falsehood of idolatry, scattered the darkness of error, triumphed over enemies of every kind she enlightened all people, all nations, however savagely barbarous. however diversified by disposition, manners, laws, and institutions with the light of Divine knowledge, and—announcing peace and good tidings—has brought them under the most sweet yoke of Christ; all which shine forth on every side with such a splendor of wisdom and power that every mind and thought may easily understand that the Christian faith is the work of God. Therefore human reason, from these most splendid and equally solid arguments, clearly and distinctly recognising that God is the author of this same faith, can go no further, but throwing utterly aside every doubt and difficulty, is bound to yield every obedience to faith, knowing with certainty that whatever faith proposes to men to be believed and done, was delivered by God himself.

POPE PIUS CONDEMNS PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

Hence, too, plainly appears in what error they continue, who, abusing their reasoning power, and esteeming the words of God as a human production, *dare rashly to interpret it, when God himself has appointed a living authority to teach the true and legitimate sense of his heavenly revelation, to establish it, to settle away all controversies on matters of faith and morals with an* INFALLIBLE *decision*, so that the faithful may not be carried about by every wind, of the wickedness of men to the circumventing of error. Which living and infallible authority exists only in that Church, which, built by Christ our Lord on Peter, the Head, the Chief and Pastor of the whole Church, whose faith he promised shall never fail—has ever legitimate Pontiffs deducing their origin without intermission, from Peter himself, placed in his chair—heirs and possessors of the same doctrine, dignity, honor, and powers. And since "where Peter is there is the Church," and Peter speaks by the Roman Pontiff, and ever lives and exercises judgment in his successors, and gives forth the truth of faith to those seeking it, therefore the Divine words are clearly to be received in that sense which this Roman Chair of Blessed Peter, the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, hath always preserved whole and inviolate, and has ever taught to the Faithful, showing to all the path of safety and the doctrine of uncorrupted truth. For this is the chief of Churches, from which the unity of the Priesthood hath arisen. This is the centre and metropolis of piety, wherein is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion, in which the primacy of the Apostolic Chair hath ever flourished; to which, on account of its pre-eminent dignity, it is necessary that all churches—that is to say, the Faithful—wheresoever found, should repair; with which whosoever gathereth not, scattereth. We, therefore, who, by the inscrutable judgment of God, have been seated

in this chair of truth, appeal with earnestness in the Lord to your eminent piety, Venerable Brethren, that with all solicitude and zeal you may assiduously exert yourselves to admonish and exhort the faithful committed to your care, to the end that firmly adhering to these principles they may never suffer themselves to be deceived or led away into error by those men who, having become abominable by their pursuits, under the pretence of human "progress," labor to undermine faith, impiously to subject faith to reason, and to overthrow the revealed word of God; who hesitate not to offer the highest insult and outrage to God himself, who hath deigned by His holy religion most graciously to provide for the good of men here and their salvation hereafter.

POPE PIUS (FORGETTING THE JESUITS) DENOUNCES SECRET SOCIETIES.

You are already well acquainted, Venerable Brethren, with other monsters of error, and the frauds with which the children of the present age strive bitterly to beset the Catholic religion and the divine authority of the Church; to oppose its laws, and to trample on the rights of the sacred as well as of the civil power. To this point tend those guilty conspiracies against this Roman Chair of the Blessed Peter, on which Christ laid the irremovable foundations of His Church. To this point tend the operation of those *secret societies*, emerging from their native darkness for the ruin and devastation of the common weal, as well sacred as social, who have been again and again condemned with anathema by the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, in their Apostolic letters, which we, in the plenitude of our Apostolic power, confirm, and command to be most strictly observed.

POPE PIUS CONDEMNS BIBLE SOCIETIES, AND ENDORSES GREGORY XVI.

This, also, is the tendency and design of *these insidious Bible Societies*, which, renewing the crafts of the ancient heretics, cease not to obtrude upon all kinds of men, even the least instructed, gratuitously and at immense expense, copies in vast numbers of the books of the Sacred Scriptures translated against the holiest rules of the Church into various vulgar tongues, and very often with the most perverse and erroneous interpretations, to the end that Divine tradition, the doctrine of the Fathers, and the authority of the Catholic Church being rejected, every man may interpret the Revelations of the Almighty according to his own private judgment, and perverting their sense, fall into the most dangerous errors. *Which societies, emulous of his predecessor, Gregory XVI., of blessed memory, to whose place we have been permitted to succeed without his merits, reproved by his Apostolic letter, and we desire equally to condemn.* Still, to the same point tends that horrible system, extremely repugnant even to the light of natural reason, of indifference to any kind

of religion, by which these impostors, abolishing all distinction between truth and falsehood, between honesty and baseness, pretend to secure eternal salvation to men of any form of worship whatsoever, as if it were possible that there should be any participation of justice with iniquity, any association of light with darkness, any agreement between Christ and Belial.

POPE PIUS TOUCHES UPON SACRED CELIBACY AND DIVERS OTHER MATTERS.

To this point tends that infamous conspiracy against *the sacred celibacy of the Clergy*, which, oh! shame, has been encouraged even by some ecclesiastics, who, miserably forgetful of their proper dignity, have suffered themselves to be overcome and drawn aside by the seductions and blandishments of illicit pleasure. To this point tends that perverse theory of education, especially in philosophy, which in a most pitiable manner deceives and corrupts ingenuous youth, and commends to it the gall of the dragon in the chalice of Babylon. To this point tends the shameful doctrine so especially adverse to natural right, of what is called Communism; a doctrine which if once admitted, the rights of all men, their property, their privileges, nay, the social system itself, even from its foundation, would be overthrown. Again, to this same point tend the darkly-hidden snares of those who, with the outside of the sheep, but ravening wolves within, under the false and fraudulent pretence of a purer piety, of severer virtue, and with an appearance of humility, enter in, mildly take, softly bind, secretly slay and deter men from the observance of any religious worship, and kill and tear to pieces the sheep of the Lord.

POPE PIUS BEWAILS THE FOUL PLAGUE OF BOOKS, AND THE LICENSE OF THINKING, SPEAKING, AND WRITING.

Lastly, to this point tends, omitting other things which are well observed by and fully known to you, that *most foul plague of books and pamphlets*, flying everywhere and inculcating sin, which books, being ably written and full of fallacies and artfulness, are spread abroad throughout all parts, among Christian people, at enormous expense, and everywhere disseminate pestiferous doctrines, depraving the minds and souls, especially of the incautious, and working the greatest possible injuries to religion.

From this overflow of errors and the *unbridled license of thinking, speaking, and writing*, public manners are deteriorated, the most holy religion of Christ despised, the majesty of the Divine worship scorned, *the power of this Apostolic See is thwarted, the authority of the Church opposed*, and reduced to a vile servitude, *the rights of Bishops trampled under foot*, the sanctity of marriage violated, the influence of all power melted away, and with so many other evils to the Christian commonwealth, as well as to the civil state, that we are compelled, Venerable Brethren, to weep over them, and mingle our tears with yours.

Therefore, in such vicissitudes of religious affairs, and in such critical periods, we being earnestly solicitous for the safety of the whole flock of the Lord divinely committed to our care, shall certainly not leave untried or unattempted any duty of our Apostolic ministry, by which, with all our strength, we may seek counsel for the good of the whole Christian family. But at the same time we earnestly in the Lord, appeal to your eminent piety and prudence, Venerable Brethren, that with help from Heaven you may with us boldly defend the cause of God and of His Holy Church, as becomes the place you hold and the dignity with which you are invested.

POPE PIUS DEVOTES TO ETERNAL DESTRUCTION ALL HERETICS (INCLUDING HIS PROTESTANT ADMIRERS).

That it becomes you to fight valiantly, you will understand, as you are not ignorant with how many and how great wounds, the stainless Spouse of Christ is pierced, and with how fierce an assault of bitter enemies she is beset. You know especially to defend and preserve *the Catholic faith* with episcopal strength and firmness, and to watch with unceasing care that the flock committed to you may be retained in that faith firmly and immoveably, *which unless one preserves whole and uncorrupted, without doubt he shall perish eternally.* In order, therefore, to preserve and protect this Faith by the discharge of your pastoral duties, apply yourself diligently and without ceasing to instruct in it all men, to confirm those who waver, to convince those who gainsay it, to strengthen the weak in Faith, never overlooking or enduring anything which may appear even in the slightest degree to violate the purity of the Faith. With no less energy of mind should you encourage in all things, union with *this Catholic Church, beyond which there is no salvation*, and obedience toward this chair of St. Peter, whereon the whole superstructure of our holy religion rests, as on a secure foundation.

POPE PIUS WARNS AGAINST PESTIFEROUS BOOKS, SECTS, AND ASSOCIATIONS.

And with equal constancy watch over the keeping of the most holy laws of the Church, by which, indeed, virtue, religion, and piety, do best increase and flourish.

And, "as it is great piety to lay bare the lurking-places of the wicked, and in them to overcome the Devil himself, whom they serve," we entreat and admonish you that with all diligence and labor you expose to the faithful the multiform snares, deceptions, errors, frauds, and machinations of evil men, and that you diligently turn them away from pestiferous books, and strenuously exhort them that flying away as from the face of a serpent, from the sects and associations of the impious, they may most carefully avoid all things that are hurtful to the integrity of faith, religion, and morals. For this purpose let it never happen that you desist from preaching the Gospel,

for by that means the Christian people becoming daily more instructed in the precepts of the most Holy Christian Law, may increase in the knowledge of God, avoid evil and do good, and walk in the way of the Lord.

And as you know that your ministry is the ministry of Christ, who declared himself meek and humble of heart, and who came not to call the just, but sinners, leaving to us an example that we might follow in his footsteps, do not fail in the spirit of lenity and meekness, with fatherly admonition and advice to correct, reprove, entreat, or rebuke, in all gentleness, with patience and doctrine, those whom you find breaking the commandments of the Lord, and straying from the paths of truth and justice; as benevolence is often more efficacious in correction than authority, entreaty more than menace, and charity more than power.

This, also, Venerable Brethren, strive with all your energies to accomplish, that the Faithful may cultivate charity, seek peace, zealously perform the duties of charity and peace, so that all dissensions, enmities, strife, and envyings, being destroyed, all may delight in mutual charity, and being perfectly of one mind and one feeling, they may feel and speak, and know the same things in Christ Jesus our Lord.

POPE PIUS ENJOINS OBEDIENCE AND SUBJECTION TOWARD PRINCES.

Apply yourselves to inculcate on the Christian people *the due obedience and subjection toward princes and powers*, teaching, according to the admonition of the Apostle, that there is no power except it be of God, and that to resist the power of God's ordination is to draw down condemnation on themselves, and therefore the precept to obey the powers that be can never now, by any individual, be violated without crime, unless, indeed, the thing commanded be opposed to the laws of God and the Church.

POPE PIUS GIVES SUNDRY COUNSELS TO HIS CLERGY.

Now, as there is nothing which more incites others to piety and constantly disposes to the worship of God than the light and examples of those who dedicate themselves to the Divine ministry, and as the Priests are, so does it often happen that the people are also—you will, in your singular wisdom, perceive, Venerable Brothers, that it will behoove you to use great care and zeal, that in the clergy a gravity of manners, integrity of life, holiness, and learning, may shine out, and ecclesiastical discipline be strictly preserved, as prescribed by the canons of the Church, and where it has lapsed may be restored to pristine splendor.

Therefore, as you very well know, it becomes you to be wary, that, according to the precept of the Apostle, you may not hastily or lightly impose hands on any one, and that you initiate into holy orders, or admit to the administration of the sacred mysteries those

only who, strictly and carefully examined and proved, appear adorned with all virtues, and regarded with approval by the wise, may become to your dioceses both of use and ornament, and who, declining all things which are forbidden to the clergy, and lending themselves to reading, exhortation, and teaching, may be an example to the Faithful in word, deed, in charity, faith, and chastity ; may win reverence from all men, and help to form people's minds, and inflame and excite to the love of the Christian religion. For "it is better," as Benedict XIV., our predecessor, of blessed memory, said, "to have fewer ministers, but those honest, suitable, and useful, than a larger number of men who, for the edification of the body of Christ, which is the Church, might be of no avail."

You are not ignorant that you ought, with even greater care, to inquire concerning the morals and the science of those to whom are committed the direction of souls, that they, as faithful dispensers of the treasures of God's grace, may continually apply themselves to support and assist the people confided to them, by the administration of the sacraments, the preaching of the Divine word, and the example of good works, instilling into them the precepts of the Gospel, and leading them into the paths of salvation.

You know that a clergy being ignorant or negligent of their duties, the morals of the people also instantly fall away, Christian discipline is relaxed, the practice of religion abused, and all the vices easily glide into that Church. Lest that the word of God which "full of life and power, and sharper than a two-edged sword," was established for the salvation of souls, should become unfruitful through the ministers, cease not, Venerable Brothers, to demand of the preachers of the Divine word that being themselves penetrated with that same Divine word, that well considering in their own souls the gravity of their office, they may exercise their Evangelic ministry, not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, not with the parade and vanity of ambitious eloquence, but with the assistance of the Spirit and the virtue from on high. That rightly treating the word of truth, and preaching not their ownselves but Christ crucified, they may announce to the people, in clear and intelligible language, yet in a style full of dignity, the dogmas and precepts of our holy religion according to the Catholic Church and the Fathers, so that by detailed explanations of individual duties all may be turned from crime and won to piety, and thus the Faithful, fed and nourished by the word of God, may abstain from all vices, practise all virtues, escape eternal punishment, and attain to heavenly glory.

In your Episcopal solicitude, assiduously warn all ecclesiastics, and exhort them to consider seriously the ministry which they have received from God, so that they exactly fulfil its obligations, that they may have at heart supremely the glories of God's house, that they give themselves up unceasingly to prayer, and the recitation of the Canonical hours conformably to the precept of the Church, with a

view to obtain Divine assistance for the accomplishment of their duties of appeasing God and rendering him propitious to the Christian people.

As you are not ignorant, Venerable Brothers, that the education of clerks is the only means of procuring good ministers for the Church, and that it exercises great influence throughout the whole course of life, continue to use all your efforts that young clerks may be formed even from their tender years, to piety and solid virtue, to a knowledge of letters, to the study of the sciences, and, above all, of sacred science. Having nothing so much at heart as to establish seminaries for clerks according to the precepts of the Fathers of Trent, where they do not exist; increase and enlarge, if need be, those that are; to give them excellent superiors and masters, and to watch over them incessantly till young clerks be educated in the fear of the Lord, in the love of ecclesiastical discipline, may be therein formed to the knowledge of the sacred sciences, according to the Catholic doctrine, and without any fear of error taught the traditions of the Church, and the writings of the Holy Fathers; instructed in ceremonies and sacred rites, you may add to them kind, skilful, and courageous workmen, who, animated with ecclesiastical spirit, and formed by fitting studies, may in time, cultivate the field of the Lord, and diligently fight his battles.

Moreover, understanding, as you do, that nothing tends more to support and preserve the dignity and holiness of the priesthood than the pious institution of spiritual exercises, encourage with all your influence this salutary work; cease not to exhort all those who have been called to the heritage of the Lord to withdraw themselves into some place proper for these exercises, so that being freed from the distraction of external affairs, and exclusively devoted to meditation on internal and divine truths, they may purify themselves from the stains contracted amid the dust of the world, steep themselves in the ecclesiastical spirit, lay aside the old man and his works, and clothe themselves with the new man, created in holiness and justice. If we have spoken at length on the subject of the education and discipline of the clergy, regret it not, for you know that there is a multitude of men, who, disgusted with the variety, inconstancy, and multiplicity of errors, feel the necessity of embracing our holy religion, and, with the blessing of God, they will decide the more easily on embracing the precepts and practices of this religion when they see that its clergy are distinguished from other men by the piety and purity of their life, the repute of their wisdom, and the example set by them of all the virtues.

Finally, most dear Brethren, we have the consoling conviction that, kindled as you are with an ardent charity toward God and man, inflamed with great love for the Church, enriched with all but angelic virtues, gifted with episcopal courage and prudence, all animated with one holy desire, walking in the footsteps of and imitating, as be-

comes Bishops, Him whose ambassadors you are, Jesus Christ, the model of all pastors, become, through your union, the form and rule of the flock, enlightening with the rays of your holiness the clergy and the faithful, having bowels of mercy, compassionating the lot of those who wander into the darkness of ignorance and error; we have, we say, the consoling conviction that you are disposed, after the example of the Shepherd in the Gospel, to go eagerly in search of the sheep which is lost, to bear it with fatherly tenderness upon your shoulders, to bring it back to the flock; and that you will spare neither care nor counsel, nor labor, to fulfil religiously the duties of the pastoral charge, to put in safety from the rage, the attacks, the ambuscades of ravishing wolves, the sheep that were bought with the blood of Jesus Christ, confided to your care, and who are all very dear to us; to turn them from the poisons of error, to lead them into fat pastures, and bring them by your care, your exertions, and example, to the gates of eternal Salvation.

Advance with all your power, Venerable Brothers, the glory of God and of the Church, and by your activity, zeal, vigilance, and harmony, endeavor that all errors being dissipated and vices rooted out, faith, religion, piety, and virtue, may increase from day to day in all places, and that all the Faithful renouncing the works of darkness, conduct themselves in a manner worthy of children of light, seeking in all things the good pleasure of God, and laboring to do all kinds of good works. In the midst of so many grave embarrassments, difficulties, and inseparable danger, above all, at this present time of your episcopal charge, be not beaten down with fear, but seek strength in the Lord, and confiding in the power of His grace, think that from the height of heaven He has fixed his eyes on those that struggle for the glory of His name, that He applauds those who venture nobly, that He aids those who fight, and crowns those who conquer.

As we love you all very dearly in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and desire nothing so much as to help you with our love, our counsels, and our power, and to labor with you for the glory of God, the defence and propagation of the Catholic faith, and the salvation of those souls for whom we are ready to sacrifice, if necessary, our own life, come then, we conjure you, Venerable Brethren, come with open hearts and entire confidence to this see of the Blessed Prince of the Apostles, the Centre of Catholic Unity and Fount of Episcopacy, whence the Episcopate itself and all authority of that name was drawn, come to us whenever you think that you have need of the help or protection of our authority and that of this Holy See.

POPE PIUS ENJOINS HIS "DEAR SONS," THE PRINCES, TO EMPLOY THEIR REGAL POWER FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH. OF ROME.

We confidently hope that our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the princes, recollecting in their wisdom and piety that *the regal power was given*

them not only for the government of the world, but *especially for the defence of the Church*, and that we *maintain* at one and the same time *the cause* of the Church, that *of their kingdoms* and of their salvation, by which they enjoy in peace their authority over their provinces; that they will favor by their support and authority the vows and desires that we form in common, and *that they will defend the liberty and prosperity of the Church, in order that the right hand of Christ may defend their empires.*

To obtain the happy accomplishment of these wishes, let us go with confidence, Venerable Brothers, to the throne of grace, and all penetrated with a deep feeling of humility, address unceasingly to the Father of Mercies and God of all Consolation, the most urgent prayers, that by the merits of His only Son he may deign to spread over our weakness the abundance of his heavenly gifts, that he will overthrow our enemies by his powerful virtue, that he will make the Faith flourish everywhere with truth and piety, devotion and peace, and that dissipating all errors and all oppositions, the Church may enjoy her much-desired liberty, and that there will be but one flock and one Shepherd.

POPE PIUS CLOSES BY MAKING HIS ADVOCATE, MEDIATRIX, AND FIRMEST HOPE—THE VIRGIN MARY.

And that the Most Merciful God may more readily hear our prayers and grant our desires, let us have recourse to the intercession of the Most Holy Mother of God, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, our most sweet mother, *our mediatrix*, *our advocate*, OUR FIRMEST HOPE, the source of our confidence, and whose protection is most powerful and most efficacious with God. Let us invoke also the Prince of the Apostles to whom Christ gave the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, whom he chose for the foundation-stone of his Church, against which the gates of Hell shall never prevail, and his co-apostle Paul, and all the saints of Heaven, who already crowned possess the palm, that they may shed down upon all Christian people the treasures of Divine mercy.

Finally, as the presage of these heavenly gifts, and in testimony of our great love toward you, receive the Apostolic Benediction, which we give from the bottom of our heart, to you our Venerable Brothers, to all the ecclesiastics, and all the faithful laity confided to your charge.

Given at Rome, at the Church of St. Mary the Greater, on the 9th day of November, in the year 1846, in the first year of our Pontificate.

THE END OF FIRST SUPPLEMENT.

SECOND SUPPLEMENT

TO

DOWLING'S HISTORY OF ROMANISM.

BY THE AUTHOR.

BEING A CONTINUATION OF THAT WORK TO THE DECREE OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY BY THE COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN.

A.D. 1852 TO A.D. 1871.

THE last two decades that have now nearly elapsed since the publication of the edition of this History, with Supplement to A.D. 1852, have embraced events of startling significance and importance in the history of the papacy and of the world. To furnish an account of the principal of those events, is the design of the present addition to the work.

Toward the close of the former Supplement, an allusion was made to the strenuous efforts made by Pope Pius, after his return from Gaeta to Rome, to establish concordats between himself and the different nations of Europe, similar to that with Tuscany, which sanctioned and justified the tyrannical proceedings of the ecclesiastical tribunals, and the persecutions of the Madiai and other Tuscan protestant Christians. These attempts to enlarge the boundaries of the papal power, and to bring back the spiritual despotism of the dark ages of the world, have all proved nugatory and vain. The concordat with Tuscany, described on the last two pages, has long since been annulled; the Madiai and their fellow-sufferers have been released from their prisons; Victor Emanuel, the King of Tuscany, and now King of Italy, has long ago broken friendship with the pope, and been placed under the ban of papal excommunication, while the world has laughed at the pope's impotent folly and rage; and the sunny lands at present under the government of the excommunicated king, including even the city of Rome itself, now enjoy, in this year 1871, free worship, a free press, and a free Bible, with entire immunity from priestly inquisitors and papal vengeance. So far from the pope succeeding in establishing new concordats with other nations, not only has Tuscany broken her chains, but recently even Austria itself, for ages the chief prop of the papal tyranny, has followed her example, and taken her place among the friends and the supporters of religious freedom. For these and other wonderful changes which the last score of years has witnessed, the friends of protestantism and of freedom throughout the world have reason to be grateful and rejoice.

CARDINAL WISEMAN AND PAPAL AGGRESSIONS IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the pope has felt his grasp relaxing upon the old Catholic lands, he has put forth almost superhuman exertions to strengthen his hold upon other and protestant countries, especially England and the United States. Upon Great Britain the popes have ever looked with a greedy eye, especially for the last three hundred years, since the reign of that faithful daughter of the church, and persecutor of God's saints, bloody Queen Mary, and no efforts have been spared to bring back the British dominions to their ancient allegiance to the pope. Probably no Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, since the days of Cardinal Wolsey in the reign of Henry VIII., has attracted such general attention in England, and exerted so potent an influence in behalf of the Romish Church, as the celebrated Nicholas Wiseman, created by Pope Pius in 1850, Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster, and Catholic Primate of England, upon the proclamation of a papal bull for the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in that country. Learned, able, and efficient, with a strength of will that faltered at no obstacle, and a pride and hauteur that would have made him another Hildebrand in the papal chair, Cardinal Wiseman was acknowledged as one of the most remarkable men of the age, and was in truth a most fitting instrument for the accomplishment of the designs of the pope upon England.

The following vivid sketch of the appearance of the new-made cardinal, and of the pomp and parade and show with which he appeared in conducting public worship, is from the graphic pen of the author of a book published in England, entitled, *Pen and Ink Pictures of Popular English Preachers.* Describing the procession which came into the church from a little door on one side of the building, close to the chapel of the Virgin, he says, "It was headed by a beadle with a severe look, bearing a silver-headed mace. After him were acolytes, carrying enormous lighted tapers; then came about forty little boys, clad in white robes, their hands reverently folded palm to palm, and their eyes directed upward. Following these walked the richly-attired deacons, also with folded palms and uplifted eyes. Then came about a dozen ecclesiastics of different orders; and lastly, there emerged, from the door of the private chapel, the object of universal curiosity, His Eminence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

"Slowly, and with an air which some might mistake for dignity, and which it was very possible was meant to express it, came forth the prime emissary of the Vatican. Before him was one

official, bearing a lofty triple cross, and another carrying a silver-gilt crozier; and on either side of the prelate walked two priests in amber-colored robes, richly broidered with gold, supporting his train. With tall and robust form towering above these, appeared Cardinal Wiseman. He was magnificently dressed. On his head pressed a mitre, glittering with gold and jewels; a robe, also of amber color, profusely decorated with gold embroidery, and on the back emblazoned with a gorgeously wrought cross, enveloped his portly frame; and from beneath it appeared trowsers of white satin, glittering with gold spangles, and white shoes, also embroidered with gold. His hands were encased in white gloves, splendidly braided, and over these were rings of dazzling lustre; but conspicuous among them was the episcopal signet, which appeared black and dull among its brilliant companions, like the dark church of which it was a symbol, when compared with that of a simpler but a far purer and more resplendent faith!

"As we gazed upon the new cardinal, we mentally ejaculated, 'Shade of Wolsey!' and involuntarily contrasted him with our preconceived ideas of the personal appearance of the magnificent prelate of Hampton Court; 'can he upon whom we now gaze be the man who has set protestant England at defiance? Is that coarse and vulgar-looking individual the head of the Catholic Church in England?' The universal homage that was paid to him, as he slowly paced the aisles of St. George, furnished us with an affirmative reply. The face of Cardinal Wiseman is not unlike, in breadth, that of the late Daniel O'Connell; and those who have seen portraits of the latter personage may therefore form a tolerably correct idea of the massiveness and squareness of his countenance. But there the similarity ends. Dr. Wiseman's head is large, and covered with iron-gray hair, carelessly disposed; his forehead is low but broad, and bounded inferiorly by two large dark eyebrows, beneath which are a pair of gray eyes, whose furtive expression can not be described. These are shaded by a pair of spectacles which rest on a short nose, rather knobbed at the end. The mouth is very peculiar. Cunning, sarcasm, and duplicity are stamped as plainly on that feature as public indignation is upon its owner's presumption. A fat double chin, whiskerless cheeks, of a swarthy complexion, complete our portrait, so far as the face goes; but, reader, add to this a pair of broad shoulders, a brawny chest, and an aldermanic abdomen, and you have a fair idea of Cardinal Wiseman.

"On goes the procession round the cathedral, the cardinal, with downcast eyes, slowly pacing the aisles, one hand resting on his prominent stomach, and the other gently waving to and fro, as his thick lips move whilst he mutters a benediction. At length the altar is reached, and with great ceremony the cardinal is conducted to his throne, when his mitre is exchanged for a scarlet cap, and the service commences.

"But the 'mummeries of superstition,' such as the genuflexions, the unrobings, the bowings, and the like, incident to this part of the proceedings, we will not attempt to describe. Imagine, therefore, reader, that Cardinal Wiseman has had his mitre placed and replaced a dozen times at the least; that clouds of incense have issued from silver censers, and floated in thin pure wreaths through the cathedral, and now enshroud the saints who are worshiped, and the sinners who worship, and the Virgin and Child, and the banners and the other insignia, in an odorous haze; that the splendidly-attired priests have retired from the altar; that the organ no more sounds forth its dulcet diapasons; and that the rich voices of the 'professional' choir have 'died into an echo.' We say, fancy all this; and now behold another procession issue forth from between the gilded gates of the high altar. The satellites of the cardinal are escorting him to the pulpit.

"At the foot of the pulpit-stairs the procession halts; and, between two rows of ecclesiastics and choristers, the great man ascends to the sacred place. Two priests only attend to bear his train, and these enter the pulpit with him, and occupy places behind him. One of these takes the gilt crozier from the cardinal's hand, and upholds the emblem of mock authority.

"His voice is coarse and vulgar, dry, harsh, and unmelodious. 'Peace on earth and good-will to men,' is the text. What a text for the great religious peace-breaker himself to discourse from! Very little action is used by the cardinal; his gestures are confined to some slow wavings of his hands, which display his jewel-studded fingers to the staring multitude. His body appears immovable; so does his head, as though he was fearful of rumpling his robes. And then with pompous air, and flushed with prelatic pride, he descends the pulpit-stairs, escorted as before, and proceeds to the front of the altar, where a priest having ingeniously converted himself, for his convenience, into a reading-desk, by kneeling and supporting a large missal on his hands and head, he reads or intones a few prayers, and then retires within the screen to the altar's foot, where we will leave him."

Such was the man appointed by Pope Pius to establish in England the new order of things created by his bull for the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in England, and for dividing the kingdom into territorial Romish bishoprics. The excitement caused throughout the kingdom by this "papal aggression," as it was called, was very great, though chiefly among the adherents of the established church. The hierarchy of the Church of England considered the assumption of territorial titles taken from English cities by Roman Catholic bishops, an invasion of their rights, and an assumption of titles bestowed upon them by the queen, and belonging exclusively to the dignitaries of the English state church. The protestant dissenters of England, although equally indignant at the encroachment of

the pope in protestant England, and at the bold assumption of Cardinal Wiseman, who everywhere announced himself by the territorial title of Archbishop of Westminster, yet they took comparatively little interest in this question of titles, for the simple reason that they regarded the claim to such territorial titles equally assuming in the case of the Episcopal, as of the Romish bishops. The chief cause of offense to the clergy of the established church was thus stated by a clergyman of that church, at one of the numerous public meetings which were held to protest against this measure. "For a long time past," said this speaker, "the Bishop of Rome has governed the Roman Catholics in this country by means of vicars apostolic, with titles of bishoprics not existing, and of places not in this country, and no one had a right to complain of that, because he was justified in providing for the spiritual care of those in communion with his church. But the bull which the Bishop of Rome had lately thought fit to issue, not only gave those persons spiritual supremacy, but assigned to them territorial jurisdiction. It was, therefore, a direct interference with the supremacy of the crown in this country. The Bishop of Rome has been led to believe that there were but three million of Englishmen left in the protestant communion, because conversions, the number of which has been greatly exaggerated, have been going on of late years to the Roman Catholic faith; but he would find how much he has been deceived, and that the people of England were as determined as ever to cling to the protestant faith, and to hold at all hazards the religion of their fathers. This popish announcement affected them as protestants, because it affected the supremacy of the crown, and because it affected the prerogative of the queen, who was the fountain of all honor within these realms. But it did something more besides, it offered an insult to the church."

Of course the protestant dissenters of England could feel but little interest in arguments such as these, because they repudiate alike the supremacy of pope and queen in ecclesiastical affairs. There were many indeed to be found, both in and out of the established church, who considered the Puseyites and Ritualist clergymen, who had introduced much of the mummeries of Romanism into their public services, and thus gone far on the road "toward Rome," as responsible, in a great measure, for these "papal aggressions," which they themselves had invited, by their leaning toward the Romish Church. Such persons as those received a severe but merited rebuke, in the closing portion of the following letter of Lord John Russell, then Premier of England, to the Bishop of Durham, which appeared in the London *Times*, was read throughout Europe with the greatest interest, and is worthy of being placed upon record, as a part of the history of this Romish aggression in England:

"To the Right Rev. the Bishop of Durham:

"I agree with you in considering the 'late aggression of the pope upon our protestantism' as 'insolent and insidious,' and I therefore feel as indignant as you can upon the subject. I not only promoted, to the utmost of my power, the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who without such help would have been left in heathen ignorance. This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as that which we have now seen.

"There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times. I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation. Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempts to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permited to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious. Upon this subject then, I will only say that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power, deliberately considered.

"*There is a* danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our *own church*, who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the queen's supremacy, have been the *most forward* in leading their flocks, 'step by step, *to the very verge of the precipice.*' The honor paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London, in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What then is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the *unworthy sons* of the Church of England herself?

"I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these

innovations will desist from their insidious course, but I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavors which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul. I remain, with great respect, etc.,

"DOWNING STREET, November 4. J. RUSSELL."

Meantime the excitement and indignation throughout England were intense, and public meetings and demonstrations of every kind were made in almost every town in the kingdom. The anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot occurred on November 5th, the day following the date of Lord Russell's letter, and was observed everywhere with far more than usual spirit and zeal. Guy Fawkes was that year brought back, and received with all the acclamations of former times. He visited London in various guises; in one place assuming the resemblance of the pope himself; in several instances appearing in the broad red hat and glowing stockings of the new-made cardinal. One pageant consisted of fourteen figures, animate and inanimate, the largest of which, elevated in his chariot, sixteen feet in height, was compelled to bow down before he could pass through Temple Bar into Fleet street. One of the figures was an effigy of Cardinal Wiseman, in his red hat and canonical robes; and the chariot bore two inscriptions. On one side, "Cardinal St. Impudentia going to take possession of the diocese in Westminster." On the other side, "Guy Fawkes going to be canonized in St. George's Fields." The following somewhat amusing account of a demonstration in the city of Exeter, copied from a daily paper, would serve for a hundred or more in other places: "The morning was ushered in by the firing of cannon, and expectation was excited by the appearance of large placards on the walls. The procession conducted figures of the pope and cardinal to a bonfire, and placed them back to back, on the summit, whilst the band played the 'Rogue's March;' a light was applied, a discharge of rockets followed, up mounted the flames, consuming the effigies amid the deafening shouts of the beholders as the tune changed to 'God save the Queen.' The figures of the bishops and the inquisitor-general were next kicked round the bonfire, and then kicked into it, the band playing, 'God save the Queen,' and the people singing,

'Frustrate their Popish tricks,
Confound their politics,
God save the Queen.'"

When the news of this general indignation and uprising of the people of England against these papal aggressions reached Rome, even the pope himself began to fear that he had gone too far;

especially when he learned that in order to render nugatory his appointments of territorial bishops in England, Lord John Russell had prepared, and the British Parliament had passed, a law imposing a penalty of one hundred pounds upon any person who should "assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean, of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district in the United Kingdom." This law was entitled, "An act to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect to places in the United Kingdom."

A correspondent of the London *Times* wrote as follows, in relation to the effect produced at Rome: "The *Times*, containing Lord John Russell's bill, reached us yesterday, and was most eagerly sought for. So far as I can judge, the bill disappoints the hopes and fears of all classes—the Church of England adherents considering that it is nearly inefficient, and the Roman Catholics being relieved of the terror inspired by ministerial threats. The only section which comes up to the general expectation is the money part, as the Roman Catholics see that where the pocket is touched a serious injury is inflicted. The pope and the Vatican are greatly relieved of the alarm inspired by Lord John Russell's speech; but the sacred pontiff is personally much grieved by the amount of the majority, as it destroys all the hopes he entertained of a large conversion from protestantism taking place in England. I am told that he complains most seriously, that he has been deceived by his English advisers on the state of public opinion with us, and that he considers the respective numbers on the first vote as full evidence on that point. It was represented by those who urged, at an untimely moment, his consent to a project long since prepared in the propaganda, that the outcry with which it was received was excited mainly by clergymen of the Church of England, and that the people at large took no interest in the matter. In vain it was represented to him that no particular class of society can produce a general uprising among men of all ranks and degrees with us, and that every English protestant is impressed from his boyhood with the necessity of resisting what is called the encroachment of the Church of Rome. In vain it was explained that the coming over of a limited number of converts was no proof of a widespread defection, and that attachment to the established church forms an integral part of the loyalty of the British people. The pope, strong in the belief inspired by his London agents, and moved by the repeated assurances of those in whom he reposed unbounded confidence, closed his ears to the truth, and he now accuses himself of having called forth an anti-Roman Catholic demonstration in Great Britain."

In the mean time, the imperturbable Cardinal Wiseman, less disturbed, probably, in the midst of all this excitement in England than was the pope himself at Rome, proceeded calmly and quietly to his task of promulgating and establishing the new

order of things enjoined in the papal bull. His first step after publishing the bull was to prepare a pastoral letter from himself, and cause it to be read from all the Roman Catholic churches and chapels in England. He introduces himself by the following pompous title: "Nicholas, by the divine mercy of the holy Roman Church by the title of St. Pudentiana, Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Westminster, and Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Southwark." He then begins his pastoral letter in the following terms: "If this day we greet you under a new title, it is not, dearly beloved, with an unaltered affection. If in words we seem to divide those who till now have formed, under our rule, a single flock, our heart is as undivided as ever in your regard. For now truly do we feel closely bound to you by new and stronger ties of charity; now do we embrace you, in our Lord Jesus Christ, with more tender emotions of paternal love; now doth our soul yearn, and our mouth is open to you; though words must fail to express what we feel, on being once again permitted to address you. For if our parting was in sorrow, and we durst not hope that we should again face to face behold you, our beloved flock, so much the greater is now our consolation and our joy, when we find ourselves not so much permitted, as commissioned, to return to you, by the supreme ruler of the church of Christ."

Thus glorying in his new commission, the cardinal hastens to laud "the loving father's generous and wise councils," for restoring to England the greatest of blessings under the true Catholic hierarchical government, and for having, "on the feast of the Archangel, St. Michael, Prince of the Heavenly Host," been "graciously pleased to issue letters apostolic, under the fisherman's ring, conceived in terms of great weight and dignity," substituting metropolitan and episcopal sees for the apostolic vicarates. The cardinal continues:

"So that, at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berks, and Hants, with the islands annexed, as administrator, with ordinary jurisdiction."

The cardinal hurries on to "the noble act of apostolic authority" which elevated him to the cardinalate, and presented to him, in public consistory, "the insignia of this dignity—the cardinalitial hat," and assigned him his title "in the private consistory which we attended, the Church of St. Pudentiana, in which St. Peter is groundedly believed to have enjoyed the hospitality of the noble and partly British family of the Senator Pudens."

After stating that in the same consistory he was enabled *himself* to ask for the archiepiscopal pallium for his new see of Westminster, and that afterward he was invested, "by the

hands of the supreme pastor and pontiff himself," with this badge of metropolitan jurisdiction, the cardinal exclaims, with a fervor and brevity altogether sublime, "*The great work, then, is complete.*" He then breaks out anew: "Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly-adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigor. How wonderfully all this has been brought about—how clearly the hand of God has been shown in every step, we have not now leisure to relate, but we may hope soon to recount to you by word of mouth. In the mean time we will content ourselves with assuring you that, if the concordant voice of those venerable and most eminent counselors to whom the holy see commits the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, in missionary countries, of the overruling of every variety of interests and designs, to the rendering of this measure almost necessary, if the earnest prayers of our holy pontiff and his most sacred oblation of the divine sacrifice, added to his own deep and earnest reflection, can form to the Catholic heart an earnest of heavenly direction, an assurance that the Spirit of Truth, who guides the church, has here inspired its supreme head, we can not desire stronger or more consoling evidence that this most important measure is from God, has his sanction and blessing, and will consequently prosper."

The cardinal, in conclusion, congratulates his flock on "this day of joy—the crowning day of long hopes—the opening day of bright prospects," and imagines all the saints of England, "whether Roman or British, Saxon or Norman," to be looking down "from their seats of bliss with beaming glance" upon the scene. He summons up from their graves all the blessed martyrs, and points to the evidences of their joy, "as they see the lamp of the temple again enkindled and rebrightening, as they behold the silver links of that chain which has connected their country with the see of Peter in its vicarial government changed into burnished gold; not stronger or more closely knit, but more beautifully wrought, and more brightly arrayed!"

Finally, the cardinal invokes for the holy see, "a warmer gratitude, a tenderer affection, a profounder admiration, a boundless and endless sense of obligation for so new, so great, so sublime a gift," and prays that, of all the pope's consolations, the one "most sweet to his paternal heart" may be the propagation of popery.

In reply to the thousands of remonstrances throughout the kingdom, complaining that the bull of the pope was an interference with the prerogatives of the queen, the papists of England did not hesitate to avow that they owed a superior allegiance to the pope of Rome than to the queen of England; and this unquestionably is the true Romish doctrine upon this subject, in every land, and under every government where they may live,

whether monarchical or republican. The following is quoted from an English paper called the *The Catholic Vindicator*, as a correct statement relative to the allegiance of Romanists to earthly governments: "Rather than that our loyalty to the holy apostolic see should be in the least degree tarnished, let ten thousand kings and queens (and Queen Victoria included) perish, (*as such*,) that is, let them be *deposed from their throne*, and become mere individuals, as we have lately seen in the case of a Catholic sovereign. We should not, of course, have spoken so strongly as this under ordinary circumstances. But when the pope and the queen are placed in antagonism to each other, as has been done lately, and it is intimated that her majesty will not accept a 'divided allegiance,' we are compelled to say plainly which allegiance we consider the *most important;* and we would not hesitate to tell the queen to her face that she must either be content with this 'divided allegiance,' or *none at all*, (so far as Catholics are concerned;) for it is perfectly certain that we shall never do otherwise than strictly obey the sovereign pontiff, *whoever* may presume to forbid it, and, in their puny insignificance, pronounce the acts of the Vicar of Christ 'null and void.'"

After such open avowals as the above, it is not much to be wondered at that the English papists continued to use the titles, supposing, with some appearance of reason, that the right of the Romish bishops to these territorial titles was about as strong as the right of the Episcopal bishops to theirs. In time, the excitement died away; the law became a dead-letter; the people came to the conclusion that words were but breath, and the whole affair was forgotten. In the United States, we understand full well that when two men call themselves by the same title, "Bishop of New-York or of New-Jersey," the one a Roman Catholic and the other an Episcopalian, it is true in neither case; it is simply a verbal fiction. The one may be rightly termed bishop of the Roman Catholics, and the other bishop of the Episcopalians in his own State; but neither of them is, properly speaking, the *bishop of New-York*, or of *New-Jersey;* nor of any of the people of either State, except the members and adherents of his own communion. Protestants of other communions do not consider the use of these terms a matter worth disputing about, and therefore quietly leave all who choose, to gratify themselves by using these, or any other high-sounding titles at their pleasure; and England seems, of late, practically to have come to the same sensible conclusion.

FATHER GAVAZZI—HIS VISIT AND RECEPTION IN AMERICA.

In the spring of 1853, an extraordinary excitement on the subject of Romanism was created in the United States, by the visit to America of the celebrated patriot, monk, and orator, Father Gavazzi, who escaped from his enemies in Rome, soon after the martyrdom of his friend and co-patriot, Ugo Bassi, the chaplain in Garibaldi's army, whose cruel death, at the hands of the papal government, is related above, (pages 722 to 725.) Gavazzi at first took refuge in England, where the fame of his patriotism and bravery during the struggle for freedom in Rome, and of his wonderful and overwhelming eloquence, had already preceded him, and gained for him the admiration and the sympathy of the friends of protestantism and of freedom from one end of the kingdom to the other. This was wonderfully increased after they had listened to his scathing and eloquent denunciations of popery and the popish priesthood, which he delivered in various towns and cities, to the most crowded, and excited, and admiring assemblies. The echoes of his wonderful eloquence had already crossed the Atlantic, and a strong desire existed among American protestants to see and hear him for themselves, when, in the spring of 1853, Gavazzi landed in New-York, upon a visit to the friends of freedom in America.

Before describing the enthusiastic welcome that he received in America, or the wonderful interest excited by his eloquent and spirit-stirring orations, it will be well to place upon record some particulars in relation to his eventful life. Alessandro Gavazzi was born in Italy. He belonged to a distinguished and patrician family. His paternal grandfather was raised by the Senate of Bologna to the position of pro-consul, the highest dignity conferred on a citizen; and his maternal grandfather was president of the court of appeals in the same town. His father successively filled the offices of judge in his native town, peace magistrate at Forli, and professor of law in the University of Bologna. At the age of sixteen, he presented himself as postulant for admission into the order of Barnabites, or clerks regular of St. Paul, one of the most respectable of the monastic fraternities, whose members are chiefly devoted to literary and scholastic labors, and to "missions," or itinerant preaching. His earlier education had, of course, been such as became his rank, and during his novitiate, the institute on which he entered assured him the means of intellectual culture, and so well did he use his opportunity, that when only twenty years of age he was thought worthy to be made professor of rhetoric and *belles-lettres* in the College of Caravazzio, at Naples. While occupying that chair, he cultivated those peculiar powers which, even then, gave him entire ascendency over a body of youth scarcely junior to him-

self, with an energy that raised him at once above his equals in age and office, and prepared him to be what his countrymen now call him—*The Voice of Italy*. When he left Naples to proceed to Arpino, for the purpose of ordination, general sorrow was expressed. During his abode here, instead of spending his time in solitude, he devoted it to preaching. After his ordination he went to Leghorn, and was there appointed teacher in *belles-lettres*. Here he encountered the envy of rival professors, and for his liberal sentiments incurred the suspicion of the authorities, and was forced to quit the place. He now abandoned literature and devoted himself to preaching, being twenty-five years old. He went to Piedmont, where for ten years he preached to vast multitudes, who everywhere thronged to hear him, making warm friends and most bitter enemies. Here he encountered the subtle and determined opposition of the Jesuits, and through their agency he was expelled from Piedmont, for he spoke the truth fearlessly, and relentlessly exposed the dark tenets of the Jesuits, so that he became a dangerous man. His liberal and enlarged views drew upon him the attention of Pope Gregory XVI. He had preached on patriotism and its virtues in such a manner as to arouse the apprehensions of the pontiff, and the command came from the Vatican forbidding him to exercise his ministry except in the central prison of Parma. To this he was confined. Here he found 800 prisoners and galley slaves, to whom he preached with considerable success in the way of reformations among them, for blasphemy was turned into praise. After he was released, he went to Perugia, where his preaching was attended with the usual success. In 1845, at Ancona, in one of those fiery outbursts of sacred zeal which characterizes the man, he overstepped the limits assigned him, and uttered some dangerous, because liberal truths. The ire of his enemies was roused, and he was virtually imprisoned in the College of the Novitiate of St. Severino, where he was consigned to the tender mercies of some friars.

The old pope died, and Pius IX. was enthroned. In this Gavazzi rejoiced, as he thought he saw a future dawning for his country; he imagined that it was in a *pope* that Italy was to find a *Saviour*. Gavazzi came into favor and was called to Rome. When, on the anniversary of the election of Pius IX., he preached in Rome, his language took a lofty tone for freedom, which kindled up immense enthusiasm. On another occasion, when preaching a sermon of thanksgiving, he gave full scope to the thoughts that burned in his breast. With the unsparing severity of truth he laid bare the enormities of the past reign of Gregory; he painted in vivid colors the butcheries which had stained that pontificate of blood; he forgot the pope and condemned the man. This was more than Pius could bear; rebuke and punishment followed; he was forbidden to speak, and he remained silent.

When in Rome a day was set apart by those who loved liberty, to celebrate the death of those who fell at Padua, Gavazzi was, by universal acclaim, called out to assist in the ceremonies. Here, too, he spoke words of freedom, which offended the priests and the pope. He was condemned, and sent to undergo the severe discipline of the convent of Polveriera, and from thence, with inquisitorial mystery, transferred to the Capuchin convent of Genzano.

Now commenced the new epoch of revolutions in France and other nations. Hope dawned for Italy. As soon as released, Gavazzi returned to Rome, and he was the first to move in the great cause. He was the first man who paraded the streets of Rome with the emblematic colors pinned to his breast. While others mounted the tri-colored cockade, he made a tri-colored cross, put it on his black robe, over the breast; with that sign of a crusade against the enemies of Italy, he walked the streets of Rome; and, while the *colors* provoked the rage of the priesthood, the *form* of the voluntary declaration protected him from their violence. He preached the crusade of deliverance and aid to the friends of liberty. He thus aroused the love of Italian liberty in the breasts of many thousands, and did much toward combining the forces of Italy against the Austrian armies then threatening. The pope feigned approval. He blessed the troops, appointed Gavazzi chaplain-in-chief, and empowered him to act with supreme authority over the other chaplains.

Of that army, Gavazzi was the ruling spirit. The rude soldiers gathered around him on the field, and wept or maddened as he discoursed to them on the woes of Italy, or declaimed on the enormities of that tottering despotism against which they were in arms. When the troops entered a town, with the chief ecclesiastic at their head, the people would unyoke the horses from his carriage, and take him to some great church, or to some public square, that his voice might console, encourage, or instruct them. At his bidding, the rich brought forth their wealth, the poor gave out of their poverty. Gold, jewels, money, provisions, horses, were brought to recruit the army. Their enthusiasm knew no bounds. His bodily strength, his mental energy, his inimitable eloquence, rose with each incitement. His tall figure commanded the reverence of every spectator; and his piercing voice, when once heard, amidst the confusion of the wildest crowd commanded silence and insured obedience.

Gavazzi performed well the part of chaplain, and in all places where the army went, he preached for liberty. He did all he could then to secure the union of all Italy in paternal bonds and the expulsion of all foreign oppressors. In the changing events he suffered many hardships. He was watched and compelled to live in seclusion. He was seized and imprisoned, and singularly released.

When the French army entered Rome, he was a proscribed

man, and diligently hunted; but under the protection of the American flag, and the good offices of the American consul, he was got out of Rome and found warm hearts to welcome him in England; and when he concluded that his work in England was done, at least for the present, he found still warmer and more enthusiastic hearts to welcome him to America.

The reception accorded to Gavazzi on his arrival in New-York was of the most cordial and enthusiastic character. For the account of this reception which follows, and of the great meeting of welcome, three days after his setting foot upon our shores, we are indebted to a life of Gavazzi, (page 70, etc.,) published by De Witt & Davenport, of New-York: "His arrival, on the steamer of the 20th March, was chronicled in the morning journals, as one of the important events of the day. His movements in England had been closely watched by the entire protestant world in the United States—where, according to a journalist of strong Catholic proclivities, the great mass of the population are 'inveterately protestant.' Being thus already somewhat familiar with his career and purposes, the natural excitability of our people was strongly aroused by the presence of the hero-priest among us. Fortunately for that 'first impression,' upon which the success of every public character in this country so greatly depends, the personal appearance of Father Gavazzi was as impressive and attractive as his life had been romantic. Tall, well made and well developed, the person of Gavazzi, with its graceful yet impetuous movements, seemed the very symbol of sincerity and power; while his face, beaming with earnestness and intelligence, his eyes flashing the fire of genuine eloquence, sent conviction to the hearts of the listeners, and gradually worked up a public excitement, deep and universal. Immediately upon his arrival in New-York, measures were taken to give him a public reception, which took place at the Broadway Tabernacle, on the 23d of March. The house was densely crowded by a most enthusiastic audience, whose interest continued till a late hour without abatement. W. W. Chester, Esq., occupied the chair, supported by Rev. Dr. Cox, Rev. Dr. Cheever, Rev. Dr. Dowling, Rev. Dr. Kennedy, and several other eminent citizens. In calling the meeting to order, the chairman remarked that in a community like ours, no subject could be more interesting than that of liberty. We have learned its history, and obtained its numerous blessings, and therefore feel interested in its extension to other lands. In Italy, he remarked, it would, at one time, have emancipated those downtrodden people had it not been for its belligerent enemy, despotism. But then might triumphed over right. Now, however, the times seem about to change. Public opinion is now more powerful than armies, and the hours of despotism appear to be numbered."

After prayer had been offered by Rev. Dr. Dowling, addresses

of the warmest welcome and confidence were delivered by the Rev. Dr. George B. Cheever and Rev. S. H. Cox. Dr. Cheever also read a letter signed by Rev. Dr. Urwick and others, of Dublin, expressing their high regard for the talents and character of Father Gavazzi, and commending him most warmly to the confidence and the kindness of the American public.

After these interesting exercises, Father Gavazzi, who is a tall, well-proportioned specimen of the old Roman orator, with a keen, piercing eye, intellectual head, and clear, ringing voice, then came forward and proceeded to address the vast audience for upward of an hour, in a speech of most exciting and thrilling interest. He was welcomed as he stepped forward with the most enthusiastic and prolonged applause, the entire audience rising to their feet and waving their hats and handkerchiefs.

The following extract from the address of this noble patriot and orator, at the great reception meeting, will give some idea, though an imperfect one, of the character of his impetuous eloquence, and of the view which he takes of the mission which he is called to perform. Let Americans ponder the deliberate opinion of this Italian patriot—one who has had the very best opportunity of knowing what popery really is—when he pronounces that system the greatest prop of despotism, and *essentially* against all liberty:

"My mission," said Gavazzi, "is to destroy popery—to annihilate the pope. Not only in popish catholic countries, but even in protestant countries. My mission is directly to overthrow popery; and indirectly to destroy every thing which tends to popery. And, therefore, I have a mission also against protestants—understand me—against false protestants. At this present moment popery walks in disguise—Jesuits walk in disguise under a protestant name; and under a protestant cloak you have many a papist in your country, and there are many such in England also. My mission is as an independent man, not a sectarian, against tractarianism, puseyism, or popery under any disguise, outspoken or cloaked. I am no protestant. Why?—because protestantism is too little for me. In the sixteenth century, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others, all great reformers, *protested*. Very well; but to protest is a very little thing for me, in my opinion. Poland, when her liberties were rudely wrested from her by the Russian czar, protested; so did the Schleswig-Holstein states protest against the occupation by the allied army. Hungary protested against the ruthless despotism of Austria; and Rome, when it lost its liberties, in 1849, protested against the cursed, cursed French intervention. But what did all that protesting avail? Despotism at this very moment is overflowing all Europe; then what is the use for me, at this juncture, to *protest* against popery. It is too little, I say, for *me*. To protest, answered well enough, perhaps, in the sixteenth century, when the people entertained the false and absurd idea, namely, that popery

was capable of being reformed. No, no, no! Popery can not be reformed, because it is the greatest abuse that was ever seen on earth. Therefore the shortest way to remedy the evil is, in my mind, the way which I have chosen for myself—not by protestantism, but by *annihilation*. You protestants can not be at peace with popery—you can not be united with the papists. War with the pope and popery! no peace with Romanism! that is the only safeguard in the world. Republicans and liberalists say, 'Do not disturb any person on account of his religious opinion.' There I agree with them. But do you believe that the popish system will protect or further your republican system? Oh! you are mistaken sadly if you do. Popery is *essentially against all liberty*, and therefore is antagonistic to republicanism. In Switzerland, popery instigated the war of the Sonderbund, and in your own country this large Irish emigration, aided by the priests, is intended to overthrow American freedom. Freedom, Rome!—freedom from the pope and his system! Oh! this power which has authority without bound—power without control—command without reason—obedience without discretion—slavery without appeal—this system favorable to the American Republic! The popish church is at present humble in this country, because its votaries seek the American soil; but after they increase in numbers and in wealth, you will have in your midst your greatest enemy, who will be constantly on the alert to seize the most propitious opportunity at which to overthrow your American liberty and governmental authority. Popery, from its two seats of propagandism, one at Rome, the other at Lyons, sends out thousands of missionaries, not to preach against paganism and idolatry, but to disturb the peace of Christian people. The Catholic priesthood not disturb the peace of America! I come here to excite the Americans to war in order that they may have peace in the future; not against individuals—it is against *a system* I would war. I respect all Roman Catholics individually—all my animosity is against *the popish system*. In conclusion, I would say that I ask every American for sympathy in behalf of my oppressed country. I do not ask America to support the cause of Italy with soldiers, or a navy, or with artillery. No, no; under the blessing of God, the iron arms of the Italian people will emancipate Italy without any physical assistance from abroad. It is your sympathy which I ask—your moral support—your republican sympathy generally, in behalf of a good and right cause."

Let all lovers of freedom thank God that this noble patriot, who holds and dared to utter views like these upon the nature of political and religious freedom and the antagonism of popery thereto, escaped in safety from the fangs of popish tyrants; who, if they could have caught him, would have put him to the same merciless and savage death as that inflicted upon his friend and fellow-chaplain and patriot, Ugo Bassi. They would have flayed

his hands and head to *unpriest* him, and then they would have shot him dead, as they did the brave, the noble, the immortal, the lamented Ugo Bassi.

Father Gavazzi continued to lecture to vast audiences in New-York and Brooklyn for several weeks, both in English and to his countrymen, who listened to him with great enthusiasm, addressing them, with great power and effect, in their native Italian. He also visited and addressed vast audiences in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other large cities in the United States, no man molesting him.

In Montreal, Quebec, and other places in Canada, where the Roman Catholic population largely predominate in numbers, he was warmly welcomed by the protestant public, and by all the friends of freedom, and addressed large assemblies wherever he went, with his usual boldness and courage, upon the abominations of popery and the whole papal system. On two or three occasions, in these cities, he was interrupted and assaulted, chiefly by the low, degraded, and ignorant portion of the Irish Catholics, who are there very numerous. On one occasion, in Montreal, on the evening of June 10th, 1853, while lecturing at Zion Church on the ancient and modern inquisition, he was so violently assaulted by a mob of popish rioters that his life was seriously endangered; the military were called out to quell the riot, and seven persons were killed, and others seriously injured. The following particulars of this popish riot are gleaned from the Canadian papers of the following day: "About half-past nine o'clock, Father Gavazzi having, in the course of his remarks, made an allusion to Ireland which aroused the ire of some person in the lower part of the church, he exclaimed, 'It's a lie!' whereupon there was an instant cry of 'Turn him out!' from several of those present. This appeared to be the signal for a general outbreak, for in a few seconds the sacred edifice became the scene of the greatest confusion. The most fearful violence was resorted to; sticks and bludgeons were put into immediate requisition, and a volley of stones followed from without. Sheriff Sewell endeavored in vain to restore order. Bibles and psalm-books were taken from the pews, and desecrated by being used as missiles thrown at the head of Father Gavazzi. An effort was now made by one of his assailants, who had unawares ascended the steps of the pulpit, to drag him from it. The padre had previously stood undismayed; but when the villain laid hands upon him, he immediately felled him to the ground. The stone-throwing, which had smashed all the beautiful stained-glass windows of the church, and demolished many of the lamps, continued for some time. Those who were engaged at this work now forced their way into the building, and Father Gavazzi was made the target for about a dozen to fire at. This mode of attack was speedily superseded by another attempt to hurl him to the ground, but without success. He was armed with a chair, and drove down

his assailants one after another as they came up the pulpit steps. Having at this moment, by some means which we could not perceive, lost his hold of the chair, Gavazzi seized the pulpit stool, and with that defended himself in the bravest and most manly manner, knocking down his assailants as they continued to pour in upon him. A sergeant of the Royal Artillery got into the pulpit, and behaved most valorously in protecting Gavazzi. Some of the padre's attackers succeeded, after many efforts, in seizing him by the legs, and throwing him out of the pulpit, a height of about fifteen feet, to the ground. Fortunately, there happened to be a crowd of his assailants and others collected beneath him, and he alighted upon their heads, thereby, probably, saving his life. Had his head struck the ground from such a height, his skull must certainly have been fractured. The battle still continued amongst the crowd in the lower part of the church, and the greatest terror prevailed among the ladies. Some fainted and fell senseless on the floor, while the screams of the others were truly frightful. The tumult, noise, and howls from the rioters without were now terrific. Those who had remained in the galleries of the church were in the greatest excitement. Cries of terror were only interrupted by those of 'Where are the troops?'

"We feel it impossible to depict the scene; it required to be present, in order to form any idea of it. The police, who, it is stated, anticipating the riot, were stationed outside of the building, but did not prevent the volleys of stones that were cast into it, about this period forced their way into the church, and a general *mêlée* ensued. Though several of them were struck, and we are informed seriously hurt in the conflict, they at length succeeded in driving nearly all the rioters outside. A division of the military, consisting of some of the artillery and Sixty-sixth Regiment, called out by one of the city magistrates, now arrived, and they, together with the police, about ten o'clock restored order, so as to enable the citizens who had hitherto remained in church to depart to their homes without endangering their lives.

"In the mean time, Gavazzi, rescued from his antagonists, was placed in a room in the basement of the church, without, providentially, having received any other injury than a few bruises on the face. After the riot was over, he was removed to Russell's Hotel, which he reached in safety. Father Gavazzi's secretary received numerous blows on the head, which cut it badly; other gentlemen, some of them in the highest position in society, were very dangerously injured. The military still remaining on the ground, no renewal of the disturbance took place."

Gavazzi himself, in a letter to a friend in New-York, declared his opinion that "this terrible riot was a preconcerted and organized movement, having for its end the assassination of the lecturer." He says, "It was the first plan of his assailants to get him alive, and kill him outside of the church; but failing in this, they tried to kill him at the very altar." Paoli, his secretary, was

by many mistaken for Gavazzi, and was, therefore, very severely cut and beaten. He received eight wounds, one of which was six inches long. Gavazzi received three wounds on his head and face, one from a stone, another from a club, and another from a terrible kick when he was down. But a merciful providence preserved him from death at the hands of these ruffians; and these ferocious attacks upon the noble Italian patriot only served to satisfy every unprejudiced mind in Canada that the spirit of popery is just as intolerant and persecuting as it ever has been, and, if opportunity offered, which, however, we can not believe God will ever permit, that they would gladly reëstablish the tortures of the inquisition, or rekindle the fires of Smithfield, as in the days of Ferdinand of Spain or Mary of England.

Upon the return of Father Gavazzi to New-York, he found it necessary to aid in exposing the true character of a certain Italian archbishop, named Bedini, who was traveling through the country as a nuncio of the pope, receiving honors and ovations from Romanists and from false protestants. Gavazzi showed that this Bedini had been one of the most cruel and vindictive of the petty despots who tyrannized over the cities of the papal states during the struggle for liberty of Garibaldi, Gavazzi, and the Roman patriots; and some of whose victims were at that very time in New-York, living in exile and poverty, as the result of Bedini's tyranny. The Italians of New-York called a meeting on the 6th of February, 1854, presided over by a distinguished Italian, Signor Felix Foresti, whose indignant words will afford a key to the character and history of this papal nuncio to America. "Monseigneur Bedini," said Mr. Foresti, "is our fellow-citizen. Alas that he is! He has left on the history of events in Italy, during 1849, a page black with evil and mournful reminiscences. After about four years, this man appears among us as a cherished friend of Pius IX.—among *us*, some of whom are the unhappy victims of his odious proscriptions. His presence has opened anew our wounds and our indignation. It is impossible on our part to preserve an absolute silence on this soil of perfect religious and political liberty. Two of our fellow-citizens have raised their voice to reveal to Americans the base nature of this dangerous man. All praise to Father Gavazzi, and to the editor of the *Eco d'Italia!* They have braved the anger of modern with the courage of ancient Rome. This attack, most just, and in the ordinary course of human affairs inevitable, has provoked a reaction on the part of the devout zealots of the Church of Rome, and of the hypocritical Jesuitism which is daily gaining ground in these republican States."

Speaking of certain editors, who had endeavored to shield this minion of papal tyranny, Foresti said, "Worthless journalists! you have signed yourselves the decree which condemns you to the contempt of all just, honest, and generous men. We, Italians, are here this evening to confirm this decree. We know Bedini better than you; our hearts are yet touched, and our ears

filled with the curses and imprecations which our brethren in Italy have vented upon this ferocious minister of papal vindictiveness. I am not opposed to Bedini because he is a priest, but as a public man, as a supreme civil magistrate—in a word, as commissioner extraordinary in the four legations in the year 1849. In this ill-omened period it was that Bedini displayed the malignity of his nature. The four legations of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, and Forli are the most populous, productive, and progressive portions of the pontifical domain. There the Roman republic was proclaimed and welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm; thence were furnished, in the greatest numbers, the brave volunteers who fought at Vicenza and Treviso, and who defended so heroically Rome and Venice. There the hatred to the despotism of papacy is traditional and ancient. The papal government knew this well, and vowed at Gaeta to take an exemplary vengeance. To render it terrible and complete, it was necessary to find a man by nature insensible to the voice of pity, a stranger to Christian love, decided and inexorable. Such terrible men are never wanting to sovereigns. The emperor of Austria found one in Haynau, the pope another in Bedini. The appearance of Bedini was marked with blood and with sorrow. It was dreaded by the people as the appearance of a comet was regarded by our simple ancestors—as the ill-omened token of some great calamity. The government of Bedini was, in short, a real *reign of terror*."

The public indignation excited by this exposure made by Gavazzi and Foresti against Bedini himself, and against Pope Pius, for sending such a man as his nuncio to America, was so great that he concluded, without delay, to seek a more congenial atmosphere than the liberty-loving United States, and therefore quietly and secretly departed for Italy and Rome. One of the public journals, on announcing his departure, says, "He left the country on Saturday last, in the steamer Atlantic, for Liverpool. Instead of proceeding like a true man to the wharf at the foot of Canal street, and going on board the steamer as true men do, he was smuggled off by the aid of a steam-tug, which left Whitehall at ten o'clock A.M., and remained at Staten Island till the Atlantic came along, when he was transferred to that vessel. No violence has been shown to the nuncio, not a finger has been lifted against him. The public sentiment and the laws would have protected him anywhere. He has, however, experienced the most ample proofs of the detestation in which butchers and tyrants are held by a free people, and we presume will henceforward be content to remain where popular freedom is unknown."

Prior to Father Gavazzi's departure from America, which soon after occurred, a great farewell meeting was held at Metropolitan Hall, in New-York, presided over by Chancellor Ferris, and a purse of one thousand dollars was publicly presented to the great patriot and orator as a testimonial of the admiration and respect entertained for his character and abilities by American protestant freemen.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION AS A DOGMA OF THE CHURCH

THE years 1852–1854 were made memorable in the history of the papacy by the discussions upon the subject of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary throughout the Catholic world, culminating, on the 6th of December, 1854, in the dogmatic definition of Pope Pius IX., establishing that doctrine as a dogma of the church, thenceforward authoritative and binding upon all within her pale.

The question whether the mother of our Lord herself enjoyed exemption from original sin, had for centuries before been a subject of discussion among Roman Catholic writers; but never before had the doctrine of the immaculate conception been elevated to the position of a dogma or article of the faith. Prior to the thirteenth century, in the time of St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, the constant champions of this doctrine, and St. Dominic, the founder of the Dominicans, the opponents thereof, there were some Romish divines who maintained that the Virgin Mary was not, like others, of Adam's fallen race, "conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity;" but that she herself had been conceived in the womb of her mother with the same immaculate purity as our Lord Jesus Christ in her own.

About the year 1140, according to Mosheim, a controversy sprung up among "certain churches in France concerning what was called the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary," and a festival began to be observed among them "consecrated to this pretended conception." The celebrated Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was at that time at the pinnacle of his fame, as one of the most eminent and learned of all the doctors of the Latin church. The church of Lyons, in the south of France, was one of the first that adopted the new festival in honor of the Virgin, which "no sooner came to the knowledge of St. Bernard, than he severely censured the canons of Lyons on account of this innovation, and opposed the immaculate conception of the Virgin with the greatest vigor, as it supposed her being honored with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this, a warm contest arose; some siding with the canons of Lyons, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard."*

This controversy, however, was mild compared with that which was so long carried on, some centuries later, between the rival orders of monks, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, the latter as heated and violent in their opposition to the doctrine as the former were in its advocacy; all at the same time, be it observed, good Catholics, and faithful and zealous servants of the popes;

* Mosheim, Century XII., part 2, chapter 3.

although in referring their disputes to Rome, they caused much trouble and perplexity to several of the popes, especially to Paul V., Gregory XV., and Alexander VII. Even the popes themselves differed upon this subject, some taking sides with the Dominicans, and some with the Franciscans. Pope Sixtus IV., who favored the latter, issued a bull "by which he forbade the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary to be thenceforth disputed,"* and ordered the observance of the festival in its honor. What a commentary is all this upon the boasted uniformity of the Roman Catholic Church! The command of Pope Sixtus was of but little avail. The Franciscans and the Dominicans continued their bickerings, and the same difference of opinion continued century after century within the pale of the church, from the time of St. Bernard, the great opponent of the immaculate conception in the twelfth, down to the nineteenth century; and doubtless, this was the reason why the popes, though often urged to take decisive action, have always declined to comply, so that, till the year 1854, there never had been what is called a "dogmatic definition" of the doctrine, or authoritative decision on the part of the highest authority in the Roman Catholic Church.

The manner in which this event was at length brought about was as follows: Some time after Pope Pius had been compelled to leave Rome, and to take up his abode at Gaeta, as related on page 685 of this work, he addressed an encyclical letter to all the bishops of the church throughout the world, requesting their opinion on two points: first, the love and devotion of the "faithful" to the doctrine of the immaculate conception; and second, the necessity or opportuneness of making an *authoritative* or *dogmatical* decision in regard to it. After a most extensive correspondence, occupying over two years, nearly five hundred responses had been received from bishops and other dignitaries, giving, with but a few exceptions, affirmative and favorable opinions on both the questions propounded to them. There were, however, many faithful Catholics who were still most earnestly and conscientiously opposed to the doctrine of the immaculate conception. As an instance of this opposition, see Abbé Laborde's spirited letter to Pope Pius IX., Appendix, p.

The Jesuit fathers in Rome also, in the year 1852, published a treatise on the subject, entitled, *The Social Advantages of a Dogmatical Definition concerning the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.* In this treatise, the reasons for and against the proposed "dogmatical definition" are taken up, *seriatim*, and considered and discussed with acuteness and skill; and, as might be expected, the conclusion to which they came was just that which the pope expected and desired, namely, that such a dogmatical definition of the immaculate conception ought imme-

* Bower's *History of the Popes*, iii. 253.

diately to be given by the pope, and the doctrine be at once established as an article of the faith.

There is one reason given by these Jesuit doctors for the course they recommend which especially concerns us protestants, and all others whom the Romish Church classes under the name of "heretics." They tell us that the Virgin Mary is emphatically the "destroyer of heresies," and that the establishment of the immaculate conception would contribute largely to the extirpation of protestantism and all other "heresies." This character of "destroyer of heresies," which they ascribe to the Virgin Mary, is derived from a mistranslation of the first Messianic promise in Genesis 3 : 15, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it" (that is, the promised seed of the woman, the Messiah) "shall bruise thy head," (that is, the head of the serpent,) "and thou shalt bruise his heel." Now, the Latin Vulgate Bible, which Romanists regard as the only scriptural authority, makes the latter part of the promise read, "SHE shall bruise thy head," (*ipsa conteret caput tuum.*) That is, the Virgin Mary, as the Romish writers apply it. This is the reason why Mary is so often spoken of as the great destroyer of Satan and all his works, especially of all "heresies." This is the reason why she is addressed in one of the minor offices in the following words: "O holy Virgin Mary, thou alone hast destroyed all the heresies in the whole world," or in the Latin of the book of devotion, *Cunctas hæreses tu sola interemisti in universo mundo.* It was, therefore, chiefly because these Jesuit fathers believed, or professed to believe, that the Virgin Mary, if only proclaimed by the pope "Immaculate," would speedily extirpate protestantism and all other heresies, root and branch, that they recommended so earnestly to the "holy father" that he would at once proceed to take this most important step, and issue the "dogmatic definition" necessary to make the immaculate conception an article of the faith.

Seventeen years have now almost passed away since their request was complied with by the sovereign pontiff; but the protestant "errors and heresies," springing from the hated reformation, have not all been extirpated yet, and if the pope and these Jesuit fathers have ever believed in the potency of Mary as the "destroyer of heresies," it is quite probable they have, by this time, either lost their faith in her power or come to the conclusion that she has become deaf to their entreaties, or indifferent to the objects of their prayers. The doctrines and principles of the reformation were never more potent or more prevalent than now. But what, we inquire, was the doctrine which the pope was thus requested to establish as an article of the faith, and which was to be so powerful in rooting out all protestant heresies? In plain words, it was simply this: That the Virgin Mary was *miraculously born*, and, in consequence of a divine intervention, (which, on the supposition, was but *repeated* in the case of our Lord,) was

freed from the taint of original sin. The object of this fiction is, evidently, to exalt the mother of Christ to an equality of dignity, purity, and divinity with the Only Begotten of the Father, the Redeemer of mankind; and, in the same degree, to take away from the peculiarity attaching to our Lord's humanity, and from one of the prophetic evidences of his Messiahship. Can any doctrine bear more broadly the characteristic stamp of Antichrist? No Gnostic heresy could more palpably contradict the Christian faith. But this is not all. The miraculous events preceding and attending the birth of our Saviour, we receive, upon the inspired testimony of two evangelists, as historically certain. Here is an attempt on the part of the court of Rome to place an unrecorded fiction, unsupported by the shadow of even legendary authority—an invention of some monks of the dark ages—on a level, in point both of credibility and of importance, with what is recorded in the gospels. Take it all in all, we can not but regard this fresh insult to scriptural Christianity as a crowning act of blasphemous impiety and falsehood, opposed alike to sound reason and to the word of God.

The grand ceremony of proclaiming the immaculate conception an essential article of the Roman Catholic faith, occurred at St. Peter's, on the 8th of December, 1854. The Romish Church relies, in great measure, upon its splendid pageants for popular success. It appeals more to the senses than the intellect, and the enunciation of a new dogma by the pope has, for ages, been the occasion of a general holiday in Rome. On that day, says a writer for the *London Quarterly Review*, himself a spectator of what he describes, "Rome herself was stirred up from the remotest of her seven hills in jubilant expectation. Before the dawn, her population was all astir; and the peasantry, dressed in their holiday attire, poured in at the gates, to swell the throng which, from all parts of the city, was already making its way toward the great Basilica of St. Peter. The inhabitants were busy decking out the windows and balconies with stuffs of every texture and color, from the gorgeous silks and velvets of the palace to the parti-colored counterpane of the humble hostelry. The sun rose bright in an unclouded sky, lighting up nature with the holiday air which pervaded the crowd. It is the Feast of the Conception; and who knows not that Rome has ever prided herself on the patronage of the blessed Virgin, the queen of heaven? We remember that when cholera was first making its dreaded approach, 'theological proof' was offered in the Roman pulpits that it *could* not enter the favored city. When the scourge came, nevertheless, the notices of infallible preservatives with which the walls were placarded spoke less confidently of spices and drugs to be purchased of the chemist, than of prayers and litanies to be recited to the Virgin; and when the plague was staid, the visitors who again flocked into the city found her images lighted up, by fear or gratitude, with candles such as in size and number had never blazed

beneath them before. It is the Feast of the Conception; but there is something more—something to distinguish the present festival from its predecessors, and from the numberless other holidays with which the Romish calendar encourages idleness and baffles thrift.

"With eager curiosity the crowds throng the entrance to St. Peter's, where a plenary indulgence invites their attendance. Presently, the swell of a distant chant announces that the procession is issuing from the Sistine chapel, and, in gorgeous state, exceeding that of any temporal prince, the officials of the pontifical court defile down the magnificent Scala Regia. Behind them a silver cross is seen to gleam in the distance, and burning tapers, struggling with the day, shed a mistiness, rather than light, over the increasing splendor of the procession. The pastors of the orthodox Greek Church, conspicuous by their venerable beards and gorgeous costume, are followed by the Latin bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, in their robes of state and glittering mitres, two by two, each rising in rank and dignity as they more nearly precede the golden canopy which announces the presence of the pontiff himself. As the procession slowly sweeps through the marble portico, the huge fans of peacock and ostrich feathers, the remains of royal and oriental state, such as in Egyptian pictures are seen to accompany the Pharaohs in their triumphs, precede the chair on which the pope is borne aloft, and from which he showers down benedictions on the kneeling crowd. The great doors, thrown open to receive the procession, show the interior of the church decked in its gala array. The chant draws to a close as the pageant enters, and is gradually lost in the luminous haze and dim immensity of the building. The procession is long, the attendance of prelates very numerous; more than two hundred, some of whom are come from very distant lands, are said to be present; in other respects, the pomp displayed is only what on great occasions is usual. Assuredly, the pontifical 'funzioni' are not calculated for the sentimental traveler. They can not be seen without an amount of contrivance and forethought, and without an exertion of dexterity and physical strength, which are destructive of all sentiment. Nor are they intended for the poor; the reserved places are numerous, the Swiss guards inflexible, the hedge of soldiers impenetrable. The ceremonies themselves have the defect of excessive length. On this 8th of December, though the procession entered the church soon after sunrise, it is a quarter past eleven before the last notes of the gospel, chanted first in Latin and then in Greek, as is usual at the papal mass, die away on the ear, and are succeeded by a deep silence. Those who can see, and those who know the programme, are aware that 'Cardinal Macchi, (then in his eighty-sixth year,) the dean of the Sacred College, is approaching the steps of the papal throne,' in order to make a solemn petition in the name of the church that 'his holiness' will establish the immaculate con-

ception as a dogma of the church. 'He is accompanied by a Greek and an Armenian bishop as his supporters and witnesses, together with the twelve senior archbishops of the western church, and the officers of the pontifical household who are the official witnesses of such important transactions.' (Wiseman's *Pastoral Letter*, p. 6.) The pontiff answers favorably, but 'calls on all to join him in first invoking the light and grace of the Holy Spirit.' Accordingly, the *Veni Creator Spiritus* is intoned. And again there is a silence deeper and more solemn than before. But even at the verge of the crowd there is, or seems to be audible at moments, a voice rendered tremulous by age or emotion. It ceases, and suddenly a movement among the spectators, rapid as electricity, makes us sensible that the tension is relaxed, the suspense is over, the cannon of St. Angelo, reëchoed by mortars in the streets, and the bells of all the churches, announce to the city and the world *urbi et orbi*, that some event of great interest to Christendom is consummated.

"And so it is. The pope, speaking 'ex cathedra,' has dogmatically defined the 'Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.'"

The exact words of the pope, in this his dogmatic definition, were as follows:

"That it is a dogma of faith that the most blessed Virgin Mary, from the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved perfectly free from all stain of original sin."

"*Essere domma di fede, che la Beatissima Vergine Maria nel primo istante della sua Concezione, per singolare privilegio e grazia di Dio, in vertu dei meriti di Gesu Cristo, Salvatore dell uman genera, fu preservata immune da ogni macchia della colpa originale.*"

After the reading of the decree, the cardinal dean returned to the foot of the throne, returned thanks to the holy father for having, by his apostolical authority, defined the dogma of the immaculate conception, praying him to be pleased to publish the bull relative to that dogmatic definition.

The medal offered by the pope in commemoration of the decree of December 8th bears on one side the image of the immaculate Virgin, and on the other the following inscription:

Deiparæ Virgini sine labe conceptæ. Pius IX. Pont. Max. ex auri Australiæ primitiis sibi oblatis cudi jussit VI id dec. MDCCCLIV.

While the cannon of St. Angelo was announcing to the world at large the creation of the goddess of the church, by the infallible authority of Pius IX., the people were engaged in a ceremony quite different from that performed in St. Peter's church. Several boats loaded with wheat and corn were tied to the shore, ready to be towed to Civita Vecchia, and thence set sail for France. The price of bread being high at Rome, the inhabitants of Trastevere

Tumult at Rome. A Stern Huguenot who kneels only to God.

decided to oppose the exportation of corn from the city, to feed, at a low price, their own oppressors. The steamboat which was to tow the boats down the Tiber was attacked by the populace, and prevented from approaching; the police were assailed with stones and missiles, and compelled to withdraw from the conflict; but several companies of French soldiers finally appeared, who unceremoniously charged the rioters at the point of the bayonet. This happened at the very moment the pope was decreeing a new article of faith for his holy church. Pius IX. was much affected on hearing the news of this untimely and unseemly disturbance, almost within hearing of the service at St. Peter's, and felt grieved that the Romans should have offered such a scandal, and so much indifference toward the "sacred mystery of the immaculate conception."

The following incident, related by an eye-witness, is worthy of record: "During the ceremony, being within St. Peter's, I witnessed a curious occurrence between a papal major and a French officer. Major Casciani, (father of that famous young Casciani who denounced to the papal police several of his political friends,) having ordered his soldiers to kneel down, perceived that a French officer was standing. Casciani commanded him *genou à terre*, but the foreign officer remained immovable. This irritated the papal centurion to such a pitch that he drew his sword, and was going to assail the French officer, when Colonel Guglielmi interfered in time to prevent a collision. I learned afterward that this officer is a protestant, and when the ceremony of the immaculate conception was over, he asked the papal major with what right he ordered him to kneel before the holy wafer. 'I am commanded by my sovereign,' answered the papal major. 'Well,' replied the stern Huguenot, 'tell your sovereign that the French have no orders to receive from him, we being his protectors, and that for myself, I kneel only to God.'"

On account of the great importance of this proceeding, we shall place on record the full official document, in the words of the sovereign pontiff. Inasmuch, however, as many persons may desire to learn, from competent authority, in fewer words, what this prolix papal document teaches, we append to the above account two extracts from pastoral letters of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto, in Canada, and the Bishop of Newark, in the United States, each of them defining, in clear and perspicuous language, the now established doctrine of the church on this subject. The first is from Bishop De Charbonnel, of Toronto, who, addressing his flock, inquires:

"Now, dearly beloved, what is the meaning of that definition, which overjoys the whole church and devastates hell? What are our duties toward that definition, and what must be its fruit for our souls?

"That definition, dearly beloved, means that the soul of Mary, no doubt on account of her having been chosen from all eternity to be the mother of the Saviour, when created and united to a body in the womb of her mother,

St. Ann, was exempted, preserved from all original sin common to all the children of Adam and Eve.

"That definition means that on the first moment Mary, far from being a child of wrath, hated by the blessed Trinity, belonging to Satan, and doomed to hell, was, on the contrary, all fair, spotless, full of grace with the Lord, blessed among women, the beloved dove of God, and already crushing the serpent's head.

"That definition means that that most singular exemption, privilege, prerogative, grace conferred on Mary, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, has been revealed by God, is contained in the deposit of divine revelations, has always been believed as a part of the word of God by the immense majority of the church, and is now proposed as such to the faith of the world by the teaching church of Christ, against which He promised that error, one of the gates of hell, should never prevail.

"Therefore, that definition means that the Immaculate Conception of Mary is now a dogma of our faith, just as well as her divine maternity, her perpetual virginity, and her exemption from venial sin. Those three prerogatives of Mary had always been believed as revealed by God, and contained in the deposit of divine revelations, though they became dogmas of the Catholic faith only after ages. The divine maternity of Mary was defined only in the fifth century, against Nestorius; her perpetual virginity in the fourth, against Jovinian; and her exemption from venial sin in the sixteenth, by the Council of Trent.

"Therefore, to deny now, even mentally, the immaculate conception, would be the same sin of heresy as to deny the divine maternity of Mary, or her perpetual virginity, or her exemption from venial sin, because it would be to refuse to believe a definition of the church, the pillar and the ground of truth, and of course to incur the excommunication and anathema of a heathen and a publican, pronounced by Jesus Christ himself against whomsoever heareth not the church."

The second extract, which defines the doctrine with equal clearness, but in a somewhat different style of thought and illustration, is from the distinguished Bishop Bayley, of Newark. It was dated November 8th, 1855. We give the bishop's full definition of the doctrine, and also the close of his circular letter addressed to the clergy and laity, appointing the Triduum, or the three days of thanksgiving, and granting plenary indulgence to those who observe the festival, which, the bishop says, "may be applied, by way of suffrage, to the souls in purgatory." This circular letter commences as follows:

"DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN: We are approaching the anniversary of that memorable day upon which our holy father Pope Pius IX., the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the supreme head of his visible church upon earth, declared the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary to be an article of Catholic faith. It seems to us a very appropriate time for publishing in this diocese the Triduum, or three days of thanksgiving granted by the supreme pontiff on that occasion, and to which he has annexed many precious indulgences. Its celebration this season will recall to your minds the touching circumstances under which the long-expected declaration was announced, and with which you have been made familiar by the narrations of many distinguished persons who were present when the supreme pontiff, surrounded by more than two hundred bishops from every part of the world, and a large multitude of the clergy and faithful laity, declared that 'the doctrine which holds that the blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of the omnipotent God, and in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of

mankind, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, had been revealed by God,' and therefore should firmly and constantly be believed by all the faithful. No dogmatic decision of the church has ever been received with greater unanimity and holy joy than the authoritative declaration that day uttered by the mouth of God's vicegerent upon earth. The words of the supreme pontiff, as they went forth on their way throughout the world, found a response in the breast of every faithful child of God's church, and were echoed back by a universal chorus of praise and thanksgiving.

"You will permit us, dearly beloved brethren of the laity, to recall to your minds, on this occasion, in a few simple words, the exact import of that decision, in order that you may appreciate more fully this great benefit, and rejoice in accordance with the will of God and the intention of his holy church. By the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary, you are to understand, then, in accordance with this decree, that the soul of the mother of God, by a special grace of God, and in consideration of the merits of Jesus Christ, was preserved, from the moment of its creation, free from all stain of original sin. In other words, that the soul of the blessed Virgin was created in a state of grace, and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, at the moment of its union with her body. It is in this sense that the conception of the blessed Virgin is said to be immaculate, as distinguishing it from that of the rest of the children of Adam, who are all conceived with the stain of their father's sin upon them, called for this reason *original* sin, and in consequence are deprived of sanctifying grace, which is restored to them by baptism. St. John the Baptist, the precursor of our Lord, was, as we all know, sanctified in his mother's womb, and consequently was born into this world free from the stain of original sin, and on this account the church celebrates the festival of his nativity; but St. John was *conceived* in original sin.

"These facts, my beloved brethren, will enable you to understand clearly the peculiar privilege of the blessed Virgin in this matter. The soul of the blessed Virgin was created *pure;* the soul of St. John the Baptist was *pure* in his mother's womb, and our souls are made *pure* by baptism. We are *cleansed* from original sin by baptism—St. John was *delivered* from it by being sanctified in the womb—the blessed Virgin was always *preserved* from it.

* * * * * * * * *

"We appoint the month of December as the time during which the Triduum granted by our holy father Pope Pius IX., by his Rescript of the 21st of January, 1855, shall be celebrated in this diocese. We allow the several pastors to choose, at their discretion, any three successive days during that month, for their respective congregations—arranging the time with the neighboring clergy, in order that they may assist one another in hearing confessions and giving the necessary instructions.

"To all who assist devoutly at the religious exercises on any of these three days, the holy father grants a partial indulgence of seven years; and as many times forty days; and a plenary indulgence to those who attend during the entire Triduum, confess their sins with humility and contrition, receive the holy communion, and on the last of the three days offer prayers to God, according to the intention of his holiness. These indulgences may be applied, by way of suffrage, to the souls in purgatory.

"His holiness has also granted that on each of these three days one mass of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary may be celebrated with or without singing. We also give permission for the benediction of the blessed sacrament on those days.

"In conclusion, dearly beloved brethren, we earnestly recommend ourselves and our diocese to your prayers during the holy time.

"May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!

"Given at our residence in Newark, this 8th day of November, A.D. 1855, being the octave of the feast of All Saints.

"† JAMES, BISHOP OF NEWARK."

From the date of the establishment of this new dogma it is now heresy for any Catholic to question it, although St. Bernard and many other good Catholics denied it for centuries prior to that date. Every true Catholic must now discard the doctrine of David and of Paul; and must believe that there is at least one merely human being who was not "conceived in sin," and who was not included in the declaration of the Apostle Paul, "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God." The well-instructed protestant will be likely to inquire, If it be true that heaven is the home of *redeemed* sinners, and only such, who have "washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," (Rev. 7 : 14,) where is the place for Mary? If she was not a sinner, either by original sin or by actual transgression, then it follows that she could not be *redeemed.* If not redeemed, she could never join in the "new song," "Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us unto God by thy blood." (Rev. 5 : 9.) If this new doctrine is true, is there indeed any place for the Virgin Mary among the redeemed in heaven? *

TRANSLATION OF ROMISH RELICS, THE GIFT OF POPE PIUS TO AN AMERICAN CHURCH. SINGULAR CEREMONY OF CONSECRATION.

THE worship or reverence paid to so-called relics of the saints, consisting chiefly of old bones, or teeth, or hairs of the dead of the early ages, is one of the earliest and, at the same time, one of the most absurd and irrational of all the errors embodied in the system of popery. On pages 93, 94 of the preceding History, an account is given of the origin of this innovation, and also a description of the ceremony of the deposition of such old bones or other relics in a Roman Catholic church, in order to its due consecration. An instance is also cited from Fleury, the Romish ecclesiastical historian, of the miraculous discovery of two old skeletons, by means of a dream, forthwith pronounced to be the bones of two saints, so that the consecration of a church might be no longer delayed by the lack of such relics to be deposited in the altar.

It is only in recent years that so strange an exhibition as the translation and procession of such relics has been made a public spectacle in the United States of America. If done at all in American churches, it has till lately been done in a comparatively private manner. In the year 1856, however, such a ceremony,

* For the text of the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception see Appendix, p. 857.

attended with all the pomp, and show, and parade of Roman Catholic countries, was witnessed in the immediate vicinity of New-York City, and within sound of its church bells. This was the translation and depositing in St. Mary's Church, Hoboken, on the Hudson River, immediately opposite New-York, of the so-called relics of St. Quietus, consisting of certain bones and particles of blood, "the gift of his holiness Pope Pius IX." to said church. The ceremony occurred on June 1st, 1856, and was thus minutely described, and the bishop's speech reported, evidently with great care and accuracy, by the New-York *Evening Express* of the following day, one of the oldest and most respectable of all the New-York daily journals. In the following description we have incorporated the principal part of the bishop's address.

Says this eye-witness to this strange scene:

"This ceremony, so long talked of, came off with the most solemn pomp on Sunday, in the Church of the Virgin at Hoboken. The church was crowded to repletion, the aisles and every available place being filled. It was calculated that about 2000 people were present at half-past ten o'clock, the great majority being females. Twenty-five cents were charged as an admission-fee, besides which collections were taken up at two early masses and once during the ceremony of high mass. Tickets, which were demanded of each individual who entered the church, were for sale at the church door and other places. The following is a copy of an admission card:

TRANSLATION
OF THE
RELICS OF ST. QUIETUS, MARTYR,
The Gift of His Holiness, Pope Pius IX.,
TO
ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HOBOKEN,
By the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bayley, Bishop of Newark,
SUNDAY, JUNE 1st, 1856.
Tickets, 25 Cents Each.

"Relative to the relics themselves, we were able to obtain the following particulars: They were presented to Bishop Bayley by Pio Nono, and consisted, so it is said, of all the bones which could be found in the place of the saint's burial, which was in one of the catacombs of Rome called Predixtatus, where the martyrs were buried about the second or third century. The vase containing the blood was deposited in the church, as also the original slab which covered the niche in which the martyr's remains were deposited in the catacomb. The blood we did not see, but were informed by the pastor that it is in small dry particles. On the slab is the following inscription: 'QVIETVS QVI VIXIT ANNIS QVNIQVE,

MENSIS DVO, IN PACE.' The years of the life of the saint are understood to reckon only from the date of his conversion to the Christian faith.

"Previous to the ceremony, the bishop administered confirmation to about 200 children, of both sexes, after which he also administered the consecrated wafer, and addressed the children on the importance of having received their first communion. All the other sacraments, he said, conferred grace, but now they had received the Author of all grace himself.

"The chalice used by the bishop is of pure gold, and was presented to the church by the Emperor Napoleon, and bears the following inscription: 'DONNE PAR S. M. L'EMPEREUR NAPOLEON III. 1855.' On entering the church, the first object which strikes the eye is a beautiful copy of the celebrated Madonna of Foligno, by Raphael. This picture is placed immediately over the high altar. On the right of the latter, as you enter the church, is the altar of the crucifixion; and on the left, the altar dedicated to St. Quietus, which was decorated with bouquets of flowers, and bore the following inscription: 'INNOCENTI ET MARTYRI.' On the door of the temporary chapel, where the relics were placed previous to the procession, was the inscription: 'EXULTABUNT OSSA HUMILIATA.' And on the organ gallery: 'DIVO QUIETO CONGREGATIO FIDELIUM STA MARIA HOBOCENSIS.' The side-walls of the church were tastefully decorated with evergreens, and paintings, and fresco; and from the roof descended red and white bands of linen.

"At a little before eleven o'clock, the procession entered the church by the middle door from the temporary chapel in the house of the pastor. In the front was carried a silk banner, with a picture of the Virgin Mary on one side, and the host and chalice on the other, borne by a young lady, dressed in white satin and lace vail, and followed by forty little girls, all dressed in white, with red sashes. Next came forty boys, with red ribbons round their arms, because red is the color used for martyrs, and each bearing a bouquet. Then followed a cross-bearer, carrying a cross, with two supporters, all three dressed in dalmatic. Then sixteen young men in red cassocks and surplices, each bearing a lighted candle and bouquet: next twelve clergymen in surplices and stoles, each carrying a lighted candle and bouquet, followed by four deacons and sub-deacons in dalmatic.

"Then came the BISHOP, in cope and mitre, carrying the shrine containing

THE BONES OF ST. QUIETUS,

followed by two acolytes, holding up the bishop's train, and twenty-four young laymen in surplices, carrying lighted candles. Then the procession passed up the aisle to the right, passed before the altar, (each one stopping to worship the host,) went down the aisle to the left, and passed up the centre aisle, the priests chanting, 'Ora pro nobis,' when the young ladies filed off,

the bishops, priests, deacons, sub-deacons, etc., entering the rails, when the bishop deposited the relics on the high altar.

"At this point the clergy and congregation all fell down upon their knees and chanted, 'SANCTE QUIETO ORA PRO NOBIS!'—'Saint Quietus, pray for us!'—incense being burned during this part of the ceremony. The bishop and two priests then proceeded to the altar prepared for the relics, where they deposited the shrine, and, after kneeling before it for some time in silent admiration, proceeded with the celebration of a high mass. Rev. Father Cauvin then raised a blue curtain, which being inside a glass case where a handsome wax image of a child with a scar on his throat was discovered, the vase which was said to contain the blood, and the slab with the saint's epitaph resting in the rear of the figure. The bones were carried in a small golden box, about eight inches in length by six in breadth, and surmounted by a cross. They consisted of two pieces, each about four inches long and one inch and a half in circumference. The large bits were placed in front of a glass plate, while numerous small pieces, some an inch or so square, and others infinitely smaller, some as diminutive as a pea, appeared behind. No one, of course, came near enough to see them in the hands of the bishop, or on the altar; but having been admitted to the temporary chapel before the ceremony, our reporter has thus been enabled to describe them.

"After the conclusion of the ceremonies of the mass, such as burning incense before the altar and the bishop, bowing to the latter by the priests, some of whom knelt and kissed the hand which he most graciously extended to them, the bishop arose, and, with mitre on head and cross in hand, delivered an address of which we insert the following extracts:

"'We are gathered together to-day to assist at a solemnity such as few, perhaps none of us, have ever assisted at before; and that is the solemn reception of the remains of a martyr, who, in the early days of our religion, laid down his life for it. I am not, in these remarks, going to speak the panegyric of the martyr; for I know nothing concerning him; I know only that his name was Quietus, and that he died for Christ. When I have said he was a martyr, I have made his panegyric; still, it would interest you to know where these relics were found, and on what grounds we this day pay honor and homage to them. To a Christian there are no places on earth, except the tomb of the divine Lord himself, more interesting than the corridors and chambers commonly called catacombs, which Christians dug out of the earth, and used as places of refuge, wherein to conceal themselves from persecution, to celebrate the rites of their holy religion, and to bury their dead. There are numbers of these catacombs in numerous places, but more in the Eternal City than elsewhere; there are about sixty of them round Rome, taking their names from the most distinguished martyrs; but that of St. Predixtatus was the one from which the remains of our saint were taken.'

"The bishop then, in describing the catacombs more fully, referred to a work by Cardinal Wiseman, and continued:

"'The whole *campagna* of Rome is laid out with strata of soft rock or stone,

and in this the early Christians dug these catacombs, consisting of long corridors and chambers. The custom was to take a shell, in which were inclosed the remains of the martyr, wrapped in fine linen and spices, after the manner of the burial of our Lord, and often a vial of his blood, and sometimes the instruments by which he suffered death, and all were inclosed together in a niche and covered with a slab, on which was the name of the deceased person, and sometimes the date of his death. More frequently, however, the stone was inscribed with an account of the time which he had lived as a Christian, with, if he was a martyr, a request for his prayers, and perhaps a declaration of an intention to pray for him. I have been through those places myself, and often have I seen the altars cut out where such sacrifices were offered as are offered here to-day. About the middle of the fourth century, these excavations ceased to be used as burial-places, through reverence for those who had before that time been laid to rest there; and we find over the very catacomb from whence the remains of our saint were taken an inscription placed there by Pope Damasus, who died in the year 384, stating that he did not wish his bones to be laid there, as he was not worthy to sleep beside those martyrs. Churches of great grandeur and beauty are built over these places, but none of them are so grand as the catacombs beneath.

"'With regard to the saint whom we have assembled this day to honor, we have the relics taken from the niche where the remains were inclosed at the time of his burial; we have the slab on which is inscribed his name, and how long he lived as a Christian; also the vial and vase which evidently contained blood. All these were deposited in a box carefully sealed, and have come here with the most perfect authentications. The inscription mentions that the name of the saint was Quietus, and the vial of blood shows he was a martyr for Christ. The inscription also states that he lived five years and two months; this, however, is not to be taken for his real age, as it was usual in those days to reckon the age of the Christian from the date of his conversion, and the inscription therefore only marks the time that had elapsed since his baptism. Of our saint, as I have already stated, we know nothing, except that his name was Quietus, and that he died for Christ. But if the early records, many of which were destroyed, could be found, *no doubt we should learn all about him!*

"'But after all, my friends, we do not need them. The inscription on the slab is enough. He lived a Christian, and laid down his life for the truth. This justified them who lived after him to collect his blood and cause it to be kept up with his body, and this justifies us to-day in receiving these relics with all the solemn pomp we are able to show. As it is common to all men to treasure up with care the commonest thing belonging to a beloved friend who is deceased, and so this goes on with all, but appears to stop when it comes to the rites of our holy religion. We know that this custom has the sanction of God from the fact that the Catholic Church from the beginning taught only one doctrine; the inscriptions on the catacombs show the practices and feelings of the early Christians. Then we have the account of the death of St. Polycarp, and how St. Ambrose recorded the discovery of the bodies of two saints, and how miracles were wrought by their bones and by those of St. Stephen, the first martyr. He then instanced the preservation of several saints from decay. The body of St. Cuthbert was found hundreds of years after death entirely free from decay, as were also the bodies of St. Catharine of Geneva and St. Catharine of Bologna.

"'But you might ask, "Why should you speak to us as if to convince us of the truth of all this?" I will frankly say that when I commenced I did not intend to dwell so much on these matters; but having in some manner entered upon an argument, I am disposed to draw a lesson from the very fact that I have done so. The histories of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine relate facts which call upon people to venerate the martyrs, but they do not say one word as to why they should do so. This very fact that I am speaking to you Christians and Catholics upon this subject, shows that the spirit of

these times is like the old pagan spirit. Sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago, those who witnessed the martyrdom of this saint gathered up the relics and placed them in the narrow niche, kissed them reverently, no doubt, and invoked his intercession, and now, in a land they never heard of, we have received those relics; we have brought them into this church, and placed them reverently on the altar, before inclosing them on the shrine prepared for them.'

"After the conclusion of the address, high mass was continued. The ceremonies of elevating the host and chalice were also gone through with, and some few received holy communion. The ceremonies did not conclude till about three o'clock in the afternoon, the immense congregation having continued together over four hours."

When the original edition of this work was published, there were many, even among protestants, who could scarcely credit the literal accuracy of some of the strange ceremonies therein described, although given mostly on Roman Catholic authority, such as the procession and translation of relics, the baptism of church-bells, the sprinkling and blessing of horses and other cattle on St. Anthony's day, and many others. If the reader will compare the above account with the history given of this relic-worship on page 93, etc., he will receive abundant confirmation of the literal exactness of all that is there stated on this subject.

PAPAL HATRED OF THE JEWS. THE STOLEN BOY, EDGAR MORTARA.

In papal countries, the Jews have for ages been the special victims of a causeless prejudice and cruel hatred and persecution. In the city of Rome, under the government of the popes, they were not permitted, till within a few years, to live outside of the Jews' quarter, a gloomy, unhealthy, and squalid district of the city called the Ghetto. They were debarred from many of the occupations of trade and industry open to others, and seldom employed by so-called Christians in those avocations they were permitted to follow. They were forbidden to hold real estate. Their evidence against a Christian was rejected in the courts of justice. No matter how flagrant the outrage received by a Jew from a Christian; if committed only in the presence of Jews, their testimony would be rejected, and the ruffian or the robber or even the murderer would be acquitted for want of the legal evidence. A Hebrew physician was not suffered to visit or prescribe medicine for a Christian. The application of the lancet might save from death the sick man, suddenly stricken down, but the Jewish surgeon was forbidden, under the severest penalties, to apply the remedy to a Christian, even though it might save him from death. Not only in Rome, but wherever Romanism

was the dominant religion, there the poor persecuted Israelite was subject to the grossest insult, oppression, and cruelty. If any people in the world have reason to rejoice that the popes are no longer kings of Rome, surely that people are the long outraged and abused Israelites, especially of the late papal dominions. All the friends of liberty rejoiced when the announcement was lately made, that upon the recent occupation of the city by the new Italian government, one of the first acts was to deliver the Jews from the oppression of ages, and to grant them equal rights with all other citizens of Rome.

In the year 1858, the indignation not only of Jews, but of protestants, throughout Christendom, was strongly aroused by a papal outrage upon a Jewish family of the name of Mortara, at Bologna, in the then papal dominions in Italy. Such outrages had, doubtless, often occurred before, for it was in strict accordance with the spirit and practice of popery, wherever it existed. This particular case was only remarkable because it became known, and was the occasion of attracting public attention, remonstrance, and rebuke. The case was as follows: In the year 1852, a Jew by the name of Signor Mortara Levi was living at Bologna, when his little son, Edgar Mortara, about twelve months old, being very sick, and in danger of death, a Catholic servant-girl of the age of fourteen years, by the advice of a zealous Catholic grocer, obtained some holy-water and proceeded to sprinkle the child, repeating over the formula of baptism, as she had been instructed by the grocer, who told her also, what was strictly true, that such baptisms of a babe in danger of death, though performed by a layman or by a woman, were regarded by the Catholic Church as valid, and, according to the Catholic doctrine, would secure for the child a place in Paradise. The child recovered; but the girl did not make known to her priest the fact of the so-called baptism of the child till the year 1857, when the boy was about six years old. Upon this, the inquisitors, in the middle of the night, visited the house of the father, seized the child, and forced him from his parents' arms; the child meanwhile crying bitterly for his mother. The boy was immediately carried to Rome, in order that he might be brought up as a Catholic; and when his parents appealed to the pope to restore him to them, they were told that their son, having received "the grace of baptism," is now a Christian, and can not be given back to his parents to be made a Jew. The following particulars of the journey of the afflicted parents in search of their stolen child are taken from a Genoa paper, entitled the *Corriere Mercantile.*

It says, "The afflicted father started for Rome, his poor wife, whose distress of mind since the child's abduction has been incessant, accompanying her husband. When they reached Rome, they were told that their son had been removed to Alatri, a place fifty miles off. As soon as they arrived at Alatri, they obtained the services of a woman to guide them to the house of the rector,

who was absent at mass with their son. The father left his wife at the house, and went to meet the rector on his return with the boy. The rector was accompanied by a brother of his, and when the father approached the gate of the church, this churchman slammed the door in his face. The father then stationed himself in the street, waiting for their coming; and, after some little time, the rector, his brother, and the young Mortara did come out. Instead, however, of advancing to meet him, they turned off by the opposite street, dragging the child along, who, from time to time, turned to look at his father, and struggled to get away. M. Mortara returned to the rector's house, where he had left his wife, and there, for two hours longer, they waited for the son's return, but to no purpose. Looking out of a window, M. Mortara then perceived that two gentlemen were watching in the street. Thinking they might be waiting there for him, he left the house with his wife and walked up to them, to see what their intentions were. These men did not speak, but they followed M. Mortara and his wife wherever they went. A few moments later, the Jew and his wife perceived that they were being stared at in a menacing manner by the inhabitants, and soon became aware, by the cries they heard, that the people had been taught to believe the object of their coming there was to murder their own child. Seeing what danger they were incurring, the unhappy parents took refuge in a hotel. An officer of the gendarmerie and an inspector of police soon entered and demanded their passport. As soon as it was held to them, they seized and kept it, desiring M. Mortara and his wife to repair forthwith to the governor's. This official told them he was not ignorant of their coming to Alatri, but that it was of no use, for without a fresh permission from the pope they would not be allowed to see their son, and thereupon desired them to quit the town within two hours. So they returned to Rome, and here they at length gained permission to see the child; and the mother, in a letter to a friend at Bologna, thus describes the interview: 'This morning I and my husband went to the catechumens, and they told us that the rector and my dear child had just arrived; we mounted the flight of steps, and soon had our darling Edgar in our arms. As for me, I kissed him over and over again, weeping and sobbing; whilst he answered my kisses and embraces with his whole soul; greatly excited and shedding tears, the little fellow struggled between the fears of those who have him in their power and his immense love for us; but this at last triumphed. He cried out that he wanted to go home with his parents to his brothers and sisters. I told him to remember that he was born a Jew as we were, and that it was his duty always to remain one. He answered, "Yes, dear mamma, I shall always take care to say the Sheman every day." I added that we had come to Rome to see him again, and that we should not leave the city without him, at which he appeared glad and happy. All this took place in the presence of

the rector and of his brother and sisters.'" The pope, however, finally and peremptorily forbade the child to be restored to his parents.

When the event thus narrated became generally known, in the year 1858, it produced an intense excitement throughout the civilized world. Seldom had any single outrage produced so wide and so deep an impression. "It was discussed by the press, and in the social circle, in every country in Europe. In Russia, it was very generally considered as an intolerable outrage on the natural rights of parents. In France and in Belgium, opinion was divided almost by the very lines that separate the two great parties of the Catholic Church. The French Emperor, however, appealed to by Signor Mortara, the father of the child, sent a remonstrance to the pope. In Sardinia alone, of the Italian kingdoms, the general voice was against the papal decision, as contrary to wisdom, if not to right. Meanwhile, Baron Rothschild, the famous Hebrew banker, sent to Mortara ten thousand francs, to enable him to prosecute his case, and contributions were sent, for the same purpose, from Jews in every part of Christendom. The Roman press gloried in the proceeding as the unquestioned duty of the government, and the pope himself sent an official circular to all the courts of Europe, explaining his decision, and the grounds on which it was made. It is said that the case of this Bologna Jewish boy is by no means a solitary case. It would be strange if it were. Indeed, the pope and the Roman Catholic nurses must be very recreant to their own faith, if it has not been very frequently repeated. The instance at Bologna alone has attracted attention, and taught us what must have happened before, and may at any time happen again. The principle of government that strips these Jewish parents of their infant boy, and makes him a child of the Roman Church, in virtue of his secret sprinkling by a Catholic chambermaid, may, of course, be applied to any American or English parents in similar circumstances."

When the news of the abduction of Edgar Mortara, and the refusal of the pope to restore him reached New-York City, where the Jews constitute a large and influential part of the population, embracing some of the most eminent merchants and professional men, a public meeting was at once called of the Jewish residents of New-York to give expression to their sentiments. Nearly every prominent Hebrew resident of the city was present, and the meeting was one of the largest and most enthusiastic ever held in the city. The president of the meeting was Mr. Jonas N. Phillips, a distinguished member of the bar of New-York, and an Israelite by birth. The following resolutions were adopted with great enthusiasm:

"*Whereas*, The Inquisition has forcibly abducted Edgar, son of Momola Mortara, an Israelite, residing at Bologna, under pretext that he had been clandestinely baptized four years previously, when about twelve months old, by a female domestic; and notwithstanding the protest and entreaties of his

parents, he is still detained from their guardianship, and continues subjected to the discipline and teachings of the Catechumeni; and *whereas*, this act, though affecting only an obscure family, has attracted the attention of the world by the apprehensions it inspires of the revival of the practices which disgraced the dark ages; and as it directly attacks that toleration of differences of opinion and of faith which are the pride of an advanced civilization, it has called forth the rebuke of the humane and enlightened of every creed, as well as the remonstrances of the chief Catholic and Protestant governments of Europe; and *whereas*, as men, we can not be insensible to aught that concerns the welfare of humanity, as Israelites this wrong appeals to us with peculiar force, since, though scattered and dispersed amongst the nations, we are indissolubly united by community of race, faith, history, suffering, and hope—ties which time can not efface nor distance sever, and which persecution serves to strengthen; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That this meeting, responding to the communication made by the Board of Deputies of British Jews, will unite with them and with our brethren in this and other countries, in measures calculated to effect the restoration of Edgar Mortara to his natural guardians, and to prevent the recurrence of similar persecutions.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting recalls with high satisfaction the precedent afforded by the prompt and unsolicited action of the government of the United States on the occasion of the persecution at Damascus, in the year 1840.

"*Resolved*, That these proceedings be transmitted to his excellency the President, and that he be respectfully solicited to inform the government at Rome that the act in question has excited a deep and unfavorable sensation in the minds of the enlightened citizens of this republic.

"*Resolved*, That we hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every creed, as they value the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and desire peace and good-will on earth to man, to aid our efforts with their sympathy and their active influence.

"*Resolved*, That this meeting acknowledges, with pride and satisfaction, the action of the governments of Catholic France, Austria, and Sardinia, protestant England and Holland, whose remonstrances at Rome, against the outrage committed, have been actuated by humanity, and by respect for the natural rights of man, and are characteristic of the age in which we live.

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Representatives of the United Congregations of Israelites of the city of New-York are empowered to give effect to these resolutions, and to take such further measures as may seem to them advisable."

The learned Jewish Rabbi, Dr. Raphael, then addressed the vast audience. He said that "the occasion called on every Israelite, and every friend of humanity, to respond energetically. They all knew how the rights of nature had been violated, the feelings of humanity outraged, and the sacred name of religion abused and degraded into a screen for the foulest act of kidnapping that the present generation has witnessed. You have heard the shrieks of the mother, 'Give me back my child!' You have heard the remonstrance of the father, 'That boy is mine; you have no claim to him; restore him to me.' The cries of anguish wrung from the hearts of the persecuted and oppressed Mortaras have been echoed and reëchoed by tens and hundreds of thousands, until the mighty outcry resounds throughout Europe, crosses the ocean, and everywhere arouses the sympathy of parents and the just indignation of men, whatever may be their creed or lineage. The most enlightened governments of Europe—France, Sardinia, and Great Britain—express their disapproval of the outrage. The

press of Europe and America proclaim the public detestation. The veteran in the cause of justice, humanity, and Israel—Sir Moses Montefiore—forgets his advanced age, and once more becomes the champion of right. What has caused this universal commotion? The alleged act of a nurse-maid. The act, if ever performed, was the act of a child on an unconscious infant—an act, too, of folly, of superstition, of domestic treason, but, in its consequences, most dire to the Mortara family. How is it that this silly act of a child leads to consequences so serious, and agitates Jew and Gentile throughout Europe and America? Because those who are ever on the watch to extend their own domination and to subjugate freedom of conscience—those who so zealously labor again to raise the phantom fabric of persecuting superstition and religious tyranny which disgraced the dark ages, but which has melted into thin air before the light of civilization—because, to sum up all in one fearful word, the Inquisition deemed it a favorable opportunity to revive some of its ruthless claims, and to enforce one of its antiquated laws. Therefore, as soon as the Holy Office was informed of this alleged baptism, it at once acted on the information, forcibly abducted the boy Edgar Mortara, and still holds him from his parents, asserting, forsooth, that the nurse-girl had administered a sacrament. But say the inquisitors and their advocates, even in this free country, 'Jews, ye are ignorant; you can not comprehend our motives; we have a law that enacts that whenever a child of an infidel or heretic receives the symbol of our faith—no matter how or by what means—that child must remain ours, and can not be restored.' And what right have you now to enforce that law in defiance of the civilized world? Clearly, none but your reckless arrogance. If your kidnappers and your abettors are Christian men, then the Apostle Paul was none; for he most strongly condemned the claim 'to do evil that good may come,' while you insult the conscience of mankind by proclaiming that your end sanctifies your nefarious means. The men who can be guilty of such conduct, and defend it by such a plea, are, truly, beyond the pale of humanity; and the only extenuation that can be offered in their behalf is, that they can not appreciate a parent's rights, because they have never experienced the sacred bliss of a parent's feelings."

In spite, however, of all these remonstrances and appeals, the pope and his inquisitors and priests refused to deliver up their prey. They succeeded doubtless, at last, in alienating Edgar Mortara from father and mother, and persuading him to assume the profession of a Catholic priest. The Jewish child of six, when stolen away, is now a young man of twenty, and has lately emerged into public view as a priest of the Roman Catholic Church; and that church still glories in the confession that if a Catholic nurse-girl can find a way to sprinkle water upon a Jewish babe, as a pretense of baptism, such a child belongs to the church, which seizes it as its own, and will not allow it to remain

with its lawful parents. Thank God that the power of the pope to perpetrate these outrages longer is curbed at length, by the loss of his kingly authority! The doctrine and the will remain the same, but the power to carry out such despotism is gone, at least in Italy, we trust forever. Let all friends of freedom, Jew and Gentile, alike rejoice! For God himself, in the voice of his providence, has said to the proud monarch of the papal Babylon, as he once said to the boasting Nebuchadnezzar, by a voice from Heaven, "O king, to thee it is spoken; the kingdom is departed from thee!"

CHURCH REFORMS IN THE SARDINIAN KINGDOM. SUPPRESSION OF THE ITALIAN CONVENTS.

When Victor Emanuel ascended the throne of the Sardinian kingdom, he swore allegiance to the liberal constitution, granted to the people by his father, King Charles Albert, in 1848, the year of European revolutions, and the last year of his reign, and in spite of priestly hate and papal anathemas, he continued faithful to his oath. Upon this kingdom, owing to its proximity to, and relations with, the papal government, the eyes of the Christian world have been fixed, during the reign of its present king, with an intensity of interest, perhaps more absorbing than upon any other kingdom on earth. He has aimed, not like most of the European sovereigns, to forge fetters of despotism, but to promote the freedom, education, and prosperity of his people. Aided by his brilliant minister, that able statesman, Count Cavour, he has endeavored to rear free institutions amid surrounding ruins. Born and educated as a Catholic, he has yet dared to defy even the thunderbolts of the Vatican itself, while seeking to establish religious freedom, a free press, and a free Bible, to curb the spiritual tyranny of the papal priesthood, and especially to uproot and destroy those nurseries of tyranny, oppression, and immorality, the convents and monasteries, which have for so many centuries been a curse to the people of Italy. The abolition of ecclesiastical courts and privileges, by which priests and monks were enabled almost to bid defiance to the civil law, by an act called the Siccardi law, passed by the Sardinian legislature, has already been mentioned, (see above, page 713, etc.,) and "the cruel grief" with which that step toward liberty inspired the heart of the poor old pope, has been proved from his own words. But still other steps were soon taken, which must have been still more distressing to the pope. In 1853, at the king's suggestion, the Sardinian legislature passed a law, granting liberty to the oppressed Jews to regulate their own religious worship. Soon afterward the king made a proposition toward the suppression of the mendicant monks; and another to reduce

the number of the Romish bishoprics. Still more distressing to the pope and to his priesthood must have been the favor granted by Victor Emanuel in 1855, to the long persecuted church of the Waldenses, to erect a church in the city of Turin, the capital of the kingdom, and there to enjoy freedom to worship God. By royal assent, that devoted band who at intervals through centuries had been driven from their valleys across the Alpine passes, tracking the snows with blood, were permitted to descend to the metropolis, and there erect a chapel for the worship of their pure and simple faith. When this privilege, so long solicited, had been granted, a successful call was made upon protestant England and America for pecuniary aid, and soon after, the church was finished and dedicated. The edifice is of Gothic architecture, and is situated on one of the most beautiful and most frequented streets of the city. It will hold, when crowded, fifteen hundred persons. Over the great exterior entrance is inscribed in gilded letters the words of the prophet, "Stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." (Jer. 6 : 16.)

"The dedication," says Dr. Revels, the pastor, "notwithstanding the rigor of the season and the snow which fell in great flakes, attracted more people than the church could hold. Among others, there were the ambassadors of the protestant nations—England, Prussia, the United States, and Switzerland. It was a grand solemnity. The word of God occupied the first place in it, and of right. Our churches of the valleys were represented by seventeen pastors. They entered in a body, preceded by the pastor of the church, who advanced and placed upon the pulpit *an open Bible.* The ceremony was beautiful and touching, and it has produced, and will produce, a good impression on the people of Turin. The truth has obtained an important victory over the ignorance, the fanaticism, and the malice of Rome. Whatever may be the vicissitudes the future has in store for Italy, this event will remain as a monument of the goodness of the Lord. Although the Romish clergy did all they could to provoke a hostile demonstration, every thing passed off with the greatest quietness and order. The people of Turin, the national guard, the municipality and government, rivaled each other in zeal to testify their kindness and respect."

But the greatest and most important step taken by the Sardinian government in this year, 1855, was in the introduction of a project of law, entitled the "Convents Suppression Bill," which, by the aid of the powerful advocacy of Count Cavour, was soon adopted by a very large majority. The effect of this law was radical. It went to the root of the matter. It was not another attempt at the mere *reform* of these institutions, such as had been often made before. It stopped short of nothing but suppression and extinction. As it included the confiscation of convent buildings and lands, the papal party, of course, called it spoliation and

robbery. But Victor Emanuel and Count Cavour decided that the prosperity of the nation required it; that the entire conventual system was a cancer which nothing but the knife of excision could eradicate, and the deed was done. Zealous and well-meaning men in the Romish Church had often attempted to *reform* these institutions without destroying them, and to lessen the disorders and impurities of convent life. They speedily found, however, that the task was a more formidable one than that of Hercules, in attempting to cleanse the fabled Augean stables, and soon abandoned it in despair.

Such an abortive effort was made near the close of the last century, about the time of the French Revolution, by Scipio di Ricci, an Italian Roman Catholic bishop, who, at the command of Leopold, the reigning Duke of Tuscany, undertook the task of inquiring into and, if possible, of rooting out the terrible abominations which were known to prevail in the convents of that part of the Italian peninsula. In the disclosures made at that time, by this Romish bishop, all, and more than all, that is charged against these "holds of every foul spirit," is proved without the shadow of a doubt. In that work, there are given several letters and memorials from prioresses and others of the more aged and virtuous inmates of the Italian nunneries, who mourned over these horrible corruptions, and sighed in vain for their correction. A few sentences from one or two of these letters, descriptive of the nature and extent of these immoralities of the monks and nuns, may be regarded as a specimen of many. Says the aged Flavia Peraccini, Prioress of the Convent of Catharine of Pistoia: "It would require both time and memory to recollect what has occurred during the twenty-four years that I have had to do with monks, and all that I have heard tell of them. With the exception of three or four, all that I ever knew, alive or dead, are of the same character. They have all the same maxims and the same conduct. . . . The priests are the husbands of the nuns and the lay brothers of the lay sisters. . . . They deceive the innocent, and even those that are more circumspect, and it would need a miracle to converse with them and not fall. 'Poor creatures!' said I to an English provincial, 'they think they are leaving the world to escape danger, and they only meet with greater.' God is my witness," adds this Roman Catholic lady-prioress, "I speak without passion. The monks have never done any thing to me personally, to make me dislike them; but I will say that so iniquitous a race as the monks nowhere exists. . . . Do not suppose that this is the case in our convent alone. It is just the same at Lucca, at Prato, at Pisa, at Perugia. Everywhere it is the same; everywhere the same disorders, everywhere the same abuses prevail. Let the superiors suspect as they may, they do not know even the smallest part of the enormous wickedness that goes on between the monks and the nuns."

One of the other letters is addressed to the Grand Duke him-

self, by a nun of the Convent of Castiglion Fiorentino, who describes herself as "about fifty years of age," in which, after detailing similar corruptions and vices in the convent, she requests the duke to institute the necessary investigations into these disorders, without making known the fact that she had communicated with him. The reason she assigns for this request speaks volumes as to the terrible internal condition of these prison-houses of misery and despair. "For," says she, "if what I now write to you were known, it would be sufficient to cause me to be poisoned by my companions, who are totally given up to vice."

Testimonies such as these, not from protestant sources, but from the inmates of the convents themselves, must be admitted even by Roman Catholics as absolutely conclusive proof of the incurable corruption of these institutions.

It may be asked, however, if such proofs had been previously given to the world, why had not these institutions been long ago suppressed? To this question it may be replied: Till within a few years, throughout the whole of Italy, the influence of pope, and cardinals, and priests has, for ages, been paramount and all-pervading. The fact of the debasing slavery and the licentiousness and corruption of the convents would to them have been no reason for their suppression. Papal Rome has ever remained true to the inspired description of her character. "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth."

Pierce Connelly, an American clergyman, who left the Episcopal for the Romish Church, and became a priest, while his wife went into a convent, was so shocked by the abominations that he witnessed, and the attempts made upon the virtue of his wife, that he withdrew from the Romish Church in 1853, and published an appeal to the world against its wickedness; in which, among other charges, relative to the horrible corruption of the whole system, he says:

"I have known a priest received and honored at a prince-bishop's table, when the host knew him to have just seduced a member of his own family. But nothing could be done!

"I have known a priest get up, and very successfully, a miracle (I have proofs in his own handwriting) at the very moment when, as a brother priest satisfied me, he was experimenting in seduction. But nothing could be done!

"I have been forced to let pass without even ecclesiastical rebuke, *a priest's attempt upon the chastity of my own wife*, the mother of my children, and to find instead, only sure means taken to prevent the communication to me of any similar attempt in future.

"This is a part of what has come within my own experience. But it is not yet the worst of that sad experience.

"I have seen priests of mean abilities, of coarse natures, and gross breeding, practice upon pure and highly gifted women of the upper ranks, married and unmarried, the teachings of their treacherous and impure casuistry, with a success that seemed more than human. I have seen these priests

impose their pretendedly divine authority, and sustain it by mock miracles, for ends that were simply devilish.

"I have had poured into my ears what can never be uttered, and what ought not to be believed, but was only too plainly true. And I have seen that all that is most deplorable is not an accident, but a result, and an inevitable result, and a *confessedly* inevitable result of the working of the practical system of the Church of Rome, with all its stupendous machinery of mischief. AND THE SYSTEM IS IRREVOCABLE AND IRREMEDIABLE."

Such revelations as these I have cited were sufficient to prove to the Sardinian king and Count Cavour, and to all enlightened men, that the only adequate remedy for such nests of abominations as these institutions were proved to be, was that provided in the "Convents Suppression Bill."

This radical step, however, was not taken without the most earnest opposition of the papal party, nor without the vigorous protestations and threats of excommunication from the pope himself. There were, in the Sardinian kingdom, as it existed at that time, (1855,) about 400 monasteries, convents, and other old haunts of idleness, to which appertained some 40,000 useless nuns, monks, etc., and more than one half of the real estate of the realm, exempt from taxation, and enjoying other invidious civil privileges and immunities, while the state treasury was heavily taxed to support the administration of religion. This abolished all these old establishments, except the few used for schools, and secularized the monks not engaged in teaching, so that the mere name of religion could no longer serve to sanctify idleness, and give it exemptions from all the conditions of citizenship. The treasury would be thus relieved from a most unnecessary tax, and the misapplied sums abstracted in other times from dying sinners, in consideration of masses for their souls, be appropriated to augment and support the numerous small and needy benefices of the country. This measure was officially denounced by the Roman see as an invasion of its prerogatives, and a breach of faith on the part of this king and parliament, and the clamorous cry of "the coppersmiths" was heard, as might have been expected, through all the Ephesian temples of the craft.

Against this bill for the suppression of the convents, before it had been yet adopted, Pope Pius issued a violent "allocution," as it was called, adopted in the Secret Consistory, held January 22d, 1855. This document breathes the same overbearing and arrogant spirit as marked a Hildebrand, an Innocent, or a Sixtus. It extols the opposition of the bishops to the laws of the land and to the administrative measures of the government. Nay, more: it praises and animates whatever resistance the laity may offer to the national decision, and finally menaces the recreants—that is, the government, with its head the king, the legislature and the immense majority of the people—with "turning against them the arms which have been divinely intrusted to his holy ministry." These arms, this *ultima ratio*, are nothing

less than thundering from the Vatican the anathema, and hurling at their guilty heads the lightning of excommunication.*

These threats of the pope had no effect in arresting the arm or the purpose of Count Cavour and his royal master. The bill was soon triumphantly carried, and the particulars of the vote are thus given in one of the journals of the day. "Sardinia has completed her noble exploit—she has once for all asserted her independence; and now, to all intents and purposes, she is in principle free. It needs but a few more steps, after the manner of this beginning, to remodel her religious constitution in detail, in order to obtain her civil and religious independence of the church and court of Rome. The Convents Suppression Bill passed successfully through the secret vote of the Senate, in the proportion of 53 for and 42 against. And since then, the final vote has been attained; and the bill, with the amendment of the Senate, has passed into law, in a 'full House' of 119 members present, of which number 95 voted *for*, and only 23 *against*—thus leaving a majority *against* convents of no fewer than 72."

At the time when this triumph was accomplished (1855) the kingdom of Sardinia had not extended beyond its ancient limits. A few years later, the domains of Victor Emanuel, partly by voluntary annexation, and partly by conquest, were largely extended, and included Bologna and the Legations of Naples, Venetia, and indeed nearly the whole of the Italian peninsula. As soon as these countries were annexed to what then became the kingdom of Italy, Count Cavour and his royal master proceeded at once to extend the laws against convents to these new acquisitions, and to adopt still further measures for the suppression of these institutions throughout his entire dominions. Says a recent traveler and accurate observer from Edinburgh, who spent most of the year 1864 abroad, watching with deep interest the awakening of Italy, and the progress of freedom: "When the Italians, suddenly and roughly awakened by the storms which had swept across their country, had time to look around and survey their position, they found the prospect sufficiently startling. The body politic was covered from head to foot with grievous and cancerous maladies. There was one evil especially which called loudly for correction. An anomalous race swarmed in the country, and, having fastened upon the soil, held great part of it in their unprofitable and ruinous possession. A deep gulf divided the class we speak of from the rest of the nation. Save the outward form, and the animal instincts, its members seemed to have little in common with their kind. Yet their wealth was vast as their numbers were great. Lands, houses, hoarded riches, all were theirs, and in measure so ample that their prosperity mocked the general poverty of the country; and yet the services which they rendered to the state in return were not apparent. 'For what end do these

* For the full text of this papal allocution, see Appendix, p. 869.

persons exist?' 'Is society bound to retain in its bosom a body of men who are devouring it?' Such were the questions which the Italians now began to ask. They did not till the soil, they did not dress the vine, they did not ply the loom, the deep they did not navigate. The mallet, the anvil, the spade they piously eschewed. Not a farthing did they contribute to the state's wealth. They were born only to consume. The business of their lives was to eat, and drink, and sleep; to wake at midnight, or at the first cock-crowing, and sing the praises of Mary, and this edifying service finished, to go back again to their repose. Their overgrown numbers thinned the ranks of industry; their excessive revenues impoverished the resources of commerce. But a yet deadlier injury did their pestiferous example inflict upon society. The shadow of the convent blighted the population on which it fell. Idleness, mendicancy, and vice flourished around its walls; and the cities and districts in Italy where the convents were most numerous, were, as every traveler knows, precisely the places where the poverty was the greatest.

"Awakened Italy immediately addressed herself to the remedying of this monstrous evil. The Sardinian government had tried the experiment on a small scale in 1855. Most of the religious houses had been suppressed, and their revenues devoted partly to the augmentation of small livings and partly to defraying the expense of great national undertakings. But what a storm this sacrilege, for so it was deemed, evoked! From every altar and convent came the mutterings of monkish wrath. These were but the prelude to the louder thunders of the Vatican which now broke over the little kingdom of Piedmont. The tempest, however, rolled past in innocuous noise. Cavour, the prime originator of these bold measures, prosecuted them with unabated vigor. The government of Italy has since applied the same measure to the whole of the peninsula, the papal states excepted. In 1863 a project of law was presented to the Chamber of Deputies for the suppression of the religious corporations, and the management of their property by an ecclesiastical board. This project has now become law; and by that law the various orders of *religieuses* have been suppressed, their goods declared the property of the state, and placed under a board to be administered for such uses as Parliament shall determine; the fathers, in all their varieties, with the modifications to be afterward stated, were dissolved as religious corporations known to the law, and at the same time restored to all their rights as members of civil society; and last of all, lest they should come to want, turned suddenly adrift, unskilled in any industrial or professional occupation, a pension was bestowed on each, regulated according to his age and rank in the convent.

"In this law we have an industrial and social revolution, the importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. Italy has recovered an amount of territory a hundred times more valuable

than the much-coveted papal states. Millions of profitless wealth have been turned into the channels of industry. The sanctified examples of vagabondage and beggary, the bane of the country, have been got rid of. Innumerable fountains of moral pollution have been dried up, and a mighty hinderance to ulterior reforms has been taken out of the path of Italy. A look at the number of the religious houses in the peninsula will give us some idea of the magnitude to which the evil had grown, and the courage required to grapple with it. The documents relied on for authority embrace a complete series of the state papers relating to the suppression of the conventual establishments, and were furnished by the kindness of a member of the Parliament of Italy.* These documents, printed, but not published, and of course accessible only in this way, contain full and most trustworthy information touching the religious houses, the number of their inmates, and the amount of their possessions.

"From these reliable documents, it appears that there were eighty-four orders or congregations in Italy. This number did not include the smaller societies affiliated to the principal orders. These had different names in the different provinces; each had its own special objects. They rendered Italian society a kind of mosaic. Italy had been well named the Levitical state. Of the above eighty-four monastic orders, eighty possessed property, and four were mendicant. These last could own nothing, and lived by begging. Of the eighty propertied corporations, thirty-eight were men, and forty-two were women. The number of convents or religious houses existing at the period of the suppression was 2382. Of this number, 1724 held property, and 658 were mendicant. These establishments were further divided into male and female; or, as they are termed in England, monasteries and nunneries: the former numbering 1506 houses, and the latter 876. The value of property possessed by these convents was estimated at forty million lire, or about sixteen million dollars.

"It appeared also that these eighty-four orders or congregations were further distributed into 15,494 monks, and 18,198 nuns; 4468 lay brothers, and 7671 lay sisters: of monks of the mendicant orders there were 13,441, and 3967 lay brothers; making a grand total of 63,239. Nor did this total, large as it is, express

* Progetto di Legge relativo alla Soppressione di Corporazioni Religiose e disposizioni sull'asse Ecclesiastico. Camera dei Deputati. Sessione, 1863. No. 159.

Relazione della Commissione, composta dei Deputati, etc. Sul Progetto di Legge presentato dal Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia e dei Culti. Sessione 1863. No. 159—A.

Resoconto dell Amministrazione della casa Ecclesiastica: presentato dall Presidente dal Consiglio dei Ministri, Ministro dell Finanze. Sessione 1863. No. 215—A.

Progetto di Legge. Soppressione delle decime Ecclesiastiche. Sessione 1863. No. 158.

Relazione della Commissione, composta dei Deputati Panattoni, etc. Soppressione delle decime Ecclesiastiche. Sessione 1863. No. 158—A.

the whole body of Italian monasticism. The conventual establishments of the papal states, and the religious houses in Piedmont previously suppressed, are not included in it. When we take these into account, we can not reckon the monastic corps of Italy at that time at less than 100,000.*

"It was vain to think of merely pruning this huge and hideous overgrowth; it must be cut down; and government proceeded vigorously to lay the axe at its root. The first article in the project of law presented to the Chamber of Deputies on June 18th, 1864, was as follows: 'That all the houses of the religious orders, and all the congregations, regular and secular, shall cease in the kingdom as associations recognized by the civil law.' The second article proposed, 'That the members of the suppressed corporations shall acquire the full exercise of their civil and political rights from the moment of their leaving the cloister.' The commission which was appointed to consider and report upon this project of law,† altered these articles to the following effect, namely, that the religious orders should be no longer recognized by the state, that their houses should be suppressed, and their goods placed under an ecclesiastical board, and that the members of the suppressed corporations should acquire their civil and political rights from the date of the publication of the law.

"The monks and nuns were not turned adrift, however, without suitable provision for their maintenance. To all below the age of sixty a yearly pension for life of 500 lire, or $200, was granted; and 250 lire to every lay brother and lay sister. To those of greater age a more liberal pension was voted. Provision was also made for the servants of the suppressed monks, according to their age and length of service. A variety of chapters, canons, and titular ecclesiastics were also suppressed, for which still more liberal provision was made.

"The actual result of this law was to sweep away more than half the monasticism which weighed upon Italy. It took effect only upon the *propertied* corporations, and spared the mendicant monks, a numerous body. The mendicants would have shared the fate of the others, that is, they would have been suppressed, had the state been rich enough to pension them. This its resources did not permit, and accordingly the *Capuccini* are still to be seen, with bushy beard, funnel-shaped cowl, three-knotted rope, and wallet on back, perambulating the towns and rural districts of Italy, begging. But from this time forward their ranks can receive no new accessions; and the race must gradually die out. Should the number of the brothers in any convent decrease below six, provision is made that they be drafted into some other build-

* Progetto di Legge relativo alla Soppressione di Corporazioni Religiose e disposizioni sull' asse Ecclesiastico. Sessione 1863. Camera dei Deputati. No. 159.

† Relazione della Commissione, composta dei Deputati Ara, de Donno, etc., sul Progetto di Legge presentato dal Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia e dei Culti. Sessione 1863. Camera dei Deputati. No. 159—A.

ing, and the one vacated by them taken possession of by government. It is now nothing uncommon in Italy to see buildings, recently used as convents, converted into barracks, asylums, and schools, or serving other purposes required by the public exigencies. To see the soldier standing sentinel where aforetime none but monks in cowl and girdle might enter, and to hear lessons conned where chant and orison were wont to be sung, provokes, on the part of certain classes, many a sigh over the declining piety of the age. The Italian priesthood, fruitful in devices, have had recourse to sundry expedients for mitigating—they despair of averting—the calamity with which this law threatens them. Novices, who had not completed their term of novitiate, were entitled to no pension on leaving the convent. But in very many of the religious houses the archbishop, 'out of his inexhaustible compassion,' writes the *Perseveranza*, 'granted a dispensation to these novices, enabling them to take the vow before they had completed the term of novitiate prescribed by the rules of the cloister.' As a consequence, a great many nuns will be found entitled to a pension when the day for closing the convent arrives, who otherwise would have had no claim whatever on the state's beneficence.*

"But despite these evasions, the law will effect its great purpose. In Naples alone, according to the *Conciliatore* of that city, not fewer than eleven convents of monks and six of nuns were suppressed during the first half of 1865. And as regards the whole of Italy, a full half of the monkish brood has already been swept away; and if the mendicants still linger on the scene, it is with the sentence of extinction suspended over their order. A few years more, and the last man who in Italy has worn sandals and borne wallet will be carried to the tomb, and the country completely freed from an incubus which has for ages crushed it.

"Is it the *country* only which the suppression of the convents will benefit? Will it not benefit still more the *wretched captives* shut up in them? What is a convent? The abode of love and holy meditation? So it has been affirmed. The laws of our common nature gainsay the affirmation. He who has ordained that a plant can not live without light and air, has, by laws equally irresistible, made it impossible for virtue to exist when it is not exercised. 'Man in society is like a flower blown in its native bed.' The world, as God has made it, with its numerous relationships and interdependences, affords hourly scope for the exercise of all the virtues—for pity, for benevolence, for trust, for courage, for loving-kindness. In the convent, all these occasions are absent: there is no moral light and air; and to expect love to blossom in a convent, is like expecting color in the darkness, or life in a sepulchre. The heart, finding nothing without, turns in upon itself, and becomes the seat of foul desires, or of evil pas-

* *L'Unitá Italiana*, September 29, 1864.

sions. But why reason from the laws of the human constitution, when there are so many facts at hand telling us what convents have been always and everywhere? But the other day Henrietta Caracciolo opened the doors of the Neapolitan cloisters, and bade us look with our own eyes.* Her womanly delicacy has partly concealed the hideousness which she dared not nakedly discover; still no reader of ordinary penetration can fail to see the awful sufferings of which these places are the abodes, and the shameful wickedness enacted within their walls. Her description reminds us of the picture which St. Paul draws of the heathen world, 'Without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.' Instead of a paradise of purity and love, the cloister, as here drawn, truthfully as we are assured, is a pandemonium, the inmates of which hiss and sting like serpents, and torment one another like furies. And then the vow which makes their sufferings immortal, and leaves them hope of escape only in the grave. Never was there on the earth slavery more foul or more bitter; and never was there decree more humane and merciful than that by which Italy declared that this bondage should no longer disgrace its soil or oppress its children." †

While the friends of freedom in Italy had been thus casting off the convents as a curse and a nuisance, the Romish priesthood had been unusually active in fostering and establishing similar institutions in Great Britain and other countries. In the British Parliament an effort had been made to obtain a law for the legal *inspection* of the convents, but, strange to say, these efforts were defeated. No wonder that a British journalist, in view of this fact, should indignantly exclaim, "Is it not a very suggestive fact that Count Cavour should thus triumphantly have carried through all its stages in the Sardinian legislature, and on so large a scale, what Mr. Chambers could not push beyond a mere preliminary stage in the English Parliament—more especially when we consider that the Sardinian measure contemplated the *destruction* of convents and alienation of their property, while the English proposition regarding English convents, asked only for *inspection*? Our Sardinian neighbors are, I fear, very far in advance of us."

So may we also say in America. The Italian kingdom, in this respect, is very far in advance of us. Is it not enough to make the very blood of an American father or brother boil with indignation to think that hundreds of daughters and sisters of America are, at this moment, immured in these gloomy prison-houses, many of them, doubtless, pining and longing for their liberty;

* Misteri del Chiostro Napoletano: Memorie di Enrichetta Caracciolo de Principi di Forino-ex-Monaca Benedettina, Firenze. 1864.

This interesting Italian work, on the Neapolitan Convents, by the ex-Benedictine Nun, Caracciolo, has been recently translated into English by J. S. Redfield, late United States Consul at Otranto and Brindisi in Italy, with an Introduction by Rev. John Dowling, D.D., and published by A. S. Hale & Co., Hartford.

† See "The Awakening of Italy and the Crisis of Rome," by Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D. Chapter xvii.

and yet that there is no one out of the Romish Church that has the legal right of access to them, however nearly related, and no law which establishes the right even of inspection and inquiry as to the treatment of these helpless females? Does any one doubt that many of such young persons, probably induced to enter these institutions at a time of life when their judgment is feeble and their imagination strong, are compelled to remain against their will? That few of them would remain, if permitted to exercise free volition, is a certainty founded on all we know of human nature. It is useless to argue about it. The situation of these women is utterly unnatural, and must be intolerably irksome until the enfeebled mind loses its power to struggle against misery. Moreover, a number of nuns have, from time to time, *escaped*. Alas! that this word should, in this country, be the only one applicable to the departure of a woman from a house where she has been kept without legal authority. The story told by these is invariably the same. They all have become disgusted with convent life; they all have been eagerly desirous of departure; they all have been carefully watched by their keepers; and they all declare that many, unable to escape, are pining miserably in their cloisters.

Supposing that the real purpose of these houses is religious—admitting all that the priests would have us believe of their own superhuman purity, yet it is horrible that women should be kept in these places after they have found their mistake in going into them. What ground can the priests have for retaining them when no longer nuns at heart? Is it not apparent that if all was right in these places the priests would expel every woman whom they found apostate in soul? Is it reasonable to suppose that they would detain by force, as a bride of the Deity, a young woman whose heart was utterly unfaithful to her vows? It is plain enough that the priests have other than religious views and maxims in relation to convents. Much also has been revealed of the abominations practiced in these places. It has been proclaimed to the world, upon the authority of Catholics themselves, that houses of religion where young women are under the control of Catholic priests are liable to be perverted into places of shocking licentiousness and most unmitigated despotism over the hearts, minds, and persons of the nuns. In Catholic countries, again and again, ecclesiastical authorities, as we have shown, have searched into these matters, and proclaimed the horrible wickedness of the nunneries; and in our own country, now and then a wretched woman has contrived to make known to the American people the fact that foreign ecclesiastics are repeating, in the convents, the conduct charged upon them in Europe.

It is not at all necessary to adduce individual instances, however easy the task, in order to confirm suspicion of the wrong done to American women in convents. No body of men would be likely to have unrestrained power over women without abusing

it; and of all men, the Catholic priests, from the nature of their relation to society, are the least likely to be blameless under these circumstances. When opportunity is continual, restraint unfelt, secrecy secured, exposure fully guarded against, it needs no record to inform us of the consequence.

These women are not under the protection of the law. The law has no knowledge of them; they have no access to it, except at the will of those who keep the keys of their prisons. The law provides that a wife shall have protection against her husband. She may at any time go before a magistrate and make complaint against him, and the magistrate will do her justice, even though he should send the husband to prison. The father has not uncontrolled authority over the daughter. The law shields her against harshness. Were it known that a husband kept his wife locked up, or a father his daughter, an officer of the law would soon inquire into the cause. The woman would have leave to speak, and to speak to those able and ready to redress her wrongs. The state itself is not at liberty to keep a female in prison, without permitting inspection by the grand-jury, that great vigilance committee, which always watches over personal liberty and right. But what a husband may not do—what a father may not do—what the state may not do, is freely accorded to foreign priests that we know not of, except that in the land whence they came, men's hearts are sick and their souls weary because of them. The priests may keep the nuns locked up, nobody interferes; they may offer them the grossest insults, inflict upon them the utmost outrage, and the poor victims can not make complaint. No grand-jury enters these portals, which, once closed upon the nuns, shut them in from all the devices of society for the protection of person. When a nun is removed, nobody knows it; when she dies, nobody necessarily knows it — there are no coroners' inquests in nunneries. Are such places as these suitable abodes for the daughters and sisters of American freemen?

American convents, awed into at least an appearance of decency by the protestant sentiment of the country, may throw a more impenetrable vail of concealment over their dark proceedings; but human nature is the same everywhere; their character is the same; no less than Italian convents are they all dark prison-houses, to those who enter them, of slavery, misery, corruption, and despair. Strange that they should ever exist in these free and enlightened United States! Stranger still that they should sometimes grow and flourish through the patronage and support of protestant Americans! But, strangest of all, that American politicians should sell themselves to Rome, and buy Catholic votes with subsidies drawn from the pockets of protestant tax-payers to these un-American, popish institutions!*

* For some instances of the valuable grants of lands and money donated by public authorities to Roman Catholic institutions, as subsidies for their political influence and their votes, especially in the city of New-York, see Appendix, p.

THE PAPAL THRONE CRUMBLING. EXCOMMUNICATION OF VICTOR EMANUEL.

THE attempts of Pope Pius to stem the advancing tide of liberal opinions recoiled upon his own head. Instead of putting a stop to the reforms of Victor Emanuel and Count Cavour by his allocutions and fulminations, such as those we have cited, these measures only tended to prove to the Sardinian people yet more strongly the galling spiritual tyranny under which the nation had so long groaned, and to intensify the desire which had been growing among the Italian peoples for the abolition of the temporal power of the pope, the separation of church and state, and the establishment of a consolidated Italian kingdom, with its capital at Rome, the ancient city of the Cæsars. The papal manifestoes were utterly powerless to arrest the settled policy of the government, and the people, as a body, sympathized with their rulers in their opposition to the pope and the priesthood.

The pope, meanwhile, held on to his temporal power with a deathly grip, and resisted every proposed encroachment on his domains with an obstinacy and hauteur worthy of the days of Hildebrand or of Innocent. Yet from this time onward, the pope was destined to see his dominions gradually crumbling away, as one city or district after another withdrew from his odious rule, and either raised the standard of independence or sought annexation to the growing kingdom of the Sardinian ruler.

In 1859, war broke out between Austria on the one side, and France and Sardinia on the other. In this struggle, the sympathy of the pope was undoubtedly with the Austrians, who had long been the principal supporters and defenders of the papal throne, and at the same time the hated tyrants and oppressors of the subjects of the pope, where they had been invited to establish garrisons, in order to keep down the spirit of liberty among the people. As a proof of the sympathy of the pope and the papal priesthood with the Austrians in this war, a great religious solemnity, with a grand procession, headed by the pope's nuncio, followed by a large number of other Romish prelates and priests, took place at Vienna, on the 4th of June, when the mass was said by the papal nuncio, and solemn prayers were offered to the Virgin that the Austrian arms might be crowned with victory.

In spite of these papal processions and prayers to the Virgin, however, the Austrians were everywhere routed and beaten. On the very day of the great religious *fête* at Vienna, the Austrians sustained a most bloody and disastrous defeat, at one of the most important of all the battles of this short but destructive war, the battle of Magenta. The result of this decisive French and Sardinian victory was the annexation of Lombardy, with its beautiful capital, Milan, to the dominions of Victor Emanuel.

The war lasted but three months, yet it was decisive, and, throughout, disastrous to Austria. It was terminated by the peace of

Villafranca, July 11th, 1859. Before its close, however, the Austrians had been compelled to evacuate Bologna, Ancona, Ravenna, Rimini, and other cities belonging to the pope's dominions, where they had been allowed to establish garrisons to overawe the people; and no sooner had these unwelcome military protectors left, than most of these cities proceeded at once to take measures to place themselves under the protection of the liberator of Italy, and to seek admission to the Italian kingdom.

In order to arrest this tide of defection from his dominions, the pope, on the 18th of June, issued the following encyclical letter, addressed "to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops in communion with the holy see:"

"VENERABLE BRETHREN: Salutation and apostolical benediction. The seditious movements which have recently broken out in Italy against the authority of legitimate princes, in countries nearest to the States of the Church, have invaded some of our provinces like the flames of a conflagration. Excited by this fatal example and by intrigues abroad, they have thrown off our paternal rule; and, in spite of their small numbers, the adherents of the revolt demand that they shall be subjected to that one of the Italian governments which, of late years, has been the adversary of the church, of its legitimate rights, and of its sacred ministers. Reproving and deploring the acts of rebellion by which a portion only of the people in those disturbed provinces disregard with so much injustice our zeal and our paternal care, and declaring publicly that the temporal sovereignty which the most perfidious enemies of the church of Christ are endeavoring to wrest from it is necessary to the holy see, in order that it may exercise without any obstacle its sacred power for the welfare of religion, we address to you, venerable brethren, this present letter in order to seek, in the midst of such serious disturbance of public peace, some consolation for our sorrow.

"On this occasion we exhort you, on account of your declared piety toward the holy see, and your singular zeal for its liberty, to see to the accomplishment of the prescription which we read was formerly given by Moses to Aaron, the sovereign pontiff of the Hebrews, (Numbers chap. 16:) 'Take a censer, and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly unto the congregation, and make an atonement for them; for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun.' So, also, we exhort you to offer up prayers, in imitation of those of the holy brothers Moses and Aaron, who, prostrate on the ground, cried out, (Numbers chap. 16,) 'Most powerful God of the spirits of all flesh, shall some men sin, and wilt thou be wroth with all the congregation?' That is why, venerable brethren, we send you the present letter, from which we expect great relief, because we feel confident that you will superabundantly respond to our wishes. Moreover, we solemnly declare that, possessed of the virtue from above which God, moved by the prayers of the faithful, will confer on our weakness, we will brave all perils, and undergo all trials, sooner than fail in any respect in our apostolic duty, or do any thing whatever against the sanctity of the oath by which we bound ourselves when, in spite of our unworthiness, we were raised, by God's will, to this supreme seat of the Prince of the Apostles, the citadel and rampart of the Catholic faith."

Two days after the date of this letter, the pope sent, on June 20th, a body of Swiss soldiers in his employ to Perugia, one of his refractory cities, where, meeting with resistance from the in-

habitants, these foreign mercenaries sacked the city and butchered a large number of men, women, and children. But all these attempts of Pope Pius to retain his temporal sway over his former subjects in the Romagna, when freed from their Austrian guards, were utterly in vain. The people, as they felt the shackles of ages falling off, no longer trembled at his threats of excommunication; his spiritual thunderbolts had lost their terrors; his carnal weapons had few to wield them; and the march of freedom was still onward.

On the same day as the massacre at Perugia, the pope issued another of those terrible manifestoes against his rebellious cities, in the form of an address to the cardinals, on the 20th of June, of which the following is the most important passage:

"It is because after having, by means of protestations, sent through our cardinal of state to all the ambassadors and ministers of neighboring powers, expressed our disapproval and detestation of the late culpable attempts at rebellion, that now, venerable brothers, raising our voice in this consistory, we protest with the whole force of our soul against all that the rebels have dared to do in various places, and by virtue of our supreme authority we disapprove, reject, and abolish each and all of the acts committed by Bologna, Ravenna, Perugia, and other places, against our legitimate and sacred authority, and against the principal of the holy see. By whatever name they are called, in whatever way they are performed, we declare these acts to be in vain, illegitimate, and sacrilegious. More than this, for the benefit of all, we recall to memory the EXCOMMUNICATIONS and the other ecclesiastical pains and penalties inflicted at various times by the sacred canons and the decrees of council, especially by that of Trent, against all those who have dared in any way to rebel against the *temporal power* of the Roman pontiff; and we further declare that those who in Bologna, Ravenna, Perugia, or any other city, have dared to violate or trouble the paternal jurisdiction of St. Peter by deed or conspiracy, or in any other way, have already wretchedly fallen under their action."

Soon after the publication of these fulminations, a provisional deputation of citizens of Bologna obtained an audience of King Victor Emanuel at Turin, and presented to him an address, in the name of the inhabitants of the Romagna, with a formal request to be annexed to his kingdom of Sardinia or Piedmont. In reply to this petition of these former subjects of the pope, the king declined, at this time, their offer of annexation, but consented to take under his command the military forces they had raised and offered to the service of Italian independence. The following is the answer to their petition, forwarded by Count Cavour, at the command of the king:

"TURIN, June 28, 1859.

"GENTLEMEN: His majesty the king desires me to thank you for the address presented to him in the name of the inhabitants of the Romagna, in which address, expressing the wish to be annexed to Piedmont, these inhabitants invoke his dictatorship. His majesty, solely intent on the thought of delivering Italy from the yoke of the foreigner, can not venture upon an act which, by causing diplomatic complications, would tend to render the attainment of this object more arduous.

"Nevertheless, acknowledging the nobility and generosity of the senti-

ment impelling those inhabitants to take part in the war waged for this great cause by Piedmont and her generous ally, the Emperor of the French, his majesty can not refuse, notwithstanding his profound respect for the holy father, to take under his direction the forces being organized at this moment in those districts, and which they are preparing to place at the service of Italian independence. He will thus perform the twofold task of directing the coöperation of the Romagna in the war, and of preventing the national movement now in progress from degenerating into disorder and anarchy.

"I ought to add that his majesty has resolved on choosing for his commissioner, to this end, the Cavaliere Massimo d'Azeglio, who has accepted the appointment.

"I beg you, gentlemen, to accept the assurance of my most distinguished consideration."

The result of these struggles between the pope and his discontented subjects of the Romagna was that, soon after the termination of the war, these cities and provinces, by far the most valuable portion of the pope's dominions, were irrecoverably lost to the papal government, and the pope's temporal government was narrowed down to a small district of country around the city of Rome.

While those portions of the pope's subjects who had withdrawn themselves from his government were applying for admission to the kingdom of Sardinia, and their applications were being considered by the congress of that nation, the pope sent a letter or a mandate to the king, dated December 3d, 1859, requesting him to maintain the rights of the papal government to these revolted provinces before that body. To this mandate of the pope, the king replied on the 6th of February, 1861, in respectful terms. The following is the principal part of his letter:

KING VICTOR EMANUEL TO THE POPE.

"Most Holy Father: In your letter of the 3d December last, your holiness requests me to maintain before Congress the rights of the holy see.

"Your holiness, in invoking my coöperation for the recovery of the Legations, seems to intend to make me responsible for all that has occurred in this part of Italy. Before accepting such severe censure, I respectfully ask your holiness to examine the following facts and considerations:

"A devoted son of the church, and descendant of a pious race, as your holiness well knows, I have always sought to reconcile these duties of a Catholic sovereign with those of an independent ruler of a free and civilized people, both in the interior administration of my states and in the direction of my foreign policy.

"For many years Italy has been agitated by events which all tend to the same result—the recovery of her independence.

"As an Italian sovereign, I wanted to deliver Italy; and to bring this about, I thought it my duty to accept the aid of all people of the peninsula in this national war. The Legations, for many years oppressed by foreign soldiers, have revolted as soon as they retreated. They offered me at the same time their help in the war and the dictatorship. I, who had done nothing to provoke this insurrection, refused the dictatorship on account of my respect for the holy see, but accepted their aid in the war of independence, because that was a holy duty for every Italian citizen.

"When the war was terminated, my government renounced all interference

in the affairs of the Legations. And when the presence of a bold (*audacieux*) general was likely to endanger the fate of the provinces, occupied by the troops of your holiness, I exerted all my influence in trying to make him withdraw from them.

"The people, left entirely free and unembarrassed by any outside influence, demanded, even in opposition to the counsels of the most powerful and generous friend Italy has ever had—demanded annexation to my kingdom with a most admirable enthusiasm and unanimity.

"These wishes were not attended to. And, nevertheless, this people, which had shortly before given such unmistakable proofs of its discontent with the court of Rome as to inspire it with continual apprehensions, has governed itself during several months in a most praiseworthy manner. They have attended to all public interests, maintained tranquillity, provided for individual security and the protection of religion. It is a known fact, and which I have taken pains to verify, that in the Legations the ministers of religion are actually more respected and protected, and the temples of God better frequented than they were before.

"But however this may be, it is the general conviction that the government of your holiness can not again obtain these provinces without the employment of arms and foreign troops.

"Your holiness can not desire this. His generous heart and evangelical charity will not consent to the spilling of Christian blood for the sake of regaining a province, which, whatever the result of the war may be, would always remain morally lost to the government of the church. The interest of religion does not demand this.

"I hope your holiness will deign to take these reflections into consideration, dictated as they are by a sincere heart, devoted altogether to his person; and that with his habitual kindness he will bestow upon me his holy benediction. (Signed) VICTOR EMANUEL.

"TURIN, 6th February, 1860."

To this respectful, sensible, and humble letter of Victor Emanuel the pope replied in a far different spirit. He sent the following letter, full of accusations and threats, on the 14th of February, and in the following month resorted to the extremest measures, and hurled against the king and his followers the sentence of the MAJOR EXCOMMUNICATION:

THE POPE TO VICTOR EMANUEL.

"SIRE: The idea which your majesty has sought to explain to me is a very imprudent one, and assuredly unworthy of a Catholic king, and of a king from the house of Savoy. My reply is already on the point of appearing in print, in the encyclical letter to the Catholic bishops, where you can read it.

"For the rest, I am very much affected, not on my own account, but for the unhappy situation of the soul of your majesty, for it is already suffering the penalty of censures; and of those which are yet to follow, when the sacrilegious act shall have been consummated, which you and your followers have the intention of bringing about. I pray the Lord, from the depth of my heart, to illume you with his grace and enable you to see and weep over the scandals which have taken place, and the fruitful evils which have struck poor Italy under your coöperation. (Signed) PIUS IX.

"FROM THE VATICAN, Feb. 14, 1860."

The date of the sentence of excommunication was March 29th, 1860. It was entitled, "Apostolic Letter of our most holy master, Pius IX., pope by the grace of God, by which the punishment of

MAJOR EXCOMMUNICATION is inflicted on the invaders and usurpers of some of our pontifical provinces." The text of this sentence of excommunication is given in the Appendix, (p. 872.) The excommunication is signed by the two papal officers, exercising an office and bearing a title which sounds strange to protestant ears, but proving what has often been asserted, that popery is *a religion of cursing.** The signatures are,

ALOYS SERAFINO, *Apostolic* ***Curser.***
PHILIPPUS OSSANI, *Magister* ***Curser.***

FREEDOM ADVANCING. THE POPE'S BULL AGAINST CIVILIZATION. SYLLABUS OF ERRORS.

THE anathemas which the pope hurled at the head of King Victor Emanuel fell harmless at his feet. Neither the king himself nor the people seemed to think them worthy of notice. Indeed, the thicker and the faster these thunderbolts of papal vengeance fell around him, the stronger was his hold upon the confidence of his people, and the more rapid was his progress toward the consummation of his hopes. Notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication, the king soon found himself the sovereign of a kingdom embracing, with the exception of the small district around the city of Rome, the entire Italian peninsula. In addition to the principal portion of what had been called "the States of the Church," the Duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and the Umbrian Marches soon voluntarily transferred their allegiance to him. Scarcely was this great popular movement effected, when Garibaldi landed in Sicily, and commenced the liberation of that island from the tyranny of that cruel tyrant and obedient tool of the pope, Francis II., the King of Naples. In less than three months he compelled the last of the Neapolitan troops to evacuate the island, and immediately issued a decree, dated May 14th, 1860, that, "considering that in time of war it is necessary that the civil and military power should be concentrated in one man, he therefore decrees that, in the name of Victor Emanuel, King of Italy, he assumes the dictatorship in Sicily." After making sundry regulations for the government of Sicily, with a small but devoted band of followers, he threw himself on the main-land, and boldly struck at the power of the king of Naples in his peninsular domains. In the course of a few days after he landed, the news came that the king had fled, and that Garibaldi had entered the city of Naples in triumph. The feats of this courageous and energetic hero during this year are among the greatest marvels of the age. There is scarcely any event in modern history worthy to be compared with that scene in which Garibaldi, clad in his red shirt

* "Popery a Religion of Cursing." See Appendix, p. 880.

and begrimed with the smoke and dust of battle, met Victor Emanuel of Sardinia, and greeted him as "King of Italy," while the army, and hundreds of voices among the Italian patriots that thronged to the scene, joined in the joyful shout, "*Viva Vittorio Emanuele, Re d'Italia!*"

Soon after these events, Count Cavour proclaimed, in a significant speech in the new Italian Parliament, that Rome was to be the capital of the Italian kingdom. "Italians will be content," said he, "with no other capital, and all obstacles to their will must, sooner or later, yield to patience and firmness; and the temporal power of the pope must be surrendered at the united demand of a nation of twenty millions." This, without doubt, was the settled policy of the Turin cabinet, and its intimate relations with the French court, and the cordial sympathy existing between the two, warranted the opinion that Napoleon assented to the policy. The French troops might hold Rome till the force of public sentiment in Italy compelled them to evacuate it. The emperor, professing a profound regard for the will of the people, on which his throne was built, it was said, would then yield gracefully to the expressed will of a great nation, and the pope, deprived of military support, would be powerless to resist the current. Count Cavour announced with equal distinctness the policy of the new kingdom. It was to be a policy of perfect religious freedom, a complete divorce between the spiritual and the temporal power. The pope was to retain undisturbed possession of the Vatican and the Quirinal, with an ample revenue from the royal treasury as an equivalent for the surrender of his provinces. His spiritual power was to remain unimpaired; and the shrewd statesman suggested that, relieved from the embarrassments of civil government, the pope would lead a happier life; and the people, free from priestly misrule, would rally round him with a heartier submission.

The addition of the new territories to the Italian kingdom, of course, enlarged the area of religious freedom; and a free press and a free Bible were now enjoyed in those cities and districts lately under the harsh and intolerant rule of the pope. In the city of Perugia, the very place where the blood of the pope's subjects had been shed by his hired Swiss soldiery, a singular and suggestive incident occurred on the occasion of the removal of the dogana, or custom-house, between Tuscany and the newly acquired papal territory. Hitherto a duty had been charged upon every thing passing in or out of the country, and Bibles had been entirely prohibited. It had been given out that on a certain day, and at a certain hour, the barrier would be removed and all goods, including, of course, Bibles, admitted free. Accordingly, at an early hour on the morning in question, a Florence colporteur tramped his way to Perugia, and reached the custom-house before the hour named. There he found all kinds of produce in carts and wagons, waiting for the opening of the gates, in order to pass for the first time without paying duty. He thought himself ex-

ceedingly honored in being at the gate with a cargo of Bibles, and at once ranged himself in his place in the line, to take his turn of entry with his precious goods. To his surprise, at three carts' lengths ahead of him, he saw another colporteur who had anticipated him, and be pointed to another who was not only nearer the gate than either of them, but who was positively *the first* in the train of waiters; and so it came to pass that *the Bible went into Perugia before any other thing.*

The anticipations of the great statesman Cavour were not, however, destined to so speedy a fulfillment as he hoped. After the war, Louis Napoleon, from motives of policy, protected the pope from his own subjects, by sending him a garrison of French soldiery, which for a few years longer sufficed to lengthen out his sickly and waning temporal kingdom; and thus delayed for a time the full realization of the conception of Count Cavour of a consolidated and united kingdom of the whole of Italy, with Rome for its capital. Yet, crippled and enfeebled as the old pope was, he clung most tenaciously to his earthly authority and government, and issued, from time to time, bulls and encyclicals and manifestoes of a most extraordinary character, which seemed to partake of the spirit of the eleventh century rather than of the nineteenth, and which reasserted in the boldest and most audacious manner the lofty assumptions and blasphemous claims of the popes of the dark ages, when popery reigned despot of the world.

Such was the encyclical letter of Pope Pius against so-called "errors," with the syllabus of condemned errors, issued December 8th, 1864, fitly called by many "the pope's bull against civilization," a production which created an intense excitement and a wide-spread dissatisfaction, both in Protestant and Catholic countries. We have inserted the most important portions of this extraordinary document in the Appendix.* The letter was followed by a catalogue or "Syllabus of Errors," condemned by the pope, which embodied the substance of the encyclical letter itself. The errors condemned were eighty in number. We have copied twenty of the principal of these condemned errors, with the number prefixed to each, as found in the syllabus. They were as follows:

17. It is an error to say that "We may entertain at least a well-founded hope for the eternal salvation of all those who are in no manner in the true church of Christ."

21. It is an error to say that "The church has not the power of defining dogmatically that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion."

23. It is an error to say that "The Roman pontiffs and œcumenical councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals."

24. It is an error to say that "The church has not the power of availing herself of force, or any direct or indirect temporal power."

* See Appendix, p. 877.

27. It is an error to say that "The ministers of the church and the Roman pontiff ought to be absolutely excluded from all charge and dominion over temporal affairs."

31. It is an error to say that "Ecclesiastical courts for the temporal causes of the clergy ought by all means to be abolished, even without the concurrence and against the protest of the holy see."

35. It is an error to say that "There would be no obstacle to the sentence of a general council or the act of all the universal peoples, transferring the pontifical sovereignty from the bishop and city of Rome to some other bishopric and some other city."

42. It is an error to say that "In the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the civil law ought to prevail."

43. It is an error to say that "The civil power has a right to break and to declare and render null the conventions (commonly called *concordats*) concluded with the apostolic see, relative to the use of rights appertaining to the ecclesiastical immunity, without the consent of the holy see, and even contrary to its protest."

47. It is an error to say that "The best theory of civil society requires that *popular schools* open to the children of all classes, and generally all public institutions intended for instruction in letters and philosophy, and for conducting the education of the young, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference, and should be fully subject to the civil and political power, in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinions of the age."

53. It is an error to say that "The laws for the protection of religious establishments," (that is, convents and nunneries,) "and securing their rights and duties, ought to be abolished; nay, more, that the civil government may lend its assistance to all who desire to quit the religious life they have undertaken, and break their vows." Also to say that "The government may suppress religious orders, collegiate churches, and simple benefices, even those belonging to private patronage, and submit their goods and revenues to the administration and disposal of the civil power."

55. It is an error to say that "The church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the church."

63. It is an error to say that "It is allowable to refuse obedience to legitimate princes; nay more, to rise in insurrection against them."

71. It is an error to say that "The form of solemnizing marriage prescribed by the Council of Trent does not bind, under penalty of nullity, in cases where the civil law has appointed another form, and where it decrees that this new form shall effectuate a valid marriage."

74. It is an error to say that "Matrimonial causes and espousals belong by their very nature to civil jurisdiction."

75. It is an error to say that "The children of the Christian and Catholic Church are not agreed upon the compatibility of the temporal with the spiritual power."

76. It is an error to say that "The abolition of the temporal power, which the apostolic see possesses, would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the church."

77. It is an error to say that "In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state to the exclusion of all other modes of worship."

78. It is an error to say that "It has been wisely provided by law, in some countries called Catholic, that persons coming to reside therein shall enjoy the public exercise of their own worship."

80. It is an error to say that "The Roman pontiff can and ought to re-

concile himself to and agree with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

We have given above but a fourth part of the errors and false doctrines which the pope wishes may be "rebuked, condemned, and proscribed by all the children of the Catholic Church." From these condemned errors we derive the logical deduction that the church, or, at least, the head of it, holds the following, among other propositions:

1. That there *should be a connection between the state and the church*—the connection being, of course, with the Catholic Church, as Catholics do not admit the existence of any other.

2. That the state *should tolerate no religion but the Catholic*, and that the law should not allow immigrants or others to enjoy the free exercise of their own worship.

3. That *liberty of conscience* and of worship is *not the right* of every man, and should not be guaranteed by law.

4. That the church *may exercise its authority, by force*, if necessary, without the consent of the civil power, and that, in a conflict between the two powers, the civil law must give way to the ecclesiastical.

5. That *popular schools*, open, without distinction, to all children of the people, and free from all ecclesiastical authority and interference, *are not advantageous to civil society*, and *should not be allowed.*

6. That the ecclesiastical power is of right divine, distinct and *independent of the civil power.*

It would be difficult to frame a series of propositions more directly in conflict with those fundamental truths which every American and every enlightened protestant considers self-evident, than the above.

This encyclical, with its syllabus of errors, was received by the liberal portion of the Roman Catholic press of Europe with the strongest expressions of disapprobation. It is impossible to attach too much importance to the utterances which proceed from this source. They reveal the sentiment of the people, and show that the Catholics of Europe have made great progress in the direction of religious liberty during the last half-century. If the letter proves that Rome is still the same that she was in the middle ages; that want of power rather than want of will restrains her persecuting spirit—the bold, outspoken criticisms, the animadversions and regrets of the organs of popular opinion, show that she has lost her hold upon the minds and consciences of the peoples over whom she once exercised an undisputed sway. A few extracts from these organs of public opinion will show how the encyclical was received in Europe. The Florence *Nazione* wrote as follows:

"The pope has spoken. His words were awaited with curiosity amid the grave misfortunes which surround his authority. It might have been

thought that some ray of light would have shone forth from Rome. This hope has been deceived. The pope has spoken as the representative of a theocracy which is shaking on every side from collision with the new civilization which is invading it. Pius IX. has spoken against the principles of modern civilization. He has anathematized national liberty, liberty of conscience, the principle of lay authority and personal right. One form of society alone is good and really Christian in the eyes of the pope, that in which the church and the state, closely united, and governed by him to whom 'God has given full power,' may rule and dispose of every thing, even of the thoughts that arise in the mind, and the hands that apply themselves to labor."

The *New Free Press* of Vienna describes the pope's letter as directed against the entire civilization of our epoch. This journal, regarding it as an unauthorized interference of the pope with secular affairs, contends that Catholics are free to condemn it. It says,

"The bitter contest which exists in the church between the Jesuits and the Liberal Catholics has not yet come to an open rupture because Rome has constantly found means of preventing it. This bull will revive all the old fierceness, and God only knows if the court of Rome has still the power of hiding from the outer world the internal antagonism which disturbs it. The liberal section of the upper and lower clergy in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy constitutes the vital element of the church. It is upon it alone that the church must rest if the great process of this century, the renovation of the papal domination, is to be accomplished in peace, without convulsions or catastrophes."

The Vienna *Press* reads in it "a categorical rejection of all possibility of a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and the ideas of progress, liberalism, and civilization that now govern the world. The pope has thrown down the glove to modern thought, and finds the whole world ready to take it up."

The Paris *Débats* observes that "The pope does not confine himself to pointing out and condemning the errors which are contrary to the *doctrines* of the Catholic Church. He departs from the sanctuary to extend his influence over interests of a *civil and political* order. No one can any longer dare," adds the *Débats*, "to go so far as to claim, as in the time of Gregory VII., the right of deposing kings and releasing subjects from their oath of fidelity; but the pretension is clearly shown of interfering in the relations between sovereigns and their subjects, of domineering over one and the other, and of enacting the arbitrator between governments and their people. Between the pretensions of Gregory VII. and that which is put forth a little more timidly in the encyclical, we can only perceive the distance which separates the nineteenth century from the eleventh. We have said, and we formally maintain, that such pretensions are not only opposed to the public but also to the ecclesiastical right of all modern nations, whether Catholic or not, and on that point we appeal, not to the judgment of philosophers and to those who think freely in matters of religion, but to the reason and conscience of all enlightened Catholics."

The Paris *Siècle*, calling attention to the strange singularity that marks the dating of the letter, observes, "The papacy no longer dates from the arrival of St. Peter at Rome, but *from the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, as may be seen by reading the last lines of the encyclical letter, 'Done in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 8th December, 1864, on the tenth anniversary of the dogmatical definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Very Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God.' What is it that this revived and restored papacy preaches to us? A RETURN TO THE MIDDLE AGES."

In marked contrast to the foregoing extracts, we quote the following from the Ultramontane *Monde*, a journal conducted in the true spirit of the middle ages:

"It is so clear to Christians that spiritual interests are above temporal interests, that God is higher than man, and that the church, divinely established, is superior to all purely human societies, that no one of the propositions condemned by Pius IX. can retain for any of us even the semblance of truth. As for the hypocritical press which assumes the mask of Catholicism to weaken the church and quietly destroy the pontifical authority, we leave it to indulge its affected sorrows, to cry that Pius IX. has struck a fatal blow at the progress of Catholicism, and that there is no hope except in 'the irresistible strength of the liberal current;' we will let it blame the pontifical act, while accepting it with 'all the respect due to every thing emanating from the sovereign pontiff;' as the *France* has said, 'Neither violence nor hypocrisy must disconcert us. Rome has spoken; for true Catholics there can not be two modes of receiving its decisions; they do not kneel at first to buffet afterward—they HEAR AND OBEY.'"

It ought to be added that the Ultramontane journals, of which the *Monde* is a specimen, represent but a small and daily decreasing portion of the Catholic population of Europe; while the culture, the intellect, the religious and moral development of the people and the age, speak through those journals which most energetically and heartily condemn this attempt of the pope to bring the world once more under the sway of ancient barbarism.

This remarkable encyclical of the pope, with its "Syllabus of Errors," attracted at first great attention, and produced considerable discussion in America. It was to the interest of Romish priests, however, to lull the tempest. The word was given to the politicians who sought the votes of their people, and the excitement was soon hushed. Yet it should not be forgotten that this document, fit only to be addressed to a nation of slaves, proceeded from the highest authority in the Romish Church, from a pope now declared to be infallible. In it Pius IX. tells the world plainly that it is a damnable heresy and error—the idea that "the Roman pontiff can or ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." Here, then, is a direct challenge to liberalism and modern civilization either to retrace its steps or to be left out of the pale of the church, and to float on to perdition. If such a manifesto from the Roman pontiff could produce such a commotion among liberal-minded Catholics in the old world, what ought to be its effects upon the Catholics of America, where liberalism and progress of every kind are the fixed faith and creed of the entire people? Will they repudiate the doctrines of the pope, or will they accept them as binding truths and attempt to carry them into practice? There are already three or four millions of Catholics in the United States, and it is the boast of their clergy that their numbers are increasing faster than those of all other denominations combined, and that they expect at no distant day to see Catholicity the prevailing faith of the Western World; that they intend and expect to take

America and make it what Italy once was—a thoroughly Catholic country.* What, then, is the position which they propose to take with regard to those great principles of liberty and human progress which are now influencing and permeating the whole of the civilized world? The doctrines promulgated in this circular of Pius the Ninth strike at the corner-stone of our governmental structure and civil policy. It will not do to say that these are mere theoretical doctrines, and that no one, in this country, at least, would think of carrying them into practice. Every theory that is sound, can be, and ought to be, and at some time will be, carried to its logical conclusion; and even false theories, if they are entertained by large numbers of people, will naturally seek to attain their legitimate results. There is an inexorable logic underlying all things, and under no circumstances can it be, consistently, more tenacious and unyielding than in the doctrines and policy of a church which claims to be infallible and eternal. We are aware that most of the doctrines promulgated in this encyclical letter are old, and have been often enunciated from the same quarter; but the extraordinary boldness of this last letter of the pope, and the fierce discussions to which it gave rise in Europe, seem to demand that it should receive some notice and consideration on this side of the water. We have no fears that what the pope terms "liberalism," "progress," and "modern civilization," will be abandoned and "denounced" by the people of the United States at the command of Pope Pius the Ninth, nor do we think that the generous gift of "a month's plenary indulgence," promised by the pope as a reward for following his counsels, will be sufficiently attractive to induce enlightened Americans to indorse the soul-enslaving doctrines of his syllabus.

CENTENNIAL OF ST. PETER. GENERAL COUNCILS. COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN. THE PAPAL INFALLIBILITY DECREED.

THE attempts made by the pope, by the publication of the syllabus, with the accompanying encyclical letter, and other similar manifestoes, to arrest the march of modern civilization, to stop the advance of liberal opinions, and to put back the dial of the world's progress for some seven or eight centuries, were utterly nugatory and vain. The pope's bulls, anathemas, and excommunications were disregarded and derided. The limits of the United Italian kingdom were continually extending, and the encroachments of the excommunicated king were every day approaching nearer and nearer to the Eternal City, and threatening even the

* With reference to the expectations of Roman Catholics in America, and as proof that popery, at the present day, is as persecuting, intolerant, and grasping as ever, see a selection from Roman Catholic journals, Appendix, p. 886.

Vatican itself. The pope saw that something must be attempted, which would attract the attention of the world, in order to rebuke and arrest this contemptuous disregard of papal authority, and to restore again that reverence for the person and office of the sovereign pontiff himself, which of late years had so fearfully declined. The ancient Roman emperors had frequently resorted to gorgeous and splendid pageants, in order to amuse the people and to make them forget the liberties they had lost. Pope Pius resolved to imitate their example. First, he summoned his priestly vassals from all parts of the world, and appointed a festival of unexampled magnificence to be celebrated at Rome, on June 29th, 1867, in commemoration of the eighteenth centennial of the supposed martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome; and second, he soon after took measures to summon a new œcumenical council at Rome, and to obtain a decree for the establishment of the dogma of the papal infallibility.

The centennial of St. Peter was indeed a magnificent display. The middle ages, when popery reigned as despot of the world, never witnessed a more imposing scene. The processions of more than five hundred cardinals and prelates, followed by thousands of priests of every grade, through the streets of Rome, were gorgeous beyond all precedent. The gold laid at the feet of the pope as free-will offerings, by the bishops who, at his bidding, had assembled at Rome from America, and all parts of the Catholic world, sufficed to pay for the costly display, and the world gazed on the scene, astonished at its priceless magnificence, and then quietly wondered at the obedient vassalage of the Catholic millions who would collect such sums for a purpose so utterly extravagant and worthless. And what was the result of all this pomp and display? Did it regain for the poor old pope that reverence and obedience which had been for ages enjoyed by his predecessors, but which was evidently departing from him? So far from this, as if to show the utter hollowness and vanity of the costly pageant then exhibiting, at the very height of the splendor that dazzled the multitudes gathered at Rome, the papal power was about to suffer one of the most fatal defeats of the century, in a country preëminently Catholic. Austria was just then refusing longer to wear the galling yoke, and taking its part in the general revolt of the nations. Elsewhere the property of the church, or its *temporal* dominion, had suffered loss, but here the blow was aimed at that *spiritual* sway which she prizes more than life. The Reichsrath or legislature of Austria, on the 26th of July, 1867, before the festivities at Rome were scarcely over, by an overwhelming majority of one hundred and thirty to twenty-four, adopted a motion of Dr. Herbst, designed to abolish the Concordat between Austria and Rome, which had existed in its worst form since 1855. This measure, in abolishing the Concordat, authorized civil marriage, emancipated the schools from the control of the priests, and gave freedom to every sect for worship and pro-

selytism. The Tyrolese and the Slovack deputies were the only members who continued faithful to the old *régime;* all the others were earnest in their purpose to deliver the state from thralldom to Rome. This defeat was more disastrous to Rome than all that had preceded it. In Austria, for eleven years, the power of Rome had been absolute. She had reigned supreme over emperor, noble, and subject, and every interest of the empire had been in her keeping. She had established the worship; she had conducted the education; her sanction had been required to legalize birth, or marriage, or burial. The nuns had taken charge of the hospitals, and the control of every charity had been intrusted to some religious order. The ideal of a Christian state, as conceived by the great churchmen of the middle ages, had been given into her hands to work out in its highest perfection. The result of this was that, after eleven years of earnest labor, with all facilities at her command, the training of the church had disgusted a Catholic nation, and they refused longer to submit to the tutelage. It was no Protestant movement, stirring up disaffection among the masses; it was an uprising of her own children, disdaining the apron-strings by which they had been led. Rome might well tremble at the auguries for the future. Austria was repeating the *rôle* of Italy.

The intention or purpose which Pius IX. had formed, to convene, at an early day, a new œcumenical council at Rome, the principal object of which was to be the establishment of his own infallibility, and of all the popes that had preceded and should follow him, by a decree of the council, was first announced by the pope in an address to the bishops, assembled at the festival of the martyrdom of St. Peter. The bull of convocation, which was published in the summer of 1868, summoned the council to meet at Rome, on the anniversary of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th, 1869.

This council is claimed by the pope and the ultramontane division of the Romish Church to be a *general* or *œcumenical council* of the collective Christian church.* If the Council of the Vatican is to be regarded as a *general council*, it is the first that has been held in more than 300 years. The last was the Council of Trent, which begun in 1545, and which closed its last session in 1563.

Few subjects have occasioned so great diversity of opinion among Romanists as the relative authority of the pope and of a general council. Some have maintained the superiority of the council to the pope;† others, the superiority of the pope to the council. The councils of Pisa, (1409,) of Constance, (1414,) and of Basel, (1431,) generally received and followed by the Gallican or Cismontane portion of the church, all maintained that the supreme

* For a concise statement and list of the œcumenical councils, see Appendix, p. 898.

† Concilium generale universam representans ecclesiam esse superius papæ. Du Pin, 404. Edgar, 126.

pontiff was subject to the general councils, which is, of course, irreconcilable with the doctrine of papal infallibility.* In accordance with this view, the first named of these councils opposed and degraded the Roman pope, Gregory XII., and his rival the Avignon pope, Benedict XII., and elected in their place Pope Alexander V.

But Gregory and Benedict, refused to consider themselves "deposed," and consequently there were three rival popes, all hurling their anathemas against each other at the same time. It is, to this day, a matter of uncertainty which of them is to be regarded as the legitimate pope, in the line of the successors of St. Peter. This violent breach was known in history as the "*great Western papal schism.*"† It is true, that many Romish writers do not reckon the Council of Pisa among the general or œcumenical councils, yet many equally eminent and equally learned, as Bossuet, the celebrated Bishop of Meaux, and the Gallican writers generally, consider it as fully entitled to this character as any other. This, indeed, is another of the points upon which there is a great diversity of opinion in the Romish Church: what is the true number of the general councils, and which among them are entitled to that rank; and the time will doubtless come when the right to that distinction of the recent Council of the Vatican, which has decreed the papal infallibility, will be questioned as earnestly as that of Pisa and of several others. Indeed, many able writers upon the Council, including the eloquent Father Hyacinthe, of Paris, the learned Professor Döllinger of Munich, and the authors of *The Pope and the Council*, have already denied the claim.

"An œcumenical assembly," or general council, "of the church," says Janus, "can have no existence, properly speaking, in presence of an *ordinarius ordinariorum* (equivalent to bishop of bishops) and infallible teacher of faith. . . . Bishops who have been obliged to swear 'to maintain, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honors, privileges, and authority of their lord the pope' —and every bishop takes this oath—can not regard themselves, or be regarded by the Christian world, as free members of a free council; natural justice and equity require that. These men neither will nor can be held responsible for decisions or omissions which do not depend on them. Whatever course the synod may take, one quality can never be predicated of it, namely, that it has been really a free council. Theologians and canonists declare that without complete freedom the decisions of a council are not binding, and the assembly is only a pseudo-synod. Its decrees may have to be corrected." ‡

The pope's bull convening the council was a pompous and pretentious but most characteristic document. The following are the most important portions:

* Summum pontificem subesse conciliis generalibus. Gibert 2, 7. Cossart 4, 113; quoted by Edgar, 126.

† See the preceding History, pp. 373, 374.

‡ See The Pope and the Council, by Janus, p. 343.

The Pope's Bull convening the Council.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ chose Peter, whom he had declared to be prince of the apostles, his vicar on earth, and head, foundation, and centre of the church, so that, invested with this rank and honor, and with amplitude of chief and full authority, power, and jurisdiction, he should feed the sheep and the lambs, confirm the brethren, rule the universal church, and be the gatekeeper of heaven, and arbiter to bind and to loose; the effect of his judgment remaining unaltered in heaven. And that the unity and integrity of the church and her government might remain perpetually immutable, therefore the Roman pontiffs, successors of St. Peter, sitting in this same Roman chair of Peter, inherit and possess in full vigor the very same supreme authority, jurisdiction, and primacy of Peter over the whole church."

Referring to the evils which the pope expected to be remedied by this council, the pope says, "It is already known and manifest to all how horrible a tempest now agitates the church, and what grievous ills afflict civil society. The Catholic Church, her salutary doctrine, her venerated power, and the supreme authority of this apostolic see, are opposed and set at naught by the bitter enemies of God and man. All sacred things are contemned, ecclesiastical property is plundered, bishops and honored men attached to the divine ministry, and men distinguished for their Catholic sentiments, are troubled in every way, and religious families suppressed. Impious books of every kind, pestilent journals, and multitudinous and most pernicious sects are spread abroad on all sides. The education of the unhappy young is nearly everywhere withdrawn from the clergy, and, what is worse, is in many places confided to masters of impiety and error."

In a style which must remind every Bible-reader of the decree of Nebuchadnezzar to all peoples, nations, and languages, "to worship the golden image which he had set up," the pope then proceeds to summon his vassals to the council:

"For this cause, strong in the authority of God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, which authority we represent on earth, we, with the counsel and consent of our venerable brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, by these present letters announce, convoke, and ordain the sacred Œcumenical and General Council, to be holden in that our city of Rome in the coming year, 1869, in the Vatican Basilica, commencing upon the 8th day of December, sacred to the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and to be prosecuted and conducted to its termination by the help of God, to his glory, and to the salvation of all Christian peoples. We therefore desire and command that our venerable brethren, the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, as also our beloved sons, the abbots, and all others who, by right of privilege, are entitled to sit in general councils and to manifest their opinions to the same, should from all parts repair to this Œcumenical Council, convoked by us, and to this effect we invite, exhort, and admonish them, both in virtue of the oath they have taken to us and this holy see, and of holy obedience, and under the penalties by law or custom decreed against those who fail to appear at the councils.

"No man will be at liberty," he adds, in conclusion, "to oppose or rashly contravene this our indiction, announcement, convocation, statute, decree, command, precept, and invitation. And if any shall presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul."

On the appointed day, December 8th, 1869, this council was opened with those grand and imposing ceremonies which Rome knows so well how to use. By six o'clock in the morning, the streets of Rome were thronged by thousands making their way to

St. Peter's church; and by seven, every part of the vast area was filled by an excited and expectant crowd.

After the celebration of the pontifical high-mass by Cardinal Patrizi, and the preaching of an introductory sermon, which was in Latin, by the Archbishop of Iconium, the pope gave his blessing, and the gospel was recited, which ended the service of the mass. After the mass was over, the altar was cleared, and the attendants brought in a rich, throne-like stand, and placed it on the altar. The pope then assumed his full pontifical robes, and the cardinals and all the prelates, in their order according to rank, approached, one by one, and kissed the pope's hand or the stole he wore. Four chanters then intoned the litany of the saints in the well-known strains of the Gregorian chant, after which the pope recited the prayers that follow the litany. After some other ceremonies, a discourse or allocution was delivered by the pope, who afterward intoned the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the members of the council responding in the alternate strophes.

Monsignor Fessler, the secretary, then mounted the pulpit and read aloud what was called the first proposed decree—"THAT THIS HOLY VATICAN COUNCIL BE AND IS NOW OPENED." The fathers all answered, *Placet*, the word employed in Romish councils to express the assent of the members; the pope gave his sanction; the formal decree was passed and proclaimed, and the notaries were instructed to make an official record of the same. A second decree was then in like manner proposed, voted, and sanctioned, fixing the second public session for the festival of the Epiphany, January 6th, 1870.

After half-past two, the closing *Te Deum* was intoned by the pope, and accompanied by the famous choir of the Sixtine Chapel, who took up the strain, intertwining the melody with artistic harmonies, while thousands of the bishops, clergy, and laity responded with one accord. The thrilling power of such a vast multitude of voices was said to have been irresistible. "Tears would come unbidden to the eye," says a Roman Catholic spectator of the scene, "and the lip quivered as you instinctively united your voice to that of the multitude." (See *Cath. World*, 1870, p. 704.)

After this service, the pope unrobed and withdrew with his attendants, and the ceremonies of the opening of the council were at an end. It was past three o'clock before all the bishops could issue from the hall and leave the church. The crowds slowly departed, the immense numbers for a long time seeming undiminished; and the shades of evening found hundreds still lingering around the portals of the sacred edifice.

The number of prelates from all parts of the world to take part in the council is stated to have been 766. Of these, 541 were from Europe; 114 were from America; 83 were from Asia; 14 were from Africa; and 14 from Oceanica. Of the 541 from Europe, 36 were from the British Isles; namely, 14 from England, 20 from Ireland, and 2 from Scotland. Of the 114 from

North and South-America, 49 were from the United States. The proceedings of the council, and of the different large committees, to whom almost the entire business was intrusted, were mostly secret. But few of the meetings of the council were public; and, even in these, it was almost impossible for the spectators to learn even the *subject matters* before the council, owing partly to the feeble voices of the fathers, many of whom were aged; partly to the fact that all spoke in the Latin language, which was uttered with all the variety of provincial intonation and accent peculiar to the nation to which each speaker belonged; and partly from the defective acoustic properties of the hall of audience, which rendered hearing exceedingly difficult, even to the fathers, but much more so to the spectators.

During the progress of the council, much was written in the public journals relative to the course of the debates upon the different topics introduced, and the diverse opinions entertained and expressed by the various members of the council; also, of the speeches delivered, and of the scenes and incidents which transpired during the various sessions. Some of these accounts, published in different periodicals from "correspondents at Rome," were undoubtedly correct, but most of them were, probably, unreliable or purely imaginary. Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, the successor of Cardinal Wiseman, and one of the most noted members of the council, casts discredit upon all these accounts. In a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, Dr. Manning expresses his opinion of the unreliableness of these reports in the following concise and pointed advice to the clergy of his diocese: "Read carefully the correspondence from Rome, published in England; *believe the reverse*, and you will not be far from the truth." But little, therefore, can be known with certainty of what actually occurred except by the fathers themselves; nor is this a subject of regret. To the world at large, it is certainly a matter of very little importance what were the sayings or the doings of this multitudinous assemblage of Roman Catholic theologians and casuists, upon such a subject as the pretended infallibility of a weak and erring mortal like the pope of Rome. If they should declare him infallible, to thinking men the idea seems absurd that their declaration would make him so, or prove that he had been infallible in the past, or would be so in the future; especially when the council was convened and the declaration brought about by the pope's own contrivance and design.

For these reasons, we gladly spare ourselves the task of attempting to sift these various and conflicting accounts, and of reconciling with each other the contradictory statements they contain; especially as the few grains of truth we might discover would scarcely be of sufficient importance to compensate for the trouble of the search.

The entire result of the discussions and labors of the council of any moment, consisted of two documents, called "Dogmatic

Constitutions;" which, after great preparation and protracted debate, were proclaimed and published upon official authority, and duly authenticated and indorsed by the pope himself.

The first of these constitutions was entitled, "*Constitutio Dogmatica de Fide Catholica*," and was passed April 24th, 1870. It consisted of four chapters: "Of God," "Of Revelation," "Of Faith," and "Of Truth and Reason." Its design was to reaffirm the doctrines of the Council of Trent, and to condemn the modern errors and heresies which have recently sprung up, and especially of those who have despised the authority of that council. It was followed, as has always been customary with this *religion of cursing*, by the canons pronouncing the terrible ANATHEMA on all who should dare to question its decrees. These canons embody the substance of the various real or supposed heresies condemned in the decree. (See Appendix, p. 901.)

The second of these constitutions was entitled, "*Constitutio Dogmatica Prima de Ecclesia Christi*," and was proclaimed July 18th, 1870. This also consists of four chapters: *First.* "Of the institution of the apostolic primacy in blessed Peter." *Second.* "On the perpetuity of the primacy of blessed Peter in the Roman pontiffs." *Third.* "On the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman pontiff." *Fourth.* "Concerning the infallible teaching of the Roman pontiff." (For the text of the Decree on Papal Infallibility, in Latin and English, see Appendix, pp. 904, 909.)

The *general congregation* of the fathers, for the purpose of voting on the papal infallibility, was called on the 13th of July. The final vote was not unanimous, although the decree was adopted by a large majority. The vote was as follows: 451 *placets*, or votes of approval; 62 *placets juxta modum*, or approval with some modification; and 88 *non placets*, or votes of disapproval. At the *fourth public session*, which was held July 18th, for the purpose of a public vote and proclamation of the new dogma, the name of each prelate who had assisted at the council was called, when 534 answered *placet;* 2 had the courage to reply, even there, *non placet;* and 106 absented themselves, the far greater number of such absentees having staid away because they could not vote favorably upon the papal infallibility.

The pope then arose, as soon as the vote was made known, and announced that all, with the exception of two, had voted favorably. "Wherefore," said he, "by virtue of our apostolical authority, with the approval of the sacred council, WE DEFINE, CONFIRM, AND APPROVE THE DECREES AND CANONS JUST READ."

Immediately upon the utterance of these words, by which the pope had, at length, officially proclaimed himself to be INFALLIBLE, murmurs of enthusiastic approval were heard from the assembled papal devotees, which soon swelled into a triumphant shout of acclamation, that resounded through the church, and was echoed by the thousands outside: *Viva Pio Nono Papa Infallibile!* VIVA PIO NONO PAPA INFALLIBILE!! LONG LIVE PIUS IX., THE INFALLIBLE POPE!!

DOWNFALL OF THE TEMPORAL KINGDOM OF THE POPES.

CONCLUSION.

ONE of the objects which Pope Pius had in view in summoning so grand and august an assemblage of Romish dignitaries to Rome, and in the enactment and proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility, was evidently the reëstablishment and confirmation of his rapidly waning temporal power and dominion. It was not unreasonable that he should hope that the *prestige* of such an occasion as a new œcumenical council, and the establishment of his own infallibility, would awe into submission those opposers who had of late so earnestly sought the overthrow of his temporal power and dominion.

Within a few years he had seen his territories contracting, and the number of his subjects diminishing at a most alarming rate. Previous to 1859, the territory of the Pope embraced an area of 17,128 square miles, with 3,124,668 inhabitants. Before the convening of the Council of the Vatican, it had been reduced, by the annexation of the greater part of it to the kingdom of Italy, to 4891 square miles, with 692,106 inhabitants. Of the former twenty "legations" and "delegations" into which the territory was divided, only five remained, namely, Rome, with 326,509; Viterbo, with 128,324; Civita Vecchia, with 20,701; Velletri, with 62,013; and Frosinone, with 154,559 inhabitants.

It was not to be wondered at that, in view of this rapid decrease of his temporal kingdom, the pope should become alarmed for its very existence. Besides this absorption of so large a part of the papal territories into the new kingdom of Italy, the pope had another cause of alarm, in the spread of opinions, soon adopted by many of the priesthood themselves, adverse to his temporal power. To such dangers as these he alluded in an allocution, delivered shortly before the centennial of the martyrdom of St. Peter, of which the following are extracts:

"VENERABLE BRETHREN: More than once, O venerable brethren! exercising our apostolic office, we have declared, either in our published letters or in divers allocutions delivered in your most august assembly, the affliction which has hung for a long time in Italy over the affairs of our very holy religion, and the very grave insults offered to us and to the holy see by the sub-Alpine government. . . . . Therefore, we raise anew our voice, and with all our strength we deplore and condemn all and each of the things, which, contrary to the church, its laws and its rights have been decreed, done, and attempted by the sub-Alpine government, and by all other subordinate authorities; and by our apostolic authority we abrogate and proclaim null and void, and without force or effect, all the aforesaid decrees and every thing that appertains to them. . . . . Foolish are those who do not cease to demand of us, already despoiled, and with the most manifest injustice, of several provinces of our pontifical territory, that we should renounce our *civil sovereignty* and that of the apostolic see. Surely every one must see how unjust and prejudicial to the church is such a demand. . . . . On every side are continually heard frenzied voices,

which find an echo in our desperate enemies, declaring that this city of Rome must share in this Italian perturbation and rebellion—nay, must become *its capital*. But God, who is rich in mercy, will, by his omnipotence, make the impious counsels and desires of our enemies fail."

Notwithstanding these earnest protestations of the pope against the limitation or the abolition of his temporal power, and especially against making Rome the capital of the Italian kingdom, there were many of the most learned and able of the scholars and writers of the Romish communion, who advocated the confining of the pope's office to the *spiritual* government of the church; although by so doing they incurred the anger of the pope, who would brook no opposition on the subject, and exposed themselves to imminent danger. One of the most influential personages about this time in the religious affairs of Italy was a learned and distinguished Italian Jesuit, Carlo Passaglia. By thirty years of patient study and discipline, he had become a master in patristic lore, and had reached the highest eminence as a student of the metaphysics and theology of the Roman schools. When the pope had desired to establish the new dogma of the immaculate conception, by proofs drawn from musty volumes of mediæval lore, he had turned to Passaglia for help, and the work was done. This great feat of ecclesiastical legerdemain, by which nothing was made of nothing, was regarded by Pope Pius with gratitude and admiration, and this profound student of the schoolmen and interpreter of the fathers had long been one of his most trusted advisers. At length, in an evil hour for himself, the pope sent Passaglia to negotiate with Count Cavour for the adjustment, if possible, of the difficulties between himself and the Sardinian government. The result was, this counselor and adviser of the pope became a convert, on the subject of the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power, to the views of the enlightened Sardinian statesman, went back to Rome, declared himself in favor of abrogating the temporal power of the pope, and soon began to use the patristic learning with which he had argued for the immaculate conception as a two-edged sword, to prove from the same source that the successor of St. Peter, the fisherman, could have no claim to the character of a temporal sovereign. The admiration of the pope for the learned casuist was now changed to hatred. The Jesuits sought his life. An English Catholic lady concealed him for a few days in her own house, but was warned by friendly priests that his only safeguard from poison even there would be to eat nothing but eggs. The Palazza Spada, in which the lady lived, was watched by the papal police, but the fugitive contrived to escape from Rome in disguise. After traveling in great danger, like some hunted fugitive slave, the next morning, exhausted with hunger, fatigue, and want of sleep, Passaglia saw upon the walls of the houses in a village, which he had reached by crossing fields and traveling all night on foot, the words, "*Viva il Re Vittoria Emmanuele!*" ("Long live King Victor Emanuel!")

and that moment he knew that he was safe. He was welcomed with enthusiasm by Cavour and the people of emancipated Italy; and from that time became the leader in a movement to secure a voluntary resignation of the temporal power of the pope. In the course of one year, thousands of Italian priests signed a petition to that effect; but the pope only answered them with reproaches, suspended a large number of them from all their spiritual functions, thus depriving them of their means of support, and strove to starve them into submission to his will. In fact, there was no one subject upon which the aged pope was so sensitive as the question of his right to reign, not only as a *spiritual* pontiff, but as a *temporal monarch*. All his words and actions showed that his determination was fixed, unless absolutely forced, never to relinquish his grasp upon the earthly sceptre so long as life should last.

Yet in this determination, so obstinately adhered to by the pope, he was destined to learn that there was an arm stronger than his own; and the proudest act of his life, the proclamation of his own infallibility, was but the prelude to the striking of the blow. While the closing festivities of the great Council of the Vatican were yet in progress, a broad and black shadow of coming disaster to the papal power had cast a sombre gloom over the inmates of the Vatican. A fierce and terrible war had just broken out between France and Prussia. Louis Napoleon, who needed all his forces to carry on his great struggle with his powerful enemy, William of Prussia, had withdrawn his soldiers from Rome, thus leaving the pope unprotected, except by the slender force of papal troops that he kept in his pay.

All Italy was in a ferment of excitement, many clamoring for a united Italian republic, and nearly all, with one voice, insisting upon the abolition of the temporal power of the pope. The indignation against the pope and the priestly government of Rome was excessive. Threats were freely made against Victor Emanuel by the Italian republicans, that unless he should depose the pope from the government of Rome and make that city the capital of United Italy, his own throne would be in danger, and a great Italian republic would soon be proclaimed throughout the entire Italian peninsula.

Meanwhile the war proclaimed by France against Prussia, on the 15th of July, had resulted in a manner little expected by Louis Napoleon, when he threw down the gauntlet with such abounding confidence, and challenged the kingdom of Prussia to mortal combat. In about six weeks the Prussians had gained a series of brilliant victories scarcely paralleled in history. The French emperor had surrendered after the Prussian victory of Sedan, and was a captive at Wilhelmshöhe; and soon after, King William and his victorious troops were encamped around the walls of Paris, the magnificent capital of France.

These triumphs of the German arms over the French troops left the kingdom of Italy free to work out her superb destiny. Three

weeks after the capture of the French emperor, the soldiers of Victor Emanuel took possession of the city of Rome. On the 20th of September, the city was taken, after a feeble resistance from the papal soldiers. The Italian soldiers were received by the people of Rome with the greatest enthusiasm, and welcomed as liberators of Rome. Old men ran about with tears in their eyes, waving their hats and their handkerchiefs. Windows were filled with ladies waving tri-color flags and ribbons. The air was filled with cries of exultation. The general commanding was actually besieged by men, women, and children kissing his hands and the very legs of his horse, and crying, "Long live our liberators!" About fifty men ran up the staircase of the capitol, broke open the doors, ascended the towers, and hoisted the Italian flag.

In the evening, the streets were brilliantly illuminated and crowded. Bands of persons with tri-color flags and torchlights paraded the streets. Every Roman had one of the soldiers by the arm; the women begged the feathers of their hats and kissed them. Old men and women were seen embracing the soldiers of Italy, and crying, "Don't leave us." The Corso looked like a fairy scene with thousands of colored lamps and houses covered with flags. A group of people lit Bengal fires and illuminated the stately Colosseum, and the voices of men and women cried *vivas* in the midst of the amphitheatre.

The same day many thousands of citizens assembled at the Colosseum, and elected a provisional *giunta*, composed of forty-two members. In the evening, the people liberated the political prisoners who were shut in Castello and St. Michele. This prison was guarded by gendarmes and squadriglieri, and in it the most important patriots were shut: Cardinal Petroni, condemned for life, and already a prisoner for nineteen years; the Doctor Castellazzo, Count Pagliani, Giulio Ajani, and Cesare Sterbini, condemned for life, and already imprisoned, some for three years, and others even longer. The prison of St. Michele is in the district of Rome called the Trastevere, and the women, who had heard of the misery of the prisoners, had for many years tried to liberate them by throwing petitions to that effect in the carriage of the pope, or crying to him as he passed, "Holy Father, free those unfortunate creatures!" When, therefore, the liberated prisoners passed through the Rione Trastevere, they were carried in triumph, and there were few who did not shed tears at the sight of their thin and wan faces, and their prematurely whitened hair and galley-slave costume.

Next morning there was a grand reception given to the liberating army. The streets were as full as they possibly could be, and the lancers had the greatest difficulty in proceeding. To one looking down the Corso, the very houses seemed to move, for the banners and the thousands of waving handkerchiefs hid every inch of wall and roof from sight. General Cadorna, the Italian commander, who witnessed this scene from the balcony, was called

How the Inhabitants of the Leonine City, the Pope's own Home, voted.

out by the cheers of the assembled thousands, and waving his handkerchief cried, "LONG LIVE ROME, THE CAPITAL OF ITALY!"

On the 2d of October, the *plebiscite*, or vote of the people of Rome, was appointed to take place, in order to decide whether the people desired to perpetuate the temporal government of the pope, and to retain him as their sovereign, or to accept of Victor Emanuel as their king, and to make the city of Rome the capital of the new kingdom of Italy.

Again there was a scene of unparalleled interest and excitement. *Fifty thousand* votes were cast for Victor Emanuel, and *fifty* for the pope—*one thousand* to *one*.

The city of Rome is divided into fourteen districts. Each district is called *Rione*. The *Rione di Borgo* contains the church of St. Peter's, the palace of the Vatican, and the castle of St. Angelo. This district is often called the *Leonine City*, from Pope Leo; it being the residence of the popes. The pope was very desirous that the people of the *Leonine City* should take no part in the election, and earnest attempts were made to prevent it. The degree of success that attended these attempts to repress the popular expression in this papal quarter of the city may be known from the following letter from an eye-witness of the scene:

"Despite the prohibitions and the manœuvres to prevent their voting," said this writer, "the banner of the inhabitants of the Leonine City floats alone in front of the senators' palace of the capitol. 'Six thousand Romans, inhabitants of the Borgo, simply because St. Peter's and the Vatican chanced to be built in their midst, condemned to have their Rione reduced to a Catholic Ghetto;' as one of their returned exiles said, 'Impossible!'

"So the '*Leonines*' gave it clearly to be understood that vote they should, and vote they would; if prevented legally, by setting up a private *plebiscite* of their own. At last some wit suggested that, instead of summoning the Romans to vote by corporations, they should vote as trades—merchants, tailors, soldiers, sailors, etc. Thus, if they had a mind, the Leonines could come in.

"The idea was adopted, and the different arts and trades chose their rendezvous, and, with flags and music, marched to the different voting places, and thence to the piazza of the capitol, up the Via Crucis, down the central staircase, at the foot of which are the two Egyptian lions. Each procession was hailed with a burst of music from one of the three bands which occupied the piazza.

"The most imposing procession was that of the artisans—over 5000—and the inimitable gesture of their standard-bearer as he turned at the top of the central staircase, between the statues of Castor and Pollux, and, pointing to the immense line, seven file deep, exclaimed, 'Here are the four *faziozi*,' or disturbers of the peace, will never be forgotten by those who heard and saw. He alluded in this ironical remark to a papal expression, uttered some time before, that there are but 'four malcontents (*faziozi*) in Rome.

"The most touching procession was that of the returned exiles, who, if all were here, would amount to 20,000. They came with their flag, 'Returned Exiles,' and had a magnificent welcome. But the procession of the day was that of the Leonines. The voters had prepared a crystal urn, in which they deposited their 'Si's' (*Ayes*) with a notary to witness, sign, and seal. All night they worked at their banners; at eleven they started from the piazza San Pietro, deafening pope, cardinals, and priests with the 'Royal March.' They had over forty banners. Our eyes grew dazzled at the eternal 'Si, si, si. (*Yes, yes, yes!*) We will the annexation.' The flag of the city was splendid, with 'Città Leonina,' in Roman characters, 'Si, si, si,' and the words 'Liberty and work.' At least 2000, on they marched, with their sealed crystal urn in front, applauded by the spectators on the pavement, by the myriads from the balconies and windows. On to the capitol, where each voted *in propriâ personâ*, amid the shouts of the populace and the music of the bands." Amid all this rejoicing, the pope and the cardinals secluded themselves within the walls of the Vatican, and even there they were hardly secure from the indignation of the Romans, whose shouts of exultation and joy they could hear ringing through the city, and over whom they had so long ruled with a rod of iron. The rejoicing of the liberated people continued for several days; and soon there was seen inscribed on every vacant wall in the city, and on the façade of almost every house, as expressive of the desire of the inhabitants of Rome for the permanent annexation of their city to the Italian kingdom, the words, "*Vogliamo l'annessione al regno costituzionale di Vittoria Emanuel*,"—that is, "We desire annexation to the constitutional kingdom of Victor Emanuel."

Such was the intense delight with which the inhabitants of the city of Rome welcomed their release from what had been called "the *paternal government*" of the pope and the priesthood. They had long sighed for deliverance, and they would have gained it earlier had not their patriots been thrown into dungeons, or executed like Ugo Bassi, and they themselves been held in terror by Austrian or by French bayonets. But deliverance had come at last, and the whole population were intoxicated with joy. Inquisitorial dungeons had opened and sent forth their suffering captives; and henceforth would no more echo to the sighs of Roman patriots and of God's suffering children, honored by their persecutors by the name of *heretics*. The pope was no longer a king, but a simple priest. The cunning and oppressive Antonelli, so long the prime minister and chief agent in the cruelties and oppressions of his government, must lay aside his authority, for his occupation was gone. As a cardinal, he might still wear his red hat; but he could no longer wield the blood-red sword of persecution and terror, and keep it red with the blood of patriots and of martyrs, like those of Perugia, who had been publicly butchered by his authority, and the hundreds of the best men of Italy, who,

for a generation past, had been more privately slain by his orders. Cardinals and priests must henceforth be amenable, like their fellow-citizens, to the civil government, and, like other offenders, must be liable to punishment for their crimes.

The government of the priesthood was at an end. The voice of the people had been heard, and Rome was restored to its ancient dignity as the capital of Italy. No wonder that the voice of gladness and rejoicing was heard in the streets of Rome. The chains were broken; the victims of oppression were delivered; and none but the oppressors mourned.

There is something very remarkable in the rapidity with which events connected with the downfall of the temporal power of the pope followed each other in quick succession, after the establishment of the papal infallibility. Let us recapitulate them in the order of their sequence:

On Wednesday, the 13th of July, 1870, the dogma of the infallibility of the pope was enacted into an article of faith, by the votes of the Council of the Vatican at Rome, and was publicly, and with great pomp and parade, proclaimed by Pope Pius IX. a few days afterward.

On July 15th, war was most unjustly and causelessly proclaimed and commenced by the Emperor Louis Napoleon of France, long the protector and favorite of the pope, against King William of Prussia, one of the foremost protestant sovereigns of Europe.

On September 1st, this protector of the pope and "eldest son of the church," as he had been styled, Louis Napoleon, was captured by the aforesaid protestant king, after a series of unsuccessful but fierce and bloody battles, and carried captive into Prussia, as a prisoner of war.

On September 20th, the city of Rome and the pope himself were captured by the soldiers of Victor Emanuel, a king whom he had himself excommunicated, and the pope was permitted to retire to his palace of the Vatican, but divested of all sovereign authority.

On October 2d, the vote of the people of the city of Rome, subjects of the pope, was taken upon the question, whether Rome should be permanently annexed to the dominions of Victor Emanuel, and it be acknowledged as the capital of the Italian kingdom; or whether the city should continue as heretofore, under the government of the pope. The question was decided against the pope by a majority of a *thousand* to *one*. Thus, by a virtually unanimous vote of the people of Rome, an end was put—it is to be hoped forever—to that Antichristian usurpation, the temporal kingdom of the popes, after a continuance of about eleven hundred years.

On the 18th of July, when the assembled hosts in St. Peter's heard the voice of the PONTIFF KING proclaiming himself to be INFALLIBLE—a prerogative belonging only to Deity—in the shout with which they rent the air, they did but echo the blasphemy of

the worshipers of King Herod, of whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles, (ch. 12, vv. 21, 22, 23,) "And upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, 'IT IS THE VOICE OF A GOD, AND NOT OF A MAN.' And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost."

In the judgments which so speedily followed in both cases, the punishment of the haughty King Herod was the most terrible of the two; for "the angel of the Lord smote him," so that he died a miserable death; while Pope Pius was spared to linger out, stripped of his beloved earthly sceptre, the brief remnant of a life sadder to him, if we may judge from his mournful complaints, than even death itself.

The sentence and the fate of the king of ancient Babylon bore a more striking resemblance to the sentence and the fate of the king of this modern "Babylon the Great." Nebuchadnezzar in the pride of his heart had said, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built?" So Pio Nono had said in the pride of his heart, "AM I NOT NOW INDEED INFALLIBLE?"

Then, like Nebuchadnezzar, "he was deposed from his kingly throne." And the inspired history which the Bible gives of the one is an equally true history of the other. (Daniel 4: 29, 30, 31.) "He walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon; and the king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty? And while the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O KING! TO THEE IT IS SPOKEN:

"THE KINGDOM HAS DEPARTED FROM THEE!"

APPENDIX.

FATE OF MARIA JOAQUINA ALVES AND THE MADEIRA EXILES.

On page 614 of the foregoing History, an account is given of the persecution and condemnation to death of this lady in the Portuguese island of Madeira, in the year 1844, for the crime of heresy! On page 615 the author expresses a doubt whether the popish priesthood of Madeira would dare, in the light of the nineteenth century, to cause this sentence to be executed. The result has justified this doubt. Mrs. Alves, and about six hundred other victims of popish persecution, were permitted to escape to Trinidad, in the West-Indies, whence the larger number of them were afterward assisted to settle in the United States. A deeply interesting account of the sufferings of these persecuted disciples of Christ, and of the lamented but triumphant death of their pastor, Rev. Arsenio Nicos Da Silva, written by the late Rev. Herman Norton, has been published, entitled, *Record of Facts concerning the Persecutions at Madeira, the Flight of a thousand Converts to the West-India Islands; and also the Sufferings of those who arrived in the United States.*

From this interesting little volume we learn that when Maria Joaquina was lying in prison at Madeira, under sentence of death for heresy, and this, be it remembered, not in the age of Pope Hildebrand or of bloody Queen Mary, but in the middle of the nineteenth century, "The British subjects then on the island resolved to make an effort to save the life of this excellent woman, so unjustly doomed to die. They drew up a petition to the Queen of Portugal, praying that the sentence might be reversed, and this Christian lady be acquitted. At the same time an appeal was taken from the decision of the court in Madeira, and carried over to the higher court at Lisbon. Mrs. Alves was kept in prison during the tedious process consequent on this appeal. It was taken to Lisbon in May, 1844, but the decision of the court did not reach Madeira until April, 1845. The decision of the court was of a very peculiar character. In the first place, 'the court *confirmed the sentence appealed from*, that is, the sentence of

death for blasphemy, heresy, and apostasy. But the defendant had been tried only on the charge of *blasphemy.* She could not be competently condemned *for heresy and apostasy.* And *therefore* they commuted the sentence, thus plainly declaring that if she had been indicted or tried for *the other crimes,* they would have confirmed the sentence in all its horrible extent.' From this it appears that her life was saved in consequence of an error in the court below, in the opinion of the court at Lisbon, and not on the ground that she did not deserve to die. In this case the court commuted the punishment of death to imprisonment. In consideration of the great length of time she had been in prison, the sentence was imprisonment for three months from the date of the sentence, with a fine of six dollars.

"The time defined by this decision was not to terminate her sufferings. When the three months were expired, she was kept in prison to pay the expenses of her prosecution and imprisonment. Month after month she was there. She was actually detained there twenty-three months on the sentence of three months' imprisonment. In all, this excellent Christian lady was shut up in that dismal prison between two and a half and three years."

Mr. Norton gives a very interesting account of the conversion, sickness, death, and burial of the pastor of these Madeira exiles, Rev. Mr. Da Silva, who died soon after his arrival in New-York. He was converted from the errors of Romanism, and brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, under the labors of Dr. Kalley, with whom he first became acquainted while the doctor was visiting his daughter as a physician.

"Dr. Kalley with a cheerful, pleasant countenance, approached the bedside of the young lady, and examined the symptoms of her disease. After this, as was his usual custom, he prayed that God would bless the medicine he was about to prescribe, and at the same time exhorted the patient to look to Jesus as the great physician who only could restore her to health. He also requested the parents to seek her recovery by prayer to Jesus Christ as their only hope. In a few days the medicine produced a perceptible and favorable change in the disease, and the patient soon recovered.

"This awakened in the mind of Mr. Da Silva very grateful feelings toward Dr. Kalley, and also the desire to hear him preach. Accordingly, on the next Sabbath after this interest was excited, he heard him expound the word of God. The new birth, of which he spoke on this occasion, was a new and strange subject to Da Silva. It was a doctrine of which he had never heard, and he was left in as deep mystery of its nature as Nicodemus.

"Soon after, he called upon Dr. Kalley, accompanied by his servant,

to inquire into this matter, and to learn what those doctrines were that had produced such wonderful effects upon the lives of his countrymen around him. At this interview he received a Bible, which he perused with intense interest, and soon became a convert to its doctrines. Of these, and of the persecuted converts, he became the conscientious and fearless advocate. So deep and thorough was the work of the Spirit of God upon his heart, that he was willing to sacrifice every thing in this world for the sake of the Gospel.

Da Silva had heard many strange things respecting Dr. Kalley. The priests, while they were obliged to admit that he was a skillful physician, represented him in league with Satan to overthrow the Roman Catholic Church. Father Neri, a priest in Madeira, had said Dr. Kalley was a devil incarnate, and he hoped to see the day when his Bibles and all who believed in them would be burned together in the public square, in front of the governor's palace. The contrast between such declamation and the simple preaching of the Gospel by Dr. Kalley was very striking. Dr. Kalley was affected to tears while opening to men their lost condition as sinners, and urging them to flee to Jesus Christ as the only Saviour. He prayed with deep feeling for all, priests and people. Thus the wide and irreconcilable difference between the priests of Rome and the minister of the Gospel was presented to Mr. Da Silva with the force of irresistible conviction.

"Before his soul rejoiced in the full light of the Gospel, it is interesting to see how the Spirit of God enlightened his mind, and led him on from one degree of knowledge to another. When, reading the Bible, he came to the Epistle of Peter, he was delighted to find an epistle from that apostle. He was ignorant of its existence, up to the hour when his eye rested upon it. As he had always been taught that Peter was the supreme head of the church on earth, he supposed here, if anywhere, he would find the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. After reading it again and again with the closest attention, he was surprised to learn that nothing resembling the mass, purgatory, confession, praying to saints and to the Virgin, as taught by the Romish Church, was to be found in the writings of Peter.

"The conversion of Da Silva was known to all the inhabitants of Madeira, not merely because he was a man of great wealth and influence, but especially by the remarkable change in his life. He mingled with the Bible-readers, who were despised and treated with contempt by those with whom he had always been associated.

"On one evening, when about fifty of the converts were present at a meeting, while Mr. Da Silva was addressing them, and encouraging them to trust in Jesus Christ, whatever might befall them, a priest,

leading a mob, came up to the house. They began to shout or yell with all their strength, with the view of breaking up the meeting. The priest forced his way to the house, when Mr. Da Silva inquired why they interfered with peaceable citizens. The priest came up to him and held a crucifix to his face, saying, 'Here is your God, bow down and worship.' To this Mr. Da Silva replied that he no longer worshiped idols, but the true and living God, who is a Spirit, and not a block of wood. The priest then struck him and knocked off his hat, and he retreated into the house, and finally escaped the violence of the mob. But the spirit of persecution became so fierce and bold that his high standing as a citizen and the power of wealth had no influence to shield him from abuse and violence. His friends believed that his life was in danger, and that he ought to flee from the dreadful storm. At this time the converts were flying from the fury of their enemies in all directions. The most of them fled to the West-India Islands, and Da Silva resolved to escape."

At first he fled to Lisbon; after that, by the advice of Dr. Kalley and other friends, he went to the island of Trinidad, whither some six hundred of his persecuted brethren had preceded him, where he was ordained as their pastor by protestant clergymen at Trinidad, belonging to the Free Church of Scotland. Soon his health failed him, and he sailed for New-York, partly to seek homes for his exiled brethren in the Western States of America, and partly with the hope of a restoration to health. In this latter respect, however, his friends and flock were to experience a sad disappointment. This persecuted, exiled disciple of Christ was ripe for heaven, and soon Jesus the Master came and called for him. He arrived in New-York December 1st, 1848, and died a most peaceful, calm, and triumphant death, in less than seven weeks after his arrival, on the 10th of January, 1849. The funeral services were held in one of the Collegiate Dutch Reformed churches in New-York, and were of the most solemn and affecting character, conducted by Rev. Drs. De Witt, Knox, and Dowling, and Rev. Herman Norton, and also a native Portuguese preacher, who addressed, in their own language, this afflicted band of persecuted exiles, who were come to take the last look upon the precious remains of their beloved pastor. At the close of these services, all the Portuguese arose and sung a hymn in their own language, as well as their flowing tears would let them. Mr. Norton truthfully remarks that "every eye in the congregation suddenly filled with tears, as the notes of these homeless and persecuted disciples fell upon the ear. The singing was so devotional and hearty, and there was such a sublimity in their rising when suffused with tears, and their hearts overflowing with grief, that no one could resist the subduing influence

of the scene. The body of this first martyr from Madeira was then buried in the vaults of the church, there to await the resurrection of the dead in the last day."

JOHN RONGE, THE "HOLY COAT" GERMAN REFORMER.

On pages 635–9, is given an account of the movement of the German reformer, John Ronge, in 1844, occasioned by the shameless traffic of the exhibition of the pretended holy coat of Jesus, by Arnold, the popish bishop of Treves. The friends of evangelical truth have been somewhat disappointed in the subsequent course of Ronge, who seems to have substituted for popish superstition a German Rationalism, no less unscriptural and dangerous to the souls of men than the system he has abandoned. Nevertheless, he has done immense good by his faithful and fearless exposure of the knavery and imposture of the Romish priests, and all who love the Gospel should everywhere pray that the Spirit of God would enlighten the mind of this courageous man, and that he may be led into the truth as it is in Jesus. Since the secession of Ronge from the papal ranks, large numbers have followed, many of whom are far more evangelical in their doctrines.

The last that the present author has heard of Ronge, was from a letter by a correspondent of the New-York *Independent*, who visited him a few years ago. "Most of our readers will remember," says he, "the bold, eloquent letter which an obscure German priest on the Rhine put out against the mummery of the 'holy coat' at Cologne, in the year 1844; how it roused like a trumpet all Catholic Germany; how the priest, expelled, became the head and leader of what seemed a new reformation, and churches were founded and communities formed from the Catholic Church on the purest protestant principles. It will be remembered, too, that the movement did not apparently succeed; that the first protestant principles changed ultimately into the widest rationalism. Its leader, Ronge, it will be remembered, was banished through the influence especially of the king of Prussia. We found him in a retired part of London, the pastor over a small German congregation, and his wife the teacher and supporter of a Kindergarten. Ronge is a short, athletic man, with a good, healthy brown face, a dark, fiery eye, and full beard and moustache. He seems about forty years of age. He speaks with great animation, and in rich, strong tones. I sat long in his little garden, talking with him over the present and past of Europe. He has established himself

in London, in order to be near all the new movements on the continent, and to get a religious influence over the multitudes of Germans in the city. His hope seems to be that his own religious views, so out of the usual orthodoxy, may reach very many of a skeptical turn, who would be influenced by nothing else. His views of historic Christianity probably correspond with those of Theodore Parker, though I did not hear him express them distinctly. In his religious efforts it was evident that he met with much which was discouraging.

"He spoke of his own first efforts against the Romish Church; and here his eye sparkled and his face kindled. He described his writing the first letter to the bishop, I think, against some of the abuses of the priests, and the condemnation which he and it received. Of the second, the famous letter upon the 'holy coat,' he knew the results must be decisive, either to silence him and to ruin him, or to rouse up a party for him. But he had no fear. He was sure the people must hear. The result, in the simultaneous arousing of so many communities, surprised even him. If it had not been for the interference of the governments, a powerful church would have been established. His own banishment was in consequence of a severe letter which he published against the king of Prussia—a letter whose consequences he anticipated when he wrote. I parted from Ronge with feelings of admiration for his bold and manly spirit. That he failed in an attempt at the religious reformation of his people is no evidence against his own deep and earnest purpose. Still it may need another age to determine what has been done under his impulses. His bravery and true manliness all will allow and justly honor. On his whole career history must judge."

REVERSES OF THE JESUITS IN SWITZERLAND, ETC.

On page 640, we have given an account of the recent attempts of the Jesuits to exercise a controlling influence in Switzerland. They soon after sustained a most disastrous and decisive defeat from the troops of the Diet, and were expelled as a plague and a pestilence from that country as well as from several other countries of continental Europe. Even the Italians received with transports of joy the news of the defeat of the Jesuit faction in Switzerland. In vain did Pius IX. express his grief, his lively sorrow, at these events; the people displayed altogether opposite sentiments. And the papers soon after announced what is still more remarkable—that thousands of the inhabitants of Rome, headed by the celebrated tribune *Ciceronacchio*, presented an address to Pius IX., requesting the expulsion of the Jesuits from the

Pontifical States—a request, or rather a demand, which the pope soon after had to comply with. These events have clearly revealed the fact, says a recent able writer,* that the greater number of Italians, even in the inferior classes of the people, are no longer attached in heart to their ancient religion, but are laboring to emancipate themselves from the sacerdotal yoke. If they persist in bearing the name of Roman Catholics, and in practicing some of the forms of their worship, it is a vain and deceptive appearance only. In reality, they despise almost all their priests, detest the monks, abhor the Jesuits, and are more and more adopting principles opposed to the pontifical theocracy.

The result of the conflict in Switzerland was certainly discouraging to the followers of Loyola. The Jesuits had there assumed a most arrogant tone toward the Sonderbund, or League of the Seven Cantons, consisting of Lucerne, Uri, Unterwalden, Schwytz, Zug, Freiburg, and Valais, whom they had persuaded to unite in defense of the Jesuit rule. Priests, monks, reverend fathers, and brothers of every name, had neglected nothing to fanaticize the people. They had distributed to the soldiers miraculous medals, talismans, amulets, and banners with the image of the Holy Virgin. The women, even, like modern Amazons, prompted by their confessors, practiced shooting with the musket, and promised bravely to shed their blood in the common cause. Our age, according to the testimony of the clergy, was anew to witness the miracles of the martyrs, the heroism of the crusades; and we ourselves, misled by these sublime predictions, imagined that the papists of Switzerland would display the same valor and constancy as our old French Huguenots, who fought and struggled for fifty years—one against ten or twenty. Alas! what a bitter disappointment to the Jesuits and their partisans throughout Europe! The famous warriors of the Sonderbund hardly maintained one or two little skirmishes, and at the first repulse they threw down their arms at the feet of the radicals. The valiant Amazons remained at home; they prepared their husbands' dinners instead of rushing to the field of battle, and we confess that they acted wisely. The leaders of the Helvetic League took to flight, and within a fortnight from the commencement of hostilities, the reverend disciples of Ignatius Loyola decamped as quickly as possible.

In stating these things, we do not pretend to applaud in the slightest, the success of the radicals. Swiss radicalism, in the contest referred to, unhappily violated the most sacred rights of conscience in

* In a number of the periodical entitled *Evangelical Christendom*, the organ in Great Britain, of the Evangelical Alliance.

the Canton de Vaud and elsewhere; its principles are imbued with a desolating skepticism; its rules of conduct are often dictated by brutal despotism. Our object is merely to adduce proof that Jesuitism and Ultramontanism had only a superficial and precarious power in Switzerland. It was a very showy building without; but within, it was full of worthless ruins. To speak without a figure, the adhesion of the populations of the seven cantons to popery was external rather than internal; they were far from being the subjects of fanaticism, which it was impossible to reanimate. These good people had no wish to sacrifice their property and shed their blood for opinions which they no longer hold, with all the powers of their mind, as articles of faith. They will continue to be Roman Catholics by the performance of certain ceremonies; but the voice of the priest has ceased to be for them the voice of God.

Defeat after defeat has pursued the Jesuits for the past twenty years, in almost all the kingdoms of Europe, where their cunning craft and unscrupulousness in accomplishing their purposes have been well known for generations. Not to particularize other lands which have expelled them as a plague and a curse, even Spain, long the stronghold of Jesuitism, has at last turned against them. A decree for the suppression of the Jesuits, as sweeping and complete as their greatest enemies could desire, was issued at Madrid, October 12th, 1868. The text of this decree was as follows:

"*Madrid, Oct.* 12.—I decree the suppression throughout the peninsula and the adjacent islands of the regular order called the Company of Jesus. All the colleges and training-schools for priests shall be closed in three days, and the temporalities taken possession of by persons appointed by the authorities of the province in which these establishments are situated. In this latter measure will be included all the property and effects of the order, movable and unmovable, buildings and revenues, which shall form part of the national wealth, in conformity with the provision of the royal decree of the 4th of July, 1835. The members of the company shall no longer be able to meet as a body or a community, to wear the dress of the order, nor to be in any way answerable to the superiors of the body existing in or out of Spain. Those not ordained as priests shall remain entirely subjected to the ordinary civil jurisdiction. I charge the archbishops, bishops, and all those who exercise ecclesiastical or civil authority, to aid, each in what concerns him, the faithful execution of the present enactment, in conformity with the Pragmatic Sanction of the 2d April, 1767, and the brief of his holiness of the 21st July, 1773.

Signed, "Antonio Romero Ortiz,
"*Minister of Grace and Justice.*"

And now, how comes it that the Ultramontane party has suffered so many humiliating defeats, so many irreparable losses? The essential cause of these reverses of Roman Catholicism is to be found in its utter want of harmony with the principles, the aspirations, and the tendencies of the present age. The Jesuits, or more generally the decided papists, are the representatives of *the past*—of a past which has declined, which, for the last three hundred years, has been growing more and more obsolete, and which in the present day is breathing out its last sigh. The nations have forsaken them; they repulse them by whatever there is in them most energetic and most profound; and they themselves have no longer a lively and vigorous faith in their own doctrines!

ROMISH CLAIM EXAMINED FOR CATHOLIC MARYLAND AS THE BIRTH-PLACE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

It is quite common for Roman Catholic writers and speakers to claim for Catholic Maryland the honor of being the birth-place and the cradle of religious liberty in America. This claim was frequently made by the late Archbishop Hughes, who, with all his acknowledged tact and ability, was a very poor historian; and many of his subordinates have, probably without due examination and study, reiterated his words. In his famous lecture delivered at Metropolitan Hall, New-York, March 8th, 1852, entitled, "The Catholic Chapter in the United States," the archbishop made the claim in the following words: "If civil, but especially religious liberty, be a clear and justly cherished privilege of the American people, the palm of having been the first to preach and practice it is due, beyond all controversy, to the Catholic colony of Maryland. The Catholics of Maryland, by priority of time, have borne away the prize." Even so late as 1869, this claim was repeated in New-York, by one of the most intelligent of the Catholic clergy, Father Farrell, who certainly ought to have known better. In a lecture at St. Joseph's church, he said, "In such a state of Europe, God, in his own time, called forth the discovery of this land to establish freedom of religion, and the delivery from the despotism of the old world. *As Catholics, they feel proud that the little colony of Maryland first established the principle of liberty of conscience.*"

Now, we ask, can this claim be fairly made out? Is it true that religious liberty, in the full sense of the word, was first on this continent preached and practiced in the Catholic colony of Maryland? The decrees of councils, the invectives of popes, and the solemn oaths of Romish bishops, no less than the dungeons of the inquisition, and

the fires of the *auto da fé*, all proclaim that persecution is an essential element of their system, and liberty of conscience, in their view, a detestable heresy. If, then, the noble family of the Calverts possessed that inherent love of religious freedom which is claimed for them, and which, it is said, they incorporated in the constitution and laws of the Maryland settlement, then they were dissenters from the standard creeds and catechisms of Romanism, and stood absolutely alone, as rulers, in the history of the church to which they belonged.

Now, we are by no means disposed to deny either the first or the second Lord Baltimore, or to Leonard Calvert, the actual settler of Maryland, the honor which was justly their due.* We believe the founder of Maryland to have been an upright, generous, and patriotic man, and a wise and benevolent legislator; far in advance of his age in his views of religious toleration, and towering entirely above his church, though repudiating but in part her doctrine of persecution for a difference of religious opinion or worship. And yet we maintain that, so far as appears from the laws relative to religious freedom, which were passed in the new colony, the Catholic founders of Maryland had not learned even the alphabet of religious freedom—of SOUL-LIBERTY—as understood, and established, and defended by Roger Williams, the contemporary of Calvert, and the founder of Rhode Island.†

Let it be granted, as it may be, that Leonard Calvert pitched his tent upon the banks of the Potomac, some two years earlier than Roger Williams founded the town of Providence. Does this prove,

* The first Lord Baltimore was Sir George Calvert; the second was his eldest son Cecil, who appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor of the colony. In 1632, Sir George obtained the consent of the king of England to a charter, supposed to have been drawn up by his own hand. By this charter, "Christianity was made the law of the land," says Bancroft, "but no preference was given to any sect." (Bancroft, vol. i. chap. 7.) Before the patent could be finally adjusted, Sir George Calvert died, and it was again drawn in the name of his eldest son Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632, who appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, his lieutenant, who thus become the actual settler of Maryland. (See Dr. Belknap's Biographies of the Early Discoverers of America.)

† We borrow the expressive word *soul-liberty* from the following declaration of its noblest champion, written more than two centuries ago: "As the civil permission of all the consciences and worship of all men, in things merely spiritual, is no ways inconsistent with true Christianity and true civility; so it is the duty of the magistrate to suppress all violences to the bodies and goods of men for their souls' belief; and to provide that not one person in the land be restrained from, or constrained to, any worship, ministry, or maintenance; but peaceably maintained in his SOUL-LIBERTY, as well as corporal freedom." (See Roger Williams's *Hireling Ministry*, p. 36.)

as asserted, that "the Catholics of Maryland, by priority of time, have borne away the prize," as the founders of religious freedom in America? Is it at all surprising that a Catholic nobleman, leaving a country under a protestant king, at a time when Catholics themselves wer subject to persecution in the parent country, should obtain a charter for his new colony, securing toleration for the various Christian sects; and should enact laws, by which, in the event of the protestant ascendency in the new colony—which soon actually occurred—his own sect should be freed from the annoyances to which they were unjustly exposed at home? And is it not asking too high a meed of praise for the Catholic settlers of Maryland to be crowned as the founders of religious freedom in America, simply because they did not, in such circumstances, follow out the maxims of their church, in the enactment of laws to imprison, to torture, or to burn the heretics who might profess the same faith as the protestant king who had granted their charter, and who, as they very well knew, could revoke that instrument with a stroke of his pen as easily as he had signed it?

In considering the question of priority of time, too, we are to inquire, not when the foot of the emigrant was first planted on the stranger-soil, but when was *the first law* passed in relation to religious liberty? In Maryland, the first and boasted law, such as it was, was passed in 1649. In Rhode Island, a code of civil laws was adopted in 1647, closing with the following noble avowal of entire religious freedom to all—"Otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, ALL MEN MAY WALK AS THEIR CONSCIENCES PERSUADE THEM, EVERY ONE IN THE NAME OF HIS GOD. AND LET THE LAMBS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOREVER AND EVER."* And this glorious declaration of soul-liberty, be it remembered, was enacted by the General Assembly in Rhode Island, two years before the first law on the subject in Maryland.

But supposing the facts had been different; supposing that the law of Maryland had been prior to that of Rhode Island; would that have justified the assertion that, in the establishment of religious liberty, "the Catholics of Maryland have borne away the prize"? Hear, and then judge. Listen to the very language of this boasted law, and then tell me whether I am not right in the assertion that the framers of such a law had not learned even the alphabet of religious freedom or soul-liberty. Probably some protestants, who have been so long accustomed to hear of this Maryland Catholic religious liberty, that they have taken it for granted that what has been so often asserted *must* be true, will be surprised when they are told that under its pro-

* 2 Mass. Historical Collections, viii. p. 79.

visions such ornaments to the literature of America as the eloquent and pure-minded William Channing, or the accomplished statesman, Edward Everett, might be hanged on a gibbet, or burned at the stake, for exercising their inalienable civil right of worshiping God according to the dictates of their consciences.

"By this law, first, (1,) Blasphemy against God, denying our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or denying the holy Trinity or the godhead of the three persons, was to be punished with DEATH, and confiscation of lands and goods to the lord proprietary.

"Second. (2.) Persons using any reproachful words or speeches concerning the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of our Saviour, or the holy apostles or evangelists, or any of them—for the first offense, to forfeit £5 sterling to the lord proprietary; or, in default of payment, to be publicly whipped and imprisoned, at the pleasure of his lordship or his lieutenant-general; for the second offense, to forfeit £10 sterling, or, in default of payment, to be publicly and severely whipped and imprisoned, as before directed; and for the third offense, to forfeit lands and goods, and be forever banished out of the province."

Such are two of the articles in this famous Maryland Catholic law in favor of "religious liberty," forsooth! by which we are gravely told that "the Catholics of Maryland have borne away the prize" from Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and all other competitors. Was ever falsehood more glaring? Was ever deception more complete?

But we have given enough of this famous law to show that it is not worthy of the name of a law in favor of religious freedom, and to scatter to the winds the pretense that it deserves a place by the side of the noble declaration of Rhode Island in favor of liberty of conscience to all of every creed and of every name. The only redeeming feature in this Maryland law is, that a subsequent enactment declares that "any person presuming, contrary to this act and the true intent and meaning thereof, willfully to disturb, wrong, trouble, or molest any person whatsoever within this province, *professing to believe in Jesus Christ*—for or in respect of his or her religion, or the free exercise thereof, within this province, otherwise than is provided for in this act—shall pay treble damages to the party so wronged and molested, and also forfeit twenty shillings sterling for every such offense—one half to his lordship, the other half to the party molested; and, in default of paying the damage or fine, be punished by public whipping and imprisonment at the pleasure of the lord proprietary."

The meaning of all which is, that all Roman Catholic and other

Trinitarian Christian sects, might enjoy their opinions without molestation—a step in advance, it is true, of their practice in other ages and other countries; but every infidel, deist, and Unitarian should be punished with death, and his family with starvation, by the confiscation of his goods to the lord proprietary. And this, be it remembered, is the Catholic *beau-ideal* of religious liberty, for which we are told we must take the crown from the head of Roger Williams and William Penn, and place it upon the brow of Lord Baltimore, the Catholic founder of Maryland.

Having thus disposed—we trust to the satisfaction of bishop, cardinal, and pope—of this arrogant Roman Catholic claim to the pioneer championship of religious freedom in America, and settled the question—we hope forever—that the pretense is utterly groundless and absurd, it must be admitted, since the noble William Penn landed on the shores of the Delaware some fifty years later, that Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, remains the undisputed master of the field, and the sole possessor of this enviable and lofty preëminence on this western continent. Broadly as this banyan-tree of soul-liberty has now expanded its branches, and fixed its roots over our fair and goodly land, the blessed seed was planted when the hunted exile stepped from his canoe on the soil of Rhode Island, henceforth to be consecrated to religious liberty, and in grateful remembrance of "God's merciful Providence to him in his distress," called it PROVIDENCE. Well may we apply to that spot the words of Mrs. Hemans's noble ode to the Plymouth Pilgrims:

> "Oh! call it holy ground,
> The soil where first they trod;
> They have left unstained, what there they found,
> FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD."*

THE ABBÉ LABORDE'S LETTER TO PIUS IX. IN OPPOSITION TO THE DOCTRINE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. APRIL 13, 1854.

See page 781.

MOST HOLY FATHER: Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he was about to leave this world, commanded his apostles that they should go and teach all nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them. In order that they might carry out that office perfectly and unconquerably, he also promised that the Holy Ghost should be present to them, and should

* See an article by the present author, in the *Christian Review* for January, 1853, entitled, "Soul-Liberty—the debt of the world to its champions and defenders."

dwell in them. *The Spirit of truth, he shall testify of me, and shall bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you.*

Christ fulfilled his promise. And when the blessed apostles had been filled with the Holy Ghost, they preached everywhere on the house-top that which they had heard in the ear; the Lord working with them, and confirming his word with signs following.

"We have then for the authors of our faith the apostles of the Lord, who did not select that which they should introduce into it, according to their own fancy; but faithfully transmitted to the nations the discipline which they had received from Christ." (Tertull. *De Præscriptione*, 6.) Now this sum of the doctrine of Christ, transmitted by the apostles to each church as it was founded, to be guarded by it, and until the last day to be successively handed on from hand to hand, this is the Catholic faith; this is that deposit of our faith of which the apostle writes to Timothy: *O Timothy, keep the deposit, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called, which some professing have erred concerning the faith.*

This deposit, then, of the faith, is transmitted by the apostles of Jesus Christ to all Timothies, that is, to all who fear God, to be in such wise kept, that they might add nothing, might take away nothing, might change nothing, might mingle nothing that was alien, and that they might not allow any thing by any person to be added, taken away, or mingled. What more? They who were the authors of all religion have forbidden us, masters as well as disciples, pastors as well as faithful, to receive any thing so added, diminished, changed, or confused; and they have commanded us, that if any man in any way should teach otherwise than according to that which they transmitted from the beginning, we should anathematize him. *But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema.* It was on this account that a great man, or rather all the successors of the apostles, the fathers of the church, speaking by the mouth of one of themselves, have laid down this law for us: "To teach, therefore, any thing to Catholic Christians besides that which they have received, never is lawful, never has been lawful, never will be lawful; and to anathematize those who do teach any thing besides that which has been once for all received, was always a duty, is always a duty, will be always a duty." "If any man shall teach a new dogma, let him be anathema." (Vincent. Lirin. *Common.* I.)

The case standing thus, most holy father, who will not wonder that a new dogma is now announced to Catholic Christians? that a new dog-

ma is now being forged at Rome? Is there not a widely-spread report that the world is threatened with a decree from your blessedness, by which we are commanded to believe that the conception of the blessed Virgin was immaculate? But this is precisely that thing which the apostle calls *a profane novelty of words and science falsely so named;* this is precisely to preach to us another gospel besides that which has been preached to us by Paul.

For that apostle, who had seen the mysteries of heaven, never preached to us that the blessed Virgin was immaculate in her conception. He made not one single exception, and therefore included the blessed Virgin as well as all others when he said, "*For when we were yet without strength, in due time* CHRIST *died for the ungodly; for scarcely for a righteous man would one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.*" She was not, therefore, good, she was not, therefore, righteous—the blessed Virgin for whom Christ died. "*By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned*—ALL; therefore also the blessed Virgin. *The love of* CHRIST *constraineth us, because we thus judge; that if one died for all, then were all dead.*"

The ancient fathers of the church, successors of the chair of the apostles, legitimate interpreters of Scripture, themselves in their several times the witnesses, guardians, and oracles of the tradition and faith of the church, have taught us that our Lord Jesus alone was without original sin, because he alone was conceived without the seed of man; but that Mary, his blessed mother, had a *body of sin*, that is, was conceived in sin like all others. "He, therefore, was alone born without sin, whom, without the embrace of man, the Virgin conceived, not by the concupiscence of the flesh, but by the obedience of the mind. She only could prepare the medicine for our disease, who produced an offspring without the wound of sin." (Augustin. *De Peccat. Meritis*, i. 19, 57)

Here is the privilege of the Son, here is the privilege of the mother: he only was conceived without sin; she only conceived without sin.

"He, therefore, alone, who, being made a man, remained God, never had any sin, nor assumed a flesh of sin, although coming from a maternal flesh of sin." (Augustin. *De Peccat. Meritis*, ii. 24, 38.) "All, therefore, are dead in sins, without one single exception; sins, whether original or committed voluntarily, either by ignorance, or by knowing and not doing that which was righteous; and for all that were dead, One that liveth died, he who had no sin whatever; to the end that they who live by the remission of their sins, might henceforth not live to themselves, but to Him that died for all."

The rest of the fathers unanimously teach the same doctrine.

This, then, most holy father, is the faith which we have received from the beginning. As yet, to-day, 1854 years after Paul, it is not an article of faith that the blessed Virgin was free from original sin. If, therefore, this becomes an article to-morrow, it will be a new article.

Together with the present letter, we send to your holiness a volume in which we have demonstrated at length that which is here stated in brief. That treatise exactly defines the period up to which it was yet unheard of that the blessed Virgin was without original sin. The doctor who first openly professed this opinion is there named; and from the progress of that opinion it is historically shown that this doctrine is a new invention in the church. We beseech you, holy father, seriously to meditate the value of these arguments; your holiness ought to beware of the unhappy results which must be occasioned by an attempt to force a new dogma on Christendom. We can not disobey the precepts of the apostles. To acquiesce in new dogmas of faith is unlawful.

Most willingly, holy father, we confess that the bishop of the first see has the primacy of the whole church; we affirm that the Roman pontiff is the legitimate successor of St. Peter, and that the authority of the former is as extensive as that of the latter. But we can not forget that a time may come when it shall be necessary for Paul to resist Peter to the face, if it should so happen that he is to be blamed in not walking according to the truth of Gospel. You, holy father, are Peter; we, that is, the body of Christian people, are Paul. If, therefore, you imitate Peter, in not walking according to the evangelical truth, it must be our part to imitate Paul, and resist you to your face. And what can be more opposed to walking according to the truth than the announcement of new dogmas?

. . . May the Lord enlighten the eyes of your understanding, (Ephes. 1 : 17, 18,) that you may see the snares of the devil prepared against your soul and the peace of the church, by the mouth of flatterers. We know it, we know it. Flattery does not cease to allure you. It asserts that you will acquire great glory in the sight of man, and will confirm the domination of the bishop of Rome over the universal church, if, by a decree of faith, binding on all Christians, you terminate a question which none of your predecessors, nor any synod, has dared thus to define. These are the wiles of the serpent; for should it happen to your blessedness to command the reception of such a dogma, you will acquire for yourself, not glory, but ignominy; for the bishop of Rome, not domination, but derision. It will be another and a new argument, after so many proofs from history, that the bishop of Rome is, like all other men, a weak man, prone to sin,

obnoxious to error; and that it may happen that he may become a prevaricator in his holy office, and be deceived, and endeavor to deceive.

Hear us rather, well-beloved father, us who seek the true glory of your holiness, not by adulation, but by the love of truth, of charity, and of peace.

God long preserve you in health and holiness, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For myself, and for many other priests and laymen who agree with me, THE ABBÉ LABORDE, (of Lectoure.)

August 13, 1854.

DOGMATIC DEFINITION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN MOTHER OF GOD.

See page 783.

PIUS, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD.

FOR THE PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE OF THE THING.

THE ineffable God, whose ways are mercy and truth, whose will is omnipotence, and whose wisdom reaches powerfully from end to end, and sweetly disposes every thing, when he foresaw from all eternity the most sorrowful ruin of the entire human race to follow from the transgression of Adam, and in a mystery hidden from ages determined to complete, through the incarnation of the word in a more hidden sacrament, the first work of his goodness, so that man, led into sin by the craft of diabolical iniquity, should not perish contrary to his merciful design, and that what was about to befall in the first Adam should be restored more happily in the second; from the beginning and before ages chose and ordained a mother for His only-begotten Son, of whom made flesh, he should be born in the blessed plenitude of time, and followed her with so great love before all creatures that in her alone he pleased himself with a most benign complacency. Wherefore, far above all the angelic spirits and all the saints, he so wonderfully endowed her with the abundance of all heavenly gifts drawn from the treasure of divinity, that she might be ever free from every stain of sin, and, all fair and perfect, would bear before her that plenitude of innocence and holiness than which, under God, none greater is understood, and which, except God, no one can reach even in thought. And indeed it was most becoming that she would shine always adorned with the splendor of the most perfect holiness, and, free even from the stain of original sin, would gain a most complete triumph over the ancient serpent, she, the mother so venerable, to whom God the Father, disposed to give his only Son, whom, begotten and equal to himself,

from his heart he loved as himself, in such a manner that he would be by nature one and the same common Son of God the Father, and of the Virgin, and whom the Son himself chose to make substantially his mother, and from whom the Holy Ghost willed and operated that he would be conceived and born, from whom he himself proceeds. Which original innocence of the august Virgin agreeing completely with her admirable holiness, and with the most excellent dignity of the mother of God, the Catholic Church, which, ever taught by the Holy Spirit, is the pillar and ground of truth, as possessing a doctrine divinely received, and comprehended in the deposit of heavenly revelation, has never ceased to lay down, to cherish, and to illustrate continually by numerous proofs, and more and more daily by splendid facts. For this doctrine, flourishing from the most ancient times, and implanted in the minds of the faithful, and by the care and zeal of the holy pontiffs wonderfully propagated, the church herself has most clearly pointed out, when she did not hesitate to propose the conception of the same Virgin for the public devotion and veneration of the faithful. By which illustrious act she pointed out the conception of the Virgin as singular, wonderful, and very far removed from the origins of the rest of mankind, and to be venerated as entirely holy since the church celebrates festival-days only of the saints. And therefore, the very words in which the sacred Scriptures speak of uncreated wisdom, and represent his eternal origins, she has been accustomed to use, not only in the offices of the church, but also in the holy liturgy, and to transfer to the origin of that Virgin, which was preordained by one and the same decree with the incarnation of divine wisdom. But all those things everywhere justly received amongst the faithful show with what zeal the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches, has supported the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, yet the illustrious acts of this church are evidently worthy that they should be reviewed by name; since so great is the dignity and authority of the same church, so much is due to her who is the centre of Catholic truth and unity, in whom alone religion has been inviolably guarded, and from whom it is right that all the churches should receive the tradition of faith. Thus the same Roman Church had nothing more at heart than to assert, to protect, to promote, and to vindicate in the most eloquent manner the immaculate conception of the Virgin, its devotion and doctrine, which fact so many illustrious acts of the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, most evidently and fully testify and declare, to whom in the person of the prince of the apostles, was divinely committed by Christ our Lord the supreme care and power of feeding lambs and sheep, of confirming the brethren, and of ruling and governing the universal church. Indeed, our predecessors

vehemently gloried to institute in the Roman Church by their own apostolic authority the feast of the conception, and to augment, ennoble, and promote with all their power the devotion thus instituted, by a proper office and a proper mass, by which the prerogative of immunity from hereditary stain was most manifestly asserted; to increase it either by indulgences granted, or by leave given to states, provinces, and kingdoms, that they might choose as their patron the mother of God, under the title of the immaculate conception, or by approved sodalities, congregations, and religious families instituted to the honor of the immaculate conception; or by praises given to the piety of those who have erected monasteries, hospitals, or churches, under the title of the immaculate conception, or who have bound themselves by a religious vow to defend strenuously the immaculate conception of the mother of God. Above all, they were happy to ordain that the Feast of the Conception should be celebrated through the whole church as that of the nativity; and in fine, that it should be celebrated with an octave in the universal church as it was placed in the rank of the festivals which are commanded to be kept holy; also, that a pontifical service in our Patriarchal Liberian Basilica should be performed yearly on the day sacred to the conception of the Virgin; and desiring to cherish daily more and more in the minds of the faithful this doctrine of the immaculate conception of the mother of God, and to excite their piety to worshiping and venerating the Virgin conceived without original sin, they have rejoiced most freely to give leave that in the Litany of Loretto, and in the preface of the mass itself, the immaculate conception of the same Virgin should be proclaimed, and that thus the rule of faith would be established by the rule itself of supplication. We ourselves, treading in the footsteps of so many predecessors, have not only received and approved what has been most wisely and piously appointed by them, but, also mindful of the institution of Sixtus IV., we have appointed by our authority a proper office for the immaculate conception, and with a most joyful mind have granted the use of it to the universal church. But since those things which pertain to worship are evidently bound by an intimate chord to its object, and can not remain fixed and determined, if it be doubtful and placed in uncertainty, therefore, our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, increasing with all their care the devotion of the conception, studied most especially to declare and inculcate its object and doctrine; for they taught clearly and openly that the festival was celebrated for the conception of the Virgin, and they proscribed as false and most foreign to the intention of the church the opinion of those who considered and affirmed that it was not the conception itself, but the sanctification, to which devotion was paid by the church.

Nor did they think of treating more indulgently those who, in order to weaken the doctrine of the immaculate conception, drawing a distinction between the first and second instant and moment of the conception, asserted that the conception was indeed celebrated, but not for the first instant and moment; for our predecessors themselves thought it their duty to protect and defend with all zeal both the feast of the conception of the most blessed Virgin, and the conception from the first instant as the object of devotion. Hence the words, evidently secretive, in which Alexander VII. declared the true intention of the church, saying, "Certainly, it is the ancient piety of the faithful of Christ toward his most blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, believing that her soul, in the first instance of creation, and of infusion into the body, was, by a special grace and privilege of God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ her Son, the Redeemer of mankind, preserved free from the stain of original sin, and in this sense they keep and celebrate with solemn rites the festival of her conception." And to the same, our predecessors, this also was most especially a duty to preserve from contention the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the mother of God, guarded and protected with all care and zeal. For not only have they never suffered that this doctrine should ever be censured or traduced in any way or by any one, but they have gone much further, and in clear declarations on repeated occasions they have proclaimed that the doctrine in which we confess the immaculate conception of the Virgin is, and, by its own merit, is held evidently consistent with ecclesiastical worship, that it is ancient and nearly universal, and of the same sort as that which the Roman Church has undertaken to cherish and protect, and, above all, worthy to be placed in its sacred liturgy and its solemn prayers. Not content with this, in order that the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin should remain inviolate, they have most severely prohibited the opinion adverse to this doctrine to be defended either in public or in private, and they have wished to crush it, as it were, by repeated blows. To which reiterated and most clear declarations, lest they might appear empty, they added a sanction; all which things our illustrious predecessor, Alexander I., embraced in these words: Considering that the holy Roman Church solemnly celebrates the festival of the conception of the immaculate and ever-blessed Virgin, and has appointed for this a special and proper office according to the pious, devout, and laudable institution which emanated from our predecessor Sixtus IV., and wishing, after the example of the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, to favor this laudable piety, devotion, and festival, and the reverence shown toward it never changed in the Roman Church since the institution of the worship itself; also, in order

to protect the piety and devotion of venerating and celebrating the most blessed Virgin, preserved from original sin by the preventing grace of the Holy Ghost, and desiring to preserve in the flock of Christ unity of spirit in the bond of peace, removing offenses, and brawls, and scandals, at the instance and prayers of the said bishops, with the chapters of their churches, and of King Philip and his kingdom; we renew the constitutions and decrees issued by the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, and especially by Sixtus IV., Paul V., and Gregory XV., in favor of asserting the opinion that the soul of the blessed Virgin, in its creation and infusion into the body, was endowed with the grace of the Holy Ghost, and preserved from original sin; likewise, also, in favor of the festival of the same Virgin Mother of God, celebrated according to that pious belief which is recited above; and we command that it shall be observed, under the censures and punishments contained in the same constitutions. And against all and each of those who try to interpret the aforesaid constitutions or decrees so that they may frustrate the favor shown through these to the said belief, and to the festival or worship celebrated according to it, or who try to recall into dispute the same belief, festival, or worship, or against these in any manner, either directly or indirectly, and on any pretext, even that of examining the grounds of defining it, or of explaining or interpreting the sacred Scriptures or the holy fathers or doctors—in fine, who should dare, under any pretext or on any occasion whatsoever, to say, either in writing or in speech, to preach, to treat, to dispute, by determining or asserting any thing against these, or by bringing arguments against them and leaving these arguments unanswered, or by expressing dissent in any other possible manner; besides the punishments and censures contained in the constitutions of Sixtus IV., to which we desire to add, and by these presents do add, these: We will that they should be deprived *ipso facto*, and without other declaration, of the faculty of preaching, of reading in public, or of teaching and interpreting, and also of their voice, whether active or passive, in elections; from which censures they can not be absolved, nor obtain dispensation, unless from us or our successors, the Roman pontiffs; likewise we wish to subject, and we hereby do subject, the same persons to other penalties to be inflicted at our will, and at that of the same Roman pontiffs, our successors, renewing the constitutions or decrees of Paul IV. and Gregory XV., above referred to. And we prohibit, under the penalties and censures contained in the Index of Prohibited Books, and we will and declare that they should be esteemed prohibited *ipso facto*, and without other declaration, books in which the aforesaid belief and the festival or devotion celebrated according to it is recalled into dispute, or in which any thing whatever

is written or read against these, or lectures, sermons, treatises, and disputations against the same, published after the decree above eulogized of Paul V., or to be published at any future time. All are aware with how much zeal this doctrine of the immaculate conception of the mother of God has been handed down, asserted, and propagated by the most distinguished religious orders, the most celebrated theological academies, and the most eminent doctors of the science of divinity. All know, likewise, how anxious have been the bishops openly and publicly to profess, even in the ecclesiastical assemblies themselves, that the most holy mother of God, the Virgin Mary, by virtue of the merits of Christ our Lord, the Saviour of mankind, never lay under original sin, but was preserved free from the stain of origin, and thus was redeemed in a more sublime manner. To which, lastly, is added this fact, most grave and, in an especial manner, most important of all, that the Council of Trent itself, when it promulgated the dogmatic decree concerning original sin, in which, according to the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, of the holy fathers, and of the most approved councils, it determined and defined that all mankind are born under original sin; solemnly declared, however, that it was not its intention to include in the decree itself, and in the amplitude of its definition, the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, mother of God. Indeed, by this declaration, the Tridentine fathers have assented, according to the times and the circumstances of affairs, that the blessed Virgin Mary was free from the original stain, and thus clearly signified that nothing could be justly adduced from the sacred writings, nor from the authority of the fathers, which would in any way gainsay so great a prerogative of the Virgin. And, in real truth, illustrious monuments of a venerated antiquity of the eastern and of the western church most powerfully testify that this doctrine of the immaculate conception of the most blessed Virgin, every day more and more so splendidly explained and confirmed by the highest authority, teaching, zeal, science, and wisdom of the church, and so wonderfully propagated amongst all the nations and peoples of the Catholic world, always existed in the church as received by our ancestors, and stamped with the character of a divine revelation. For the church of Christ, careful guardian and defender of the dogmas deposited with her, changes nothing in them, diminishes nothing, adds nothing, but, with all industry, by faithfully and wisely treating ancient things, if they are handed down from antiquity, so studies to eliminate, to clear them up, that these ancient dogmas of heavenly faith may receive evidence, light, distinction, but still may retain their fullness, integrity, propriety, and may increase only in their own kind—that is, in the same dogma, the same sense, and the same belief. The fathers and writers of the

church, taught by the heavenly writings, had nothing more at heart, in the books written to explain the Scriptures, to vindicate the dogmas, and to instruct the faithful, than emulously to declare and exhibit in many and wonderful ways the Virgin's most high sanctity, dignity, and freedom from all stain of original sin, and her renowned victory over the most foul enemy of the human race. Wherefore, repeating the words in which, at the beginning of the world, the Almighty, announcing the remedies of his mercy, prepared for regenerating mankind, crushed the audacity of the lying serpent, and wonderfully raised up the hope of our race, saying, "I will place enmity between thee and the woman, thy seed and hers," they taught that in this divine oracle was clearly and openly pointed out the merciful Redeemer of the human race—the only-begotten Son of God, Christ Jesus, and that his most blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, was designated, and at the same time that the enmity of both against the serpent was signally expressed. Wherefore, as Christ, the mediator of God and men, having assumed human nature, blotting out the handwriting of the decree which stood against us, fastened it triumphantly to the cross, so the most holy Virgin, bound by a most close and indissoluble chain with him, exercising with him and through him eternal enmity against the malignant serpent, and triumphing most amply over the same, has crushed his head with her immaculate foot. This illustrious and singular triumph of the Virgin, and her most exalted innocence, purity, and holiness, her freedom from all stain of sin, and ineffable abundance and greatness of all heavenly graces, virtues, and privileges, the same fathers beheld in that ark of Noah, which, divinely appointed, escaped safe and sound from the common shipwreck of the whole world; also in that ladder which Jacob beheld to reach from earth to heaven, by whose steps the angels of God ascended and descended, on whose top leaned God himself; also in that bush which, in the holy place, Moses beheld blaze on every side, and amidst the crackling flames neither to be consumed nor to suffer the least injury, but to grow green and to blossom fairly; also in that tower unassailable in the face of an enemy, from which depend a thousand bucklers and all the armor of the brave; also in that garden, fenced round about, which can not be violated nor corrupted by any schemes of fraud; also in that brilliant city of God, whose foundations are in the holy mounts; also in that most august temple of God, which, shining with divine splendor, is filled with the glory of God; likewise, in many other things of this kind which the fathers have handed down, that the exalted dignity of the mother of God and her spotless innocence, and her holiness, obnoxious to no blemish, have been signally preannounced. To describe the same totality, as

it were, of divine gifts, and the original integrity of the Virgin of whom Jesus was born, the same fathers, using the eloquence of the prophets, celebrate the august Virgin as the spotless dove, the holy Jerusalem, the exalted throne of God, the ark and house of sanctification, which eternal wisdom built for itself; and as that queen who, abounding in delights and leaning on her beloved, came forth entirely perfect from the mouth of the Most High, fair and most dear to God, and never stained with the least spot. But when the same fathers and writers of the church revolved in their hearts and minds that the most blessed Virgin, in the name and by the order of God himself, was proclaimed full of grace by the angel Gabriel, when announcing her most sublime dignity of the mother of God, they taught that, by this singular and solemn salutation, never heard on any other occasion, is shown that the mother of God is the seat of all divine graces, and adorned with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost—yea, the infinite storehouse and inexhaustible abyss of the same gifts; so that, never obnoxious to an evil word, and alone with her Son partaker of perpetual benediction, she deserved to hear from Elizabeth, inspired by the Holy Ghost, "Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." Hence, it is the clear and unanimous opinion of the same that she, most glorious Virgin, for whom He who is powerful has done great things, has shone with such a brilliancy of all heavenly gifts, such fullness of grace, and such innocence, that she has been an ineffable miracle of the Almighty, yea, the crown of all miracles, and worthy mother of God; that she approaches as nearly to God as created nature can do, and is more exalted than all human and angelic encomiums. And therefore, to vindicate the original innocence and justice of the mother of God, they not only compared her to Eve, as yet virgin, as yet innocent, as yet incorrupted, and not yet deceived by the most deadly snares of the most treacherous serpent, but they have preferred her with a wonderful variety of thought and expression. For Eve, miserably obeying the serpent, fell from original innocence, and became his slave; but the most blessed Virgin, ever increasing her original gift, not only never leant an ear to the serpent, but, by a virtue divinely received, utterly broke his power. Wherefore, they have never ceased to call the mother of God the lily amongst the thorns; earth entirely untouched, virgin, undefiled, immaculate, ever blessed, and free from all contagion of sin, from which was formed the new Adam; a reproachless, most sweet paradise of innocence, immortality, and delights planted by God himself, and fenced from all snares of the malignant serpent; incorruptible branch that the worm of sin has never injured; fountain ever clear, and marked by the virtue of the Holy Ghost; a most divine temple, or treasure of immortality, or the

sole and only daughter, not of death, but of life; the seed, not of enmity, but of grace, which, by the singular providence of God, has always flourished, reviving from a corrupt and imperfect root, contrary to the settled and common laws. But if these encomiums, though most splendid, were not sufficient, they proclaimed in proper and defined opinions that, when sin should be treated of, no question should be entertained concerning the holy Virgin Mary, to whom an abundance of grace was given to conquer sin completely. They also declared that the most glorious Virgin was the reparatrix of her parents, the vivifier of posterity, chosen from the ages, prepared for himself by the Most High, predicted by God when he said to the serpent, "I will place enmity between thee and the woman," who undoubtedly has crushed the poisonous head of the same serpent; and therefore, they firm that the same blessed Virgin was through grace perfectly free from every stain of sin, and from all contagion of body and soul and mind, and always conversant with God, and united with him in an eternal covenant, never was in darkness, but always in light, and therefore was plainly a fit habitation for Christ, not on account of her bodily state, but on account of her original grace. To these things are added the noble words in which, speaking of the conception of the Virgin, they have testified that nature yielded to grace and stood trembling, not being able to proceed further; for it was to be that the Virgin mother of God should not be conceived by Anna before grace should bear fruit. For she ought thus to be conceived as the first-born, from whom should be conceived the first-born of every creature. They have testified that the flesh of the Virgin, taken from Adam, did not admit the stains of Adam, and on this account that the most blessed Virgin was the tabernacle created by God himself, formed by the Holy Spirit, truly enriched with purple which that new Beseleel made, adorned and woven with gold; and that this same Virgin is, and deservedly is, celebrated as she who was the first and the peculiar work of God, escaped from the fiery weapons of evil, and fair by nature, and entirely free from all stain, came into the world all shining like the morn in her immaculate conception; nor, truly, was it right that this vessel of election should be assailed by common injuries, since, differing very much from others, she had community with them only in their nature, not in their fault. Far more, it was right that, as the Only Begotten had a Father in heaven, whom the seraphim extol three times holy, so he should have a mother on the earth, who never should want the splendor of holiness. And this doctrine, indeed, so filled the minds and souls of our forefathers that a marvelous and singular form of speech prevailed with them, in which they very frequently called the mother of God immaculate and entirely immaculate, innocent and most inno-

cent, spotless, holy, and most distant from every stain of sin, all pure, all perfect, the type and model of purity and innocence, more beautiful than beauty, more gracious than grace, more holy than holiness, and alone holy, and most pure in soul and body, who has surpassed all perfectitude and all virginity, and has become the dwelling-place of all the graces of the most Holy Spirit, and who, God alone excepted, is superior to all, and by nature fairer, more beautiful, and more holy than the cherubim and seraphim; she whom all the tongues of heaven and earth do not suffice to extol. No one is ignorant that these forms of speech have passed, as it were, spontaneously into the monuments of the most holy liturgy, and the offices of the church, and that they occur often in them, and abound amply; and since the mother of God is invoked and named in them as a spotless dove of beauty, as a rose ever blooming and perfectly pure, and ever spotless and ever blessed, and is celebrated as innocence which was never wounded, and a second Eve, who brought forth Emmanuel; it is no wonder, then, if the pastors of the church and the faithful people have daily more and more gloried to profess, with so much piety and fervor, this doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mother of God, pointed out in the sacred Scriptures, according to the judgment of the fathers, handed down in so many mighty testimonies of the same, expressed and celebrated in so many illustrious monuments of a revered antiquity, and proposed, and with great piety confirmed, by the greatest and highest judgment of the church; so that nothing would be more dear, more pleasing to the same, than everywhere to worship, venerate, invoke, and proclaim the Virgin Mother of God conceived without original stain. Wherefore, from the ancient times the princes of the church, ecclesiastics, and even emperors and kings themselves, have earnestly entreated of this apostolic see that the immaculate conception of the most holy Mother of God should be defined as a dogma of Catholic faith. Which entreaties were renewed also in these our times, and especially were addressed to Gregory XVI., our predecessor of happy memory, and to ourselves, not only by bishops, but by the secular clergy, religious orders, and the greatest princes and faithful peoples.

Therefore, with singular joy of mind, well knowing all these things, and seriously considering them, scarcely had we, though unworthy, been raised by a mysterious dispensation of divine providence to the exalted chair of Peter, and undertaken the government of the whole church, than, following the veneration, the piety, and love we had entertained for the blessed Virgin from our tender years, we had nothing at heart more than to accomplish all these things which, as yet, were amongst the ardent wishes of the church, that the honor of the most blessed Virgin should be increased, and her prerogatives

should shine with a fuller light. But wishing to bring to this full maturity, we appointed a special congregation of the V.V.F.F.N.N. S.R.E. Cardinals, illustrious by their piety, their wisdom, and their knowledge of the sacred sciences, and we also selected ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, well trained in theological discipline, that they should most carefully weigh all those things which relate to the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and report to us their opinion. And although, from the entreaties lately received by us for at length defining the immaculate conception of the Virgin, the opinions of most of the bishops of the church were understood; however, we sent encyclic letters, dated at Gaeta, the 2d day of February, in the year 1849, to all our venerable brethren, the bishops of all the Catholic world, in order that, having offered prayers to God, they would signify to us, in writing, what was the piety and devotion of their flocks toward the immaculate conception of the mother of God, and especially what the bishops themselves thought about promulgating the definition, or what they desired, in order that we might pronounce our supreme judgment as solemnly as possible. Certainly we were filled with no slight consolation when the replies of our venerable brethren came to us. For, with an incredible joyfulness, gladness, and zeal, they not only confirmed their own singular piety, and that of their clergy and faithful people, toward the immaculate conception of the most blessed Virgin, but they even entreated of us, with a common voice, that the immaculate conception of the Virgin should be defined by our supreme judgment and authority. Nor, indeed, were we filled with less joy when the V.V.F.F.N.N.S.R.E. Cardinals of the Special Congregation aforesaid, and the consulting theologians chosen by us, after a diligent examination demanded from us, with equal alacrity and zeal, this definition of the immaculate conception of the mother of God. Afterward, walking in the illustrious footsteps of our predecessors, and desiring to proceed duly and properly, we proclaimed and held a consistory, in which we addressed our brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman Church, and with the greatest consolation of mind we heard them entreat of us that we should promulgate the dogmatic definition of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mother of God. Therefore, having full trust in the Lord that the opportune time had come for defining the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, which the divine words, venerable tradition, the perpetual opinion of the church, the singular agreement of Catholic prelates and faithful, and the signal acts and constitutions of our predecessors, wonderfully illustrate and proclaim; having most diligently weighed all things, and poured forth to God assiduous and fervent prayers, we resolved that we should no longer delay to sanc-

tion and define, by our supreme authority, the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and thus to satisfy the most pious desires of the Catholic world, and our own piety toward the most Holy Virgin, and, at the same time, to honor more and more the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, since whatever honor and praise is given to the mother redounds to the Son. Wherefore, after we had unceasingly, in humility and fasting, offered our own prayers and the public pray ers of the church to God the Father, through his Son, that he would deign to direct and confirm our mind by the power of the Holy Ghost, and implored the aid of the entire heavenly host, and invoked the Paraclete with sighs, and he thus inspiring, to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, to the glory and ornament of the Virgin Mother of God, to the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and the increase of the Catholic religion, by the authority of Jesus Christ our Lord, of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, we declare, pronounce, and define, that the doctrine which holds that the blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace of the omnipotent God, in virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore should firmly and constantly be believed by all the faithful. Wherefore, if any shall dare—which God avert—to think otherwise than as it has been defined by us, they should know and understand that they are condemned by their own judgment, that they have suffered shipwreck of the faith, and have revolted from the unity of the church; and besides, by their own act, they subject themselves to the penalties justly established, if what they think they should dare to signify by word, writing, or any other outward means. Our mouth is filled with joy and our tongue with exultation, and we return, and shall ever return, the most humble and the greatest thanks to Jesus Christ our Lord, because through his singular beneficence he has granted to us, though unworthy, to offer and decree this honor, glory, and praise to his most holy mother; but we rely with most certain hope and confidence that this most blessed Virgin, who, all fair and immaculate, has bruised the poisonous head of the most malignant serpent, and brought salvation to the world, who is the praise of the prophets and the apostles, the honor of the martyrs, and the crown and joy of all the saints—who is the safest refuge and most faithful helper of all who are in danger, and the most powerful mediatrix and conciliatrix with the only-begotten Son of the whole world, and the most illustrious glory and ornament and most firm guardian of the holy church, who has destroyed all heresies, and snatched from the greatest calamities of all kinds the faithful peoples and nations, and delivered us from so many threatening dangers, will

effect by her most powerful patronage that, all difficulties being removed and all errors dissipated, our holy mother the Catholic Church may flourish daily more and more throughout all nations and countries, and may reign from sea to sea to the ends of the earth, and may enjoy all peace, tranquillity, and liberty; that the sinner may obtain pardon, the sick healing, the weak strength of heart, the afflicted consolation, and that all who are in error, their spiritual blindness being dissipated, may return to the path of truth and justice, and may become one flock and one shepherd. Let all the children of the Catholic Church most dear to us hear these our words, and, with a more ardent zeal of piety, religion, and love, proceed to worship, invoke, and pray to the most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, conceived without original sin, and let them fly with entire confidence to this most sweet mother of mercy and grace in all dangers, difficulties, doubts, and fears. For nothing is to be feared, and nothing is to be despaired of, under her guidance, under her auspices, under her favor, under her protection, who, bearing toward us a maternal affection, and taking up the business of our salvation, is solicitous for the whole human race, and appointed by God the queen of heaven and earth, and exalted above all the choirs of angels and orders of saints standing at the right hand of the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, intercedes most powerfully, and obtains what she asks, and can not be frustrated. Finally, in order that this our definition of the immaculate conception of the most blessed Virgin Mary may be brought to the knowledge of the universal church, we will these letters apostolic to stand for a perpetual remembrance of the thing, commanding that to transcripts or printed copies, subscribed by the hand of some notary public, and authenticated by the seal of a person of ecclesiastical rank, appointed for the purpose, the same faith shall be paid which would be paid to those presents if they were exhibited or shown. Let no man interfere with this our declaration, pronunciation, and definition, or oppose and contradict it with presumptuous rashness. If any should presume to assail it, let him know that he will incur the indignation of the omnipotent God and of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, 1854, the sixth of the Ides of December, in the ninth year of our pontificate. PIUS IX., Pope.

THE POPE'S ALLOCUTION AGAINST THE CONVENTS SUPPRESSION BILL AND THE KING OF SARDINIA. JANUARY 22, 1855.

See page 804.

THE following is the address relative to the conduct of the Piedmontese government with respect to the sale of church property, delivered by his holiness the Pope, in the Secret Consistory, held on January 22d:

"VENERABLE BRETHREN: You must assuredly remember with what grief we have often deplored with you, and in this very place, the grave damage done to the Catholic Church for a number of years past in the subalpine kingdom. We have omitted nothing that could be suggested by our solicitude, zeal, and longanimity, to remedy these great evils; but all our efforts have been in vain, as neither the reiterated complaints which we caused the cardinal to make, acting as our plenipotentiary, nor the private letters which we have ourselves addressed to our dear son in Jesus Christ, the illustrious King of Sardinia, have obtained any result.

"Every one is aware of the numerous facts and decrees by which that government has aroused the indignation of every well-disposed heart, by trampling under foot the solemn conventions contracted with this apostolical see, and by persecuting every day, more and more, both the sacred ministers of religion and the bishops and the religious houses, by usurping the property of the church and showing contempt for the authority of the holy see, and by directing against both of them the most signal insults.

"And, last of all, as you are aware, there has been proposed in that country a bill directly contrary to natural and divine right, opposed in the highest degree to the well-being of human society, and favoring in every possible manner the pernicious errors of socialism and communism. By that bill it is proposed to destroy, almost totally, all the monastic and religious associations of both sexes, the collegiate churches and simple benefices—even those dependent on private patronage—and to deliver over their property and revenues to the administration of the civil power.

"The same bill also attributes to the lay authority the power of prescribing the conditions which such associations as are not destroyed are to be subjected to. Words fail us to express our grief at such criminal and almost incredible acts against the church, and against the inviolable supremacy of the holy see in that kingdom, where there are so great a number of fervent Catholics, and where formerly, and in particular among the sovereigns, such examples were to be found of piety, religion, and respect for the chair of St. Peter.

"But the evil having arrived at that point that it is not sufficient to merely deplore the injury done to the church, and that we are bound to do every thing in our power to put an end to this state of things, we again raise our voice with an apostolic liberty in this solemn assembly, and we reprove and condemn not only all the decrees already issued by that government to the detriment of the rights and authority of religion, of the church, and of the holy see, but likewise the bill lately proposed, and we declare all these acts to be entirely worthless and invalid.

"Furthermore, we warn in the most solemn manner not only those persons by whose orders such decrees have been published, but also those others who may not fear to sanction, favor, or approve in any manner whatever the bill recently proposed—we warn them, we say, to consider in time what penalties and censures the apostolical constitutions and the canons of the holy councils, and, in particular, the canons of the Council of Trent, have established against the plunderers and profaners of holy things—against the violators of the liberty of the church and the holy see, and against the usurpers of their rights.

"May it come to pass that the authors of such great evils may be touched by our words and warnings, and may at length determine to cease their audacious attacks on the liberties of the church, and save us the great affliction of turning against them the arms which have been divinely intrusted to our holy ministry. In order that the Catholic world may know what we have done to protect in the subalpine kingdom the cause of the church, we have had a statement of the whole matter printed, and have ordered a copy to be presented to each of you.

"Before terminating, we can not avoid, venerable brethren, paying a just tribute of praise to the archbishops and bishops of the subalpine kingdom for the admirable manner in which they have always stood, like a wall, firm in defense of the house of Israel, and upheld, by word and writing, the cause of God and of the holy church. And we also congratulate, from the bottom of our heart, all the distinguished laics who, in that kingdom, have shown their firm attachment to us and to this holy see, by defending openly the sacred rights of the church.

"As to you, venerable brethren, who have been called on to share in our solicitude, we request you to join us in our prayers to God, that, with the support of the immaculate Virgin Mary, we may see our efforts crowned with success, and behold those persons who are wandering from the path of truth and justice brought back to the holy church."

THE PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION OF KING VICTOR EMANUEL OF SARDINIA AND OTHERS.

"*Apostolic Letter of our most Holy Master Pius IX., Pope by the grace of God, by which the punishment of major excommunication is inflicted on the invaders and usurpers of some of our pontifical provinces.*

"PIUS P. P. IX.

"To the Eternal Memory of this Matter.

"As the Catholic Church, founded and established by the Lord Christ for the everlasting salvation of mankind, has acquired the form of a perfect society by its divine character, it ought, therefore, in the fulfillment of its sacred ministry, to possess that freedom by which it may not be subject to any civil power. And furthermore, in order to obtain that the church required those guarantees which were in accordance with the conditions and necessity of the times, it was, therefore, in accordance with divine Providence that, after the fall of the Roman empire and its consecutive division into several kingdoms, the Romish pope, whom Christ has established as the chief and the centre of his whole church, obtained temporal power. Therefore it has been ordered by God, in the wisest manner, that, as such a great number and variety of princes exist, the holy pope should enjoy that political liberty which is so much wanted in order to exercise his spiritual power, authority, and jurisdiction in the whole world, without any impediments. And therefore it was necessary that the Catholic world should not have any reason to suppose that the Romish pope is subject to any influence of temporal powers, or biased in the exercise of the religious powers which the holy see has to fulfill over the greater part of the Christians. It is easily understood that the dominion of our Roman Church, although having the appearance of something temporal, nevertheless is really of a spiritual character, by the holy destinations which it enjoys, and by the close ties by which it is connected with all Christian affairs. But this does not prevent that all those things which conduce to the secular welfare of the peoples may be obtained by the church, as the history of the temporal reigns of the Roman popes, during so many centuries, shows most clearly. The general good and welfare of the peoples being increased by the temporal power which we are alluding to, it is not astonishing that the enemies of this church endeavored to weaken and to embarrass it by many intrigues and all kinds of attempts.

"In these impious attempts they were vanquished sooner or later by God, who always defends the church. The whole world knows already

how, during these sad times, the adversaries of the Catholic and apostolic see have made themselves detestable by their attempts, which were characterized by their lying hypocrisy in trying to deprive the holy see of its secular power. They could not obtain their end by an open attack and by force of arms, but only by false and pernicious principles, by cunning dissimulation in their conduct, and by maliciously provoking popular risings. They did not blush to counsel the peoples to sedition against their princes, which is clearly and distinctly condemned by the apostle, when he says, 'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers which be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.' These wicked innovators, in attacking the temporal power of the church and its temporal dominion, and in despising its venerable authority, go so far in their impudence as to feign esteem for the church and obedience to her commands; and it is the most to be deplored that some of those on whom, as sons of the Catholic Church, the duty was imposed to protect that church and to maintain its power, have sullied themselves by their wicked acts.

"In these mischievous and perverse intrigues, which we deplore, the Sardinian government has the principal part, as it is generally known how much in that kingdom the church has suffered injuries and restrictions which we have already vehemently lamented in our consistorial allocution of the 22d January, 1855. The Sardinian government has until now despised our just reclamations, and has even dared to inflict on our church great injury, and to attack its secular power, while, according to the will of God, the holy see of St. Peter's, as stated above, ought to be protected in the liberty of its apostolic office. The first evident signs of the hostile attacks were seen at the Paris Congress of the year 1856; when that power, among other hostile declarations, proposed to weaken the temporal power of the pope and the authority of the holy see. But last year, when war broke out between the Emperor of Austria and the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia, no fraud, no sin, was avoided which could excite the inhabitants of the states of the church to sedition. Hence instigators were dispatched, a great deal of money was spent, arms were supplied, excitement was created by bad pamphlets and journals, and fraud of every kind was employed, even on the part of those who were members of the embassy of that country at Rome, without any regard to honesty and international right, as they pretended their dignity, in order to be enabled to misuse it, to pursue their dark projects for damaging our papal government. When, then, in some of our provinces the sedition, which for some time had already been enter-

tained clandestinely, broke out at last openly, the agitators directly proclaimed a royal dictatorship, and commissioners of the Sardinian government were immediately appointed, who then, in assuming other titles, undertook to govern those provinces. During these occurrences, we, remembering our serious office, did not fail in our allocutions of 20th of June and 26th of September of last year to complain loudly of these violations of the temporal power, and to remind the violators of the punishment and atonement which are imposed by the canonical laws, and which they became liable to. It might have been expected that the originators of these violations would, in consequence of our repeated admonitions, abstain from their unjust projects, especially as all the chiefs of our holy church, as well as the faithful believers of every rank, dignity, and class, joined their own protests to ours, in order to defend unanimously the rights of the holy see and of the church in general, as they very well understood how much the temporal power, which is made questionable on this occasion, is necessary for the maintenance of the papal power.

"But—we shudder in saying it—the Sardinian government has not only despised our admonition and complaints, and our religious resentment, but, by persevering in its wickedness by force, money, threats, terror, and other cunning means, they obtained the universal vote in their favor, and dared to invade our provinces, to occupy them, and to subject them to their power. This is a great profanation, as rights of others have been usurped against the law of nature and of God; every law has been overthrown, and the bases of all temporal power and human society have been undermined. We perceive on one side, with the greatest grief, how useless would be all further complaints against those who, like deaf adders, close their ears, and who do not listen to our complaints and admonitions; and, on the other side, we feel what the cause of our apostolic see and the whole Catholic world requires, for stigmatizing the attempts of those wicked men, in order not by tarrying to prejudice the dignity of our grave office. It resulted that, faithful to the examples of our illustrious predecessors, we exercise that authority which gives us the power to loosen and to bind, in order to employ the necessary severity against the guilty, and to give a salutary example to others.

"Having invoked the light of the Holy Spirit in private and public prayers, and having taken the advice of the reverend brothers, the cardinals of our holy Romish Church, we declare, in accordance with the authority which we hold from Almighty God, and the most holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and also in accordance with our own authority, all those who have taken part in the sinful insurrection in our provinces, in usurping, occupying, and invading them, or in doing

such deeds as we complained of in our above-mentioned allocutions of the 20th of June and 26th of September of the last year, or those who have perpetrated some of those acts themselves, as well as those who have been their warranters, supporters, helpers, counselors, followers, as well as those who connived at executing the above-mentioned deeds under whatever pretense, and in whatever manner, or who perpetrated them themselves, to have taken on themselves the atonement of the MAJOR EXCOMMUNICATION and religious punishment as they are determined in our apostolic constitution, and by the decrees of the general councils, especially that of Trent, (sess. 22, chapter 11, on reforms,) and if necessary we excommunicate them again, we anathematize them, further declaring that they are to lose all privileges, and graces, and indulgence which they enjoyed until now from our papal predecessors, and that they can not in any manner be released or absolved of these censures by any one except ourselves, or the Romish pontiff then reigning, except at the moment of death; but not in the event of their recovery, when they are again subject to the above punishment, and are unable to receive any absolution until they have retracted, revoked, annulled, and abolished in public all they have committed, and have brought every thing back fully and effectively to its former state, and have given complete satisfaction to the papal power. Therefore, all those who, in the remotest manner, have participated in those deeds, and also the successors in their offices, are liable to such revocation, retraction, abrogation, and abolition of the above-mentioned sins, to do so personally, in reality and in truth, and to give the full satisfaction they owe to the holy see, and under no pretense to be released and freed, but to always remain bound by it until they are worthy to obtain the benefit of absolution; thus we declare by the present letter.

"But in being obliged by sad necessity to fulfill this part of our duty, we do not forget that we represent Him on earth 'who wishes not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live; for he came into the world to seek and to save those who die.' Therefore, in fervent prayer we implore and we ask unceasingly, in the meekness of our heart, the mercy of the Almighty to enlighten by the light of his holy grace, and by his almighty virtue to lead back to the path of salvation, all those against whom we have been obliged to employ the severity of the religious punishments. Herewith, by this letter and all its contents, and all that has been said above, we order all who have participated in any way or in any manner, of whatever rank, dignity, or class they may be, or whether they are individually mentioned or not, for whose sake the present letter has been written, and who are not sufficiently designated, or who, for

any reason or pretense whatever, should doubt the signature or the value of this letter, or who should be brought before justice and should appeal against it, or who shall ask for grace, that this document is, and shall always remain and be considered valid, and shall be invariably and incontestably observed by those to whom it refers, they shall be responsible before every judge or deputy, also before the auditors (*auditores*) of the apostolic palace, and before the cardinals of the holy Roman empire, and before the *ad latere legatum* and nuncios of the see, and before all who possess or will possess similar power; and they shall be deprived of all faculty and authority of judging or interpreting, and that if they do, it shall be declared invalid. As the present letter, as is well known, can not be safely published everywhere, and especially in such places where it would be most required, we will that this letter, or copies of it, shall be posted on the doors of the Lateran Church, on those of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles, (*basilica Principis Apostolorum*,) on those of the apostolic chancery and general curia, (*curia generalis*,) in *Monte Citatoris*, and at the corner of the field of Flora of the city, (*in acie campi Floræ de urbe*,) as is usual, and the so posted and published letters, and each of these letters, shall have the same power upon every one whom it concerns as if they had been presented *nominatim* and *personaliter*. We order that translations as well as copies of the printed letters shall be signed by some public notary, and sealed by some person who holds an ecclesiastical dignity; their testimony shall be receivable in every place and in every country, as well in courts of justice as in any other place; they shall be as valid as if they were presented and delivered personally.

"Dated at Saint Peter, Rome, under the ring of the fishers, 26th day of March, 1860, in the 14th year of our popedom.

[L. S.] "PIUS P. P. IX.

"In the year of our Lord, 1860, Indict. III., the 29th day of March, the 14th year of the popedom of our most Holy Lord and Father in Christ, Pius the Ninth, the present Apostolic Letter was published, and affixed to the doors of the Lateran and Vatican churches, and the Apostolic Chancery, the Great Church of Innocencia, and at the top of the field of Flora, by me,

"ALOYS SERAFINO, *Apostolical Curser.*
"PHILIPPUS OSSANI, *Magister Curser.*"

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL AND SYLLABUS OF ERRORS.

THE following are the most important portions of the pope's encyclical letter, against errors and heresies, issued from Rome on the 8th of December, 1864:

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS IN COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE.

We, Pius IX., Pope, send greeting and our apostolic blessing. You know, venerable brethren, with what care and what pastoral vigilance the Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, fulfilling the charge intrusted to them by our Lord Jesus Christ himself, in the person of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, have unfailingly observed their duty in providing food for the sheep and the lambs, in assiduously nourishing the flock of the Lord with the words of faith, in imbuing them with salutary doctrine, and in turning them away from poisoned pastures; all this is known to you, and you have appreciated it.

But, as you are aware, venerable brethren, we had scarcely been raised to the chair of St. Peter above our merits by the mysterious designs of divine providence, than, seeing with the most profound grief of our soul the horrible storm excited by evil doctrines, and the very grave and deplorable injury caused specially by so many errors to Christian people, in accordance with the duty of our apostolic ministry, and following in the glorious footsteps of our predecessor, we raised our voice, and by the publication of several encyclicals, consistorial letters and allocutions, and other apostolical letters, we have condemned the *principal errors* of our sad age, reanimated your utmost episcopal vigilance, warned and exhorted, upon various occasions, all our dear children in the Catholic Church to repel and absolutely avoid the contagion of so horrible a plague.

These false and perverse opinions are the more detestable as they especially tend to shackle and turn aside the salutary force that the Catholic Church, by the example of her divine Author and his order, ought freely to exercise until the end of time, not only with regard to each individual man, *but with regard to nations, peoples, and their rulers.* For, as you are well aware, venerable brethren, there are a great number of men in the present day who dare to teach "that the perfect right of public society and civil progress absolutely require a condition of human society *constituted and governed without regard to all considerations of religion*, as if it had no existence, or at least without making any distinction between true religion and heresy." And, contrary to the teaching of the holy Scriptures, of the church, and of

the fathers, they do not hesitate to affirm "that the best condition of society is that in which the power of the laity is not compelled to inflict the penalties of law upon violators of the Catholic religion, unless required by considerations of public safety."

Actuated by an idea of social government so absolutely false, they do not hesitate further to propagate this erroneous opinion, very hurtful to the safety of the Catholic Church and of souls, and termed *delirium* by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., of excellent memory, namely, that "*Liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man—a right which ought to be proclaimed and established by law in every well-constituted state;* and that citizens are entitled to make known and declare, with a liberty which neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil authority can limit, their convictions, of whatever kind, either by word of mouth, or through the press, or by other means."

For this reason, also, these same men persecute with so relentless a hatred the religious orders, who have deserved so well of religion, civil society, and letters; they loudly declare that the orders have no right to exist; and in so doing, make common cause with the falsehoods of the heretics; for, as taught by our predecessor of illustrious memory, Pius VI., "the abolition of *religious houses* (that is, convents or nunneries) injures the state of public profession, and is contrary to the counsels of the Gospel, injures a mode of life recommended by the church, and, in conformity with the apostolical doctrine, does wrong to the celebrated founders whom we venerate upon the altar, and who constituted these societies under the inspiration of God."

Others, taking up wicked errors, many times condemned, presume, with notorious impudence, to submit the authority of the church and of this apostolic see, conferred upon it by God himself, to the judgment of civil authority, and to deny all the rights of this same church and this see with regard to exterior order. They do not blush to affirm "that the laws of the church do not bind the conscience if they are not promulgated by the civil power; that the acts and decrees of the Roman pontiffs concerning religion and the church require the sanction and approbation, or at least the assent, of the civil power; and that the apostolic constitutions, *condemning secret societies*, whether these exact or do not exact an oath of secrecy, and branding with anathema their secretaries and promoters, have no force in those regions of the world where these associations are tolerated by the civil government."

It is likewise affirmed "that the excommunications launched by the Council of Trent and the Roman pontiffs against those who invade the possessions of the church and usurp its rights, seek, in confounding the spiritual and temporal orders, to attain solely a terrestrial object;

that the church can decide nothing which may bind the consciences of the faithful in a temporal order of things; that the law of the church does not demand that violations of sacred laws should be punished by temporal penalties; and that it is in accordance with sacred theology and the principles of public law to claim for the civil government the property possessed by the churches, the religious orders, and other pious establishments." And they have no shame in avowing openly and publicly the thesis, the principle of heretics, from whom emanate so many errors and perverse opinions. They say "that the ecclesiastical power is not of right divine, distinct, and independent of the civil power, and that no distinction, no independence of this kind, can be maintained without the church invading and usurping the essential rights of the civil power."

How contrary is this doctrine to the Catholic dogma of the full power, divinely given to the sovereign pontiff by our Lord Jesus Christ, to guide, to supervise, and govern the universal church, no one can fail to see and understand clearly and evidently.

Amid so great a perversity of depraved opinions, we, remembering our apostolic duty, and solicitous before all things for our most holy religion, for sound doctrine, for the salvation of the souls confided to us, and for the welfare of human society itself, have considered the moment opportune to raise anew our apostolic voice. And, therefore, do we condemn and proscribe, generally and particularly, all the evil opinions and doctrines specially mentioned in this letter, and we wish that they may be held as rebuked, proscribed, and condemned by all the children of the Catholic Church.

In the present letter, therefore, we speak to you who, called to partake our cares, are our greatest support in the midst of our very great grief. We ought then to expect from your excellent pastoral zeal that, taking the sword of the Spirit, you will watch with redoubled care that the faithful committed to your charge "abstain from evil pasturage." *And do not omit to teach "that the royal power has been established, not only to exercise the government of the world, but above all for the protection of the church*, and that there is nothing more profitable and more glorious for the sovereigns of states and kings than to leave the Catholic Church to exercise its laws, and not to permit any to attack its liberty; as our most wise and courageous predecessor, St. Felix, wrote to the Emperor Zenon: It is certain that it is advantageous for the sovereigns, when the cause of God is in question, to submit their royal will, according to the established rules, to the priests of Jesus Christ, *and not to impose their will upon them.*"

By these letters, emanating from our apostolic authority, we grant to all and each of the faithful of both sexes throughout the universe,

a plenary indulgence during one month, up to the end of the year 1865, and not longer, to be carried into effect by you, venerable brethren, and the other legitimate ordinaries.

But, in order that God may accede more easily to our prayers and our wishes, and to those of all his faithful servants, let us employ in all confidence as our mediatrix with him the Virgin Mary, who has destroyed all heresies throughout the world, and who, the well-beloved mother of us all, "is very gracious . . and full of mercy, . . allows herself to be touched by all, shows herself very clement toward all, and takes under her pitying care all our miseries with unlimited affection," and who, sitting as queen upon the right hand of her Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in a golden vestment, shining with various adornments, knows nothing which she can not obtain from the sovereign Master. Let us implore also the intervention of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles, and of his co-apostle Paul, and of all those saints of heaven who, having already become the friends of God, have been admitted into the celestial kingdom, where they are crowned and bear palms, and who, henceforth certain of immortality, are entirely devoted to our salvation. PIUS IX., Pope.

Given at St. Peter's, in Rome, this 8th of December, 1864, the tenth anniversary of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God.

This "Bull against civilization," as it has been appropriately called, was followed by a catalogue or syllabus of condemned errors, eighty in number. For an extract containing the most important of these see above, page 820.

POPERY A RELIGION OF CURSING.

POPERY may well be called a "religion of cursing." In the signatures to the bull of excommunication against Victor Emanuel, we have seen that the pope keeps in his pay his regular "cursers," the "APOSTOLICAL CURSER," and the "MAGISTER CURSER." On page 617, mention is made of the solemn curse annually pronounced by the pope against all heretics at Rome on Holy Thursday of Passion Week, in the *bull in cœna domini*, an extract of which is given. On page 536, an account is given of the great cursing scene at the close of the Council of Trent.

A few years ago, the following terrible curse, which we have slightly abridged, was published by Mr. William Hogan, of Boston, once a

Romish priest, as having been pronounced against himself for his renunciation of the Romish faith, and becoming a protestant.

Mr. Hogan was a respectable gentleman, of good repute, and for some time occupied a position in the custom-house at Boston, till removed from it through the influence of Roman Catholic politicians, who pursued him for many years in the spirit of the following awful curse.

CURSE UPON WILLIAM HOGAN.

"By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the undefiled Virgin Mary, mother and patroness of our Saviour, and of all celestial virtues, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims, and seraphims. And of all the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apostles and evangelists of the holy innocents, who, in the sight of the Holy Lamb, are found worthy to sing the new song of the holy martyrs and holy confessors, and of all the holy virgins, and of all the saints, together with the holy elect of God—may he, William Hogan, be damned.

"We excommunicate and anathematize him, and from the thresholds of the holy church of God Almighty we sequester him, that he may be tormented, deposed, and be delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with those who say unto the Lord, 'Depart from us, we desire none of thy ways;' and as fire is quenched with water, so let the light of him be put out for evermore, unless it shall repent him, and make satisfaction, Amen!

"May the Father, who created man, curse him! May the Son, who suffered for us, curse him! May the Holy Ghost, who was given to us in baptism, curse him! May the Holy Cross, which has Christ for our salvation, triumphing over his enemies, ascended, curse him!

"May the holy and eternal Virgin Mary, Mother of God, curse him! May Saint Michael, the advocate of holy souls, curse him! May all the angels, archangels, principalities and powers, and all the heavenly armies, curse him!

"May the praiseworthy multitude of patriarchs and prophets curse him!

"May St. John, the precursor, and St. John, the Baptist, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and St. Andrew, and all the other of Christ's apostles, together curse him! and may the rest of his disciples and four evangelists, who, by their preaching, converted the universal world, and may the holy and wonderful company of martyrs and confessors who, by their holy works, are found pleasing to God Almighty, curse him! May the holy choir of the holy virgins who, for the honor of Christ, have despised the things of the world, damn him!

May all the saints, from the beginning of the world who to everlasting ages are found to be beloved of God, damn him!

"May he be damned wherever he be, whether in the house or the stable, the garden or the field, or the highway, or in the path, or in the woods, or in the water, or in the church. May he be cursed in living and in dying.

"May he be cursed in eating and drinking, in being hungry, in being thirsty, in fasting, in sleeping, in slumbering, in sitting, in lying, in working, in resting, and in blood-letting.

"May he be cursed in all the faculties of his body.

"May he be cursed inwardly and outwardly; may he be cursed in his brains, in his temples, in his forehead, in his ears, in his eyebrows, in his cheeks, in his jawbones, in his nostrils, in his teeth and grinders, in his throat, in his shoulders, in his arms, in his fingers.

"May he be cursed in his mouth, in his breasts, in his heart, in his reins, in his thighs, in his hips, in his knees, his legs, and feet and toenails.

"May he be cursed in all his joints, and articulations of his members, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot; may there be no soundness in him!

"May the Son of the living God, with all the glory of his majesty, curse him! And may heaven, with all the powers which move therein, rise up against him, and curse and damn him—unless he repent, and make satisfaction! *Amen, so be it—be it so, Amen!*"

When this terrible curse was first published, its authenticity was denied by the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* and others, upon the ground that it had been published in a fictitious work by Sterne. It was proved, however, that Sterne himself had copied the curse from preëxisting Roman Catholic authorities. We have no inclination to renew the controversy, although we are fully convinced of the genuineness of the curse; but it is due to history to state the following facts, and the dispute may well be left to be settled between the editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, and his brother Catholic editor of the *Courrier des Etats Unis*. Some years ago, the New-York *Express* published this curse. Soon afterward, its authenticity was denied by the *Freeman's Journal*. The *Express* replied, and reaffirmed its genuineness, citing, in proof of its authenticity, a most unexceptionable authority—the editor of the French paper published in New-York.

The following, which appeared in 1860, soon after the publication of the sentence against the King of Sardinia, is the conclusive reply of the *Express*, and the testimony, with the authority adduced, of the learned French editor:

"If any thing we have said in defense of our own position has

failed to work conviction in the minds of any of our neighbors of the *Freeman's Journal*, we now beg leave to call to the stand a witness whose veracity, as a good Catholic, will probably not be so glibly challenged. The *Courrier des Etats Unis*, like most other French journals, has a strong leaning to the national (Roman Catholic) religion of the mother country—and what its learned editor has to say upon such a subject, therefore, is entitled to consideration and respect:"

[Translated from the *Courrier des Etats Unis.*]

THE EXCOMMUNICATIONS.

"We last week published a letter reproaching us with having given, as a veritable formula of excommunication, a sacrilegious parody taken from the pages of Sterne's romance of *Tristram Shandy*. At the same time, we announced that we should reply in a few days. This response we give to-day.

"It is possible that the author of *Tristram Shandy* inserted the formula in question in his work, as a bitter satire upon the *adresse* of ultra-catholicism; but—we regret to be obliged to state it—he had no need to resort to imagination to accomplish that end. *The document is not apocryphal: it is textually taken from Dom Martin Bouquet*, a priest or friar of the congregation of Saint Maur, who published it in 1741, in the fourth volume of *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de France*, page 610. Dom Bouquet had himself copied it from Etienne Balaze, a professor of canon law in the College of France, who had given it as early as the year 1677 in the second volume of his *Capitulaires*, pp. 679 and 680, under the rubric, *Formulæ veteres exorcismorum et excommunicationum.*

"This last author, in his turn, appears to have published after a manuscript of Vendome, and also after a sacramentary in ancient Latin, which Dom Martin places as far back as the eleventh century, and to which he gives the number of 428.

"This triple authority," says the French editor, "places the authenticity of the document beyond all question. But there is more: those who will turn to the authors cited, can assure themselves that if the formula reproduced by us constitutes an exception in some of its terms, taken all in all it corresponds in general principles to the excommunications of a certain date. In proof of this, we quote another text taken from the collection of Dom Martin:

ANOTHER ROMAN CATHOLIC CURSE.

"May God Almighty and all his saints curse them with the perpetual malediction with which the devil and his angels have been smitten.

"May they be damned with Judas the traitor and Julian the apostate.

"May they perish with Dacian and Nero.

"May the Lord judge them as he judged Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed up alive.

"May they be effaced from the earth of the living; may their memory vanish away.

"May they be surprised by a shameful death, and may they go down alive into hell.

"May their seed disappear from the surface of the earth.

"May their days be few in number and wretched.

"May they succumb under hunger, thirst, nakedness, and all kinds of anguish.

"May they suffer poverty, pestilential maladies, and all the torments.

"May their estates be cursed.

"May no blessing, no prayer of theirs be useful; but may they be burned with curses.

"May they be cursed always and everywhere.

"May they be cursed in the night, the day at all hours.

"May they be cursed sleeping and waking.

"May they be cursed breakfasting, eating, and drinking.

"May they be cursed speaking and keeping silence.

"May they be cursed in the house and out of the house.

"May they be cursed in the fields and on the water.

"May they be cursed from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot.

"May their eyes become blind, their ears deaf, and their mouth dumb.

"May their tongue cleave to their throat.

"May their hands no longer feel.

"May their feet no longer walk.

"May all the members of the body be cursed.

"May they be cursed standing, lying down, or sitting.

"May they be cursed now and forever, and may their lamp be extinguished before the face of the Lord at the last judgment.

"May their burial be that of dogs and asses.

"May savage wolves devour their corpses.

"May the devil and his angels accompany them forever."

After citing this additional specimen of a Romish curse, the French editor proceeds to remark: "We hasten to state that the language of Pius IX. has nothing in common with these extravagances of languages, so profoundly anti-Christian. But, nevertheless, there is one observation to be made upon this point, namely, that the document hurled by the Vatican, on the occasion of the affair of the Romagna, is a *monitory bull*, rather than an excommunication, properly so called. It suspends the anathema over the head of the enemies of the holy see,

but it is not the definitive expression of that anathema, such as the traditions of the church hand it down to us. We are under the conviction that even in case the court of Rome should believe itself obliged to resort to this extreme measure, it would be wise enough to avoid the rock of a phraseology that is no longer of our age. But the concessions made to the progress of ages can not do away with the fact that this phraseology has existed; they even prove conclusively that the holy see understands that it would now completely miss its aim by going to the excesses common in other days."

A CURSING SCENE IN IRELAND.

THE following additional instance of the terrible papal curse, especially when pronounced among the more ignorant and excitable victims of popery, is related upon the undoubted testimony of the eminent Irish protestant divine, the Rev. Dr. Edgar, and is quite equal in its terrific and diabolic ingenuity in the Romish art of cursing to either of the two specimens above cited. It was first published by Dr. Edgar in *The Banner of Ulster*. This awful anathema was pronounced by a priest, in a chapel in the glens of Antrim, against several persons who were charged with being teachers of the Bible in schools:

"THE PRIEST'S CURSE.—May God omnipotent and all his saints curse them with the curse with which the devil and his angels are cursed. Let them be destroyed out of the land of the living. Let the vilest of deaths come upon them, and let them descend alive into the pit. Let their seed be destroyed from the earth. By hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, and all distress let them perish. May they have all misery, and pestilence, and torment. Let all that they have be cursed. Always, and everywhere, let them be cursed. Cursed let them be, sleeping and waking. Hungering, and eating, and drinking, let them be cursed. Speaking and silent, let them be cursed. Within and without, let them be cursed. By land and by sea, let them be cursed. From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, let them be cursed. Let their eyes become blind, let their ears become deaf, let their mouth become dumb, let their tongue cleave to their jaws, let not their hands handle, let not their feet walk. Let all the members of their body be cursed. Cursed let them be, standing, lying, from this time forth forever; and thus let their candle be extinguished in the presence of God, at the day of judgment. Let their burial be with dogs and asses. Let hungry wolves devour their corpses. Let the devil and his angels be their companions forever. Amen, amen, so be it, so let it be."—*One of the authorized Romish curses as published in the Romish Pontifical, and in Marlene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ, etc.*, vol. ii., p. 325.

Dr. Edgar's Account of a Cursing Scene in Ireland.

Dr. Edgar says, "When the fatal Sabbath came, all was terror and alarm; one unfortunate young woman, who had been persecuted by her friends into submission, was brought forward as a penitent before the whole congregation. The priest made a long and violent harangue, preparatory to the deadly curse, in which he told them that, having held forth in vain the warning of an excommunicated man, and having long delayed the execution of the sentence, for which a letter from his bishop empowered him, he was now compelled to proceed. During his address he was excited, vociferous, and drank twice. Many of the congregation were in tears; and when he read the names of those to be cursed, two men besought him to delay, for another week, the terrible vengeance against one of the number, because his friends hoped that before another Sabbath he would do all that the priest required. The work of terror went on—alarm and horror increased fearfully among the assembled crowd—and when, at length, the priest of Antichrist repeated the names of the doomed, and, ringing the bell, pronounced his curse, and God's curse, on all who would work in the same field, eat at the same table, or hold any intercourse with the accursed teachers of the Irish Bible, the overburdened feelings of his affrighted people could no longer be restrained, but burst forth in exclamation and crying. Those alone can have any proper idea of the scene who know the depth of Romish superstition, and the deadly fear of the priest which reigns in every Romish heart. As athletic men, with trembling voice and affrighted look, told me of the curse accompanying the extinguishing of the light, Scott's terrific cursing scene rose before me in all its horrors; my imagination saw the grisly priest Brian quenching the burning cross in the bubbling blood, and heard from his hoarse and hollow voice,

> 'As dies in hissing gore the spark,
> Quench thou his light, destruction dark.'"

THE SPIRIT OF POPERY UNCHANGED. ROMISH AVOWALS.

A FEW extracts from Roman Catholic papers are here collected to show that the intolerant, and persecuting, and grasping spirit of popery remains unchanged. The first four selections refer to the suppression of protestant worship at Rome some years ago:

1. Says the *Pittsburg Catholic Visitor:* "For our own part, we take this opportunity of explaining our hearty delight at the suppression of the protestant chapel in Rome. This may be thought intolerant; but when, we ask, did we ever profess to be tolerant of protestantism, or to

favor the doctrine that protestantism ought to be tolerated? On the contrary, we hate protestantism—we detest it with our whole heart and soul, and we pray our aversion to it may never decrease. We hold it meet, that in the Eternal City no worship repugnant to God should be tolerated, and we are sincerely glad the enemies of the truth are no longer allowed to meet together in the capital of the Christian world."

2. *The Shepherd of the Valley*, published at St. Louis, says, "For the Holy Father to grant to Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Socinians, and Mormons a free license to propagate their detestable errors in his dominions, while it is in his power to exclude them therefrom; for him to pull down the fence which guards the vineyard over which he is set, and to invite the wild boar out of the forest to destroy the vine which he is commissioned to guard, would be no less than to enter into a compact with the enemy.

"We are not, for our own part, the advocates of religious toleration. We never could understand how a man firmly convinced of the truth of a religious system to which he is attached, can conscientiously afford any facilities for the propagation of other systems contrary to his own."

3. Again, the same paper says, "When protestants ask Catholics to declare that they accept the foolish proposition that absolute toleration is the duty of all governments, they ask them to assent to a statement which is repugnant to faith, to sound reason, to the practice of all governments, Christian or pagan, Catholic or Protestant, and to the common sense of mankind. When they ask that false systems of religion should be tolerated in a Christian country, because the true religion is not repressed by law in a country which does not profess to be Christian, they ask what can not be granted, and urge a reason for conceding their request which is not likely to weigh much with a Christian prince. The right of preventing the introduction of protestantism into countries in which it has not appeared, is simply the right of repressing doctrines subversive of that social order which government is instituted to preserve, and of guarding the true liberty of the citizen, which has been justly defined by a pagan philosopher to be nothing else than implicit obedience to legitimate authority."

4. Again, "Liberty of conscience, in the sense in which protestants use the words, or rather the unbounded license of conscience which they defend, which frees conscience from the obligation of conforming to the truth, is not admitted by the Catholic Church. To say that a man is a Catholic, is to say that he rejects it: and the sooner our protestant friends understand this, the better. If it has no other good effect, it will spare them some trouble in the way of compiling petitions to the pope, which are absolutely certain of rejection."

5. In another article upon religious freedom, this same *Shepherd of the Valley* says, "We gain nothing by declaiming so earnestly against the doctrine of *the civil punishment of spiritual crimes.* Our enemies will not believe that we are better than our church, and—for her, her history is before them; they know what she sanctioned during the middle ages, what she did then, and does now where she can. We will say, however, that we are not in favor of roasting heretics, and that, if this sort of work is to be revived—though in our miserable times it is quite impossible, since men have no belief which they care to propagate, or for which they dare endure—if persecution is to be renewed, we should rather be its victims than its agents; but we are not, therefore, going to deny the facts of history, or to blame the saints of God, and the doctors and pastors of the church for what they have done and sanctioned. We say that *the temporal punishment of heresy is a mere question of expediency;* that protestants do not persecute us here, simply because they have not the power; and that where we abstain from persecuting them, they are well aware that it is merely because we can not do so, or think that, by doing so, we should injure the cause that we wish to serve."

6. *The Rambler*, another Roman Catholic paper, says, "You ask if he (the pope) were lord in the land, and you were in a minority, if not in numbers, yet in power, what would he do to you? That, we say, would entirely depend upon circumstances. If it would benefit the cause of Catholicism, he would tolerate you; if expedient, he would imprison you, banish you, fine you—possibly he might even hang you—but be assured of one thing: he would never tolerate you for the sake of the 'glorious principles' of civil and religious liberty."

7. In another number, the same paper says, "Religious liberty, in the sense of a liberty possessed by every man to choose his religion, is one of the most wicked delusions ever foisted upon this age by the father of all deceit. The very name of liberty—except in the sense of a permission to do certain definite acts—ought to be banished from the domain of religion. It is neither more nor less than falsehood. No man has a right to choose his religion. None but an atheist can uphold the principles of religious liberty. Shall I therefore fall in with this abominable delusion? Shall I foster that damnable doctrine, that Socinianism and Calvinism, and Anglicanism, and Judaism are not every one of them mortal sins, like murder and adultery? Shall I hold out hopes to my erring protestant brother that I will not meddle with his creed if he will not meddle with mine? Shall I tempt him to forget that he has no more right to his religious views than he has to my purse, to my house, or to my life-blood? No! Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds. It is intolerance itself, for it is truth itself. We

might as rationally maintain that a sane man has a right to believe that two and two do not make four, as this theory of religious liberty. Its impiety is only equaled by its absurdity."

8. A recent number of the *Paris Univers*, a Roman Catholic paper, published in France, says, "A heretic, examined and convicted by the church, used to be delivered over to the secular power, and punished with death. Nothing has ever appeared to us more necessary. More than 100,000 perished in consequence of the heresy of Wickliffe; a still greater number for that of John Huss; and it would not be possible to calculate the bloodshed caused by Luther; and it is not yet over. As for myself, what I regret, I frankly confess, is, that they did not burn John Huss sooner, and that they did not also burn Luther. This happened because there was not found some prince sufficiently politic to stir up a crusade against the protestants."

9. The *Catholic Review* says, "Protestantism of every form has not, and never can have, any right where catholicity is triumphant; and therefore, we lose the breath we expend in declaiming against bigotry and intolerance, and in favor of religious liberty, or the right of any man to be of any religion as best pleases him."

10. As a striking commentary and exemplification of the foregoing extracts, we append the following exhibitions of this persecuting spirit: "A young woman who, from the age of four years, had lived with strangers, uncared for by her Roman Catholic relatives, after uniting with a Baptist church in New-York State, in 1865, received in a letter, from a sister of nineteen, the following: 'You may never more henceforth consider me your sister; you need not expect any sympathy from your brother. You have no reason to expect any mercy from your friends here; but will surely realize the true import of the word *persecution*. You say, 'If God be for you, none can be against you.' We will prove the truthfulness of this assertion to your own bitter experience. Oh! how gladly we would have received the news of your death rather than have heard what you have done; and how glad I should have been had you been drowned when you went into the water, and your heretic leader with you. Mother showed your letter to the priest. He said, 'If there was a hell, which he believed there surely was, you would have the full benefit of it.' You know not the cloud that is hanging with impending gloom above your head, and which soon is to burst with all its fury. You may think I am trying to frighten you; but, if I am trying to picture out to you your condition, it is nevertheless true, and we have plenty of friends to aid us in our project. I inclose your photograph. You need never answer this until you are of a different mind. You will have the pleasure of trusting in that Saviour that has done so much for you."

The threat in this letter is supposed to mean abduction and imprisonment in a convent in Canada.

11. In relation to the designs of papists to take and to control the government of these United States, Father Hecker, in a recent lecture in the city of New-York, said, "The Catholic Church numbers one third of the American population, and if its membership shall increase for the next thirty years as it has for the thirty years past, in 1900 Rome will have a majority, and be bound to take this country and keep it."

12. All the above quotations are from Romish authorities. The following extract, with which we close the list, is from one of our best protestant papers, the New-York *Observer:*

"WHITHER ARE WE DRIFTING?" asked an aged clergyman in the Fulton street prayer-meeting, who had spent many years as a pastor in the West, and then asked permission to relate the following facts: "It is just thirty years ago," said he, "that I was walking down Main street, in Cincinnati, Ohio, in company with a Roman Catholic priest with whom I was acquainted. He was a scholar and gentleman, in the usual acceptation of the word. Our conversation turned upon the aspirations and designs of the Roman Catholic Church. He confessed that it was his great desire to see the day when their religion would have universal sway in these United States, and the Roman Catholic faith have its place as the religious faith of the country. The time must come when it must be supreme, and to its authority all hearts must bow.

"'You know,' said he, 'you protestants have no religion. You have sectarianisms, but you have no common faith.' This he said good-humoredly, smiling all the time, but having a grim meaning.

"'Do you think,' said I, 'that yours will ever be the established religion in this country?'

"'Certainly I do. It must be so.'

"'*Never*,' said I.

"'Never?' he repeated.

"'No, NEVER,' said I, with vehemence.

"'Now, *now*,' said he playfully, 'not so fast. Don't be so positive Why do you think ours may not one day be the established religion?'

"'Because our constitution and our laws are against it.'

"'But we will change your constitution and your laws.'

"'Change them?'

"'Yes, change them—amend them.'

"'But the people will see that you shall not do that.'

"'We will change the people too.'

"'Not in your day or mine,' said I resolutely.

"'Perhaps not,' he answered, very coolly. 'Perhaps not. But we have purposed it, and it will be done—if not in your day or mine, then in the days of those who shall come after us.'

"I looked at his face with astonishment, as if I could not believe my own senses. He saw, and added quickly,

"'Oh! do not be alarmed. It will be done very quietly. It may be a long time coming—but it *will come*, when the Catholics will rule the nation, and the Catholic religion will be the ruling faith of the country.'

"'Oh! you can not believe it.'

"'Yes, I do believe it. We are at it now. And you know what we Catholics are. When we take hold, we hold on, and never let go.' This was said with a very solemn and determined look, and he then added, 'We will upset your institutions and establish our own.'

"We parted company at the foot of the street, I scarcely realizing the amount of meaning there was in the priest's thrusts; for in that day we had no such apprehensions as now.

"We come down thirty years. Whether this priest is alive or dead, we know not. But the work, which he said was begun, of supplanting our institutions, is not dead. Quietly, persistently, encroachingly, the Catholics have gone on in their work, proselyting where they could, buying up votes where they could, till at last they fill our places of trust and office with creatures of their own. Our judges, our lawyers, our military leaders, our senators and representatives, are fast becoming Roman Catholics, and the profession of this faith, which was never 'delivered to the saints,' is a sure passport to office or preferment. The politician has found it to his advantage to confess his sins and get absolution from a priest, and be accounted a good Catholic."

In view of the facts brought to light in the above quotations, although we are no alarmists, and can not yet believe that the expected Romish conquest of America will ever be achieved, yet we can not help asking whether American protestants should sleep while such developments are made? Is there not wisdom in the advice lately given by one of the most venerable and eminent of the London protestant clergy, the Rev. Dr. Binney, of the Weigh House, to his younger brethren in the ministry, to "STUDY POPERY ANEW. Yes," said this venerable man, "the proper remedy against the threatened influx of papal power is to study afresh the tenets of the papacy; to understand its errors; to chronicle its crimes; to mark well that its character is as immutable as its pretensions are arrogant; and that everywhere and always it has proved itself to be a thing which at once insults God and degrades man."

PUBLIC GRANTS AND ENDOWMENTS TO ROMAN CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS.

One of the most cunning and successful devices of the Romish priesthood in America, to further the interests of their order and of their church, is to secure valuable gifts, grants, and subsidies from such politicians of any and every party who will sell their consciences and themselves for the promise of political patronage or votes. The influence wielded by the Catholic priests is almost omnipotent with the foreign Catholic population. It is well known that nine tenths or more of their people will vote as the priest gives them direction. Such politicians as are destitute of principle understand full well the importance of securing the favor of the army of foreign Romish priests that are constantly flocking to our shores; and they would do precisely the same with protestant pastors of any denomination if these pastors could also command the votes of their flocks. Hence it happens, in most of our populous cities on the sea-board, and especially in New-York, where the great majority of emigrants from Ireland land, although the Catholic population is a minority of the whole, yet the municipal government offices are almost entirely in their hands, and the people tamely submit to a large increase of their burdensome taxation, in order that valuable endowments of land, or gifts of money, may be voted to Roman Catholic churches, schools, convents, asylums, hospitals, and other institutions designed for the propagation and extension of the religion of Rome. A writer in *Putnam's Magazine*, for July, 1869, in an able article entitled, "Our Established Church," gives the following list of Roman Catholic officials who occupy important lucrative positions in the single city of New-York, as they were at the end of 1868: The Sheriff, the Register, the Comptroller, the City Chamberlain, the Corporation Counsel, a Police Commissioner, the President of the Croton Board, the Acting Mayor and President of the Board of Aldermen, the President of the Board of Councilmen, the Clerk of the Common Council, the Clerk of the Board of Councilmen, the President of the Board of Supervisors, five Justices of the Courts of Record, all the Civil Justices, all but two of the Police Justices, all the Police Court Clerks, three out of the four Coroners, two Members of Congress, three out of the five State Senators, eighteen out of twenty-one Members of Assembly, fourteen nineteenths of the Common Council, and eight tenths of the Supervisors. Now, let American citizens carefully examine the above list of Roman Catholic stipendiaries in New-York, and then ask themselves why it is that in a city where there is still a very large majority of protestants, almost a necessary passport to any office should be a

certificate of birth in Catholic Ireland, and of membership in the Catholic Church?

The city of New-York is rapidly becoming the strongest hold of popery, not only in America, but in the world. So far as the governmental municipal office-holders are concerned, as a glance at the patronymics of most of the above list of officers would show, the metropolitan city of America is already more Irish than Dublin, more Romish than Rome itself.

It has been well and truly said by the Episcopal Bishop of Western New-York, the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, "The enormous endowments given by the State to Romish institutions is an evil which gravely affects our rights and liberties. It gives to a grasping political hierarchy, the vassals of a foreign prince and pontiff, all the substantial advantages of an established church, of which they already assume the airs and affect the character; forcing themselves, on all public occasions, upon the patronage of the public authorities. The endowments which they pluck from the public purse are manifestly tokens of a political power which is already boldly used to corrupt our politicians, and thus to endanger our constitution, robbing us of equal laws and impartial government. We are sold, my brethren, by our unscrupulous public servants, to the aggressions of the old despotic plague of Europe; to the emissaries of the papacy. How these public moneys are expended nobody really knows; nobody is allowed to sift the pretenses on which they are given. But, in short, over and above all that is extorted privately by systematic mendicancy and chicanery, American tax-payers are directly forced to pay for Romish colleges, churches, and other institutions, and thus indirectly to send Peter's pence to the pope.

"Now, as a man, and as an American," continues Bishop Coxe, "I am not disposed to submit tamely to such flagrant injustice; and as a bishop I exhort you to resist it in every manner that is open to an outraged people. Let us clearly understand the case. Every dollar that is given, on whatever pretense, to Romish institutions, is an endowment of a corrupt political hierarchy. For this end, and for no other, their schools and hospitals are instituted. No other religionists are so negligent of their own poor; they exact their last penny, and then billet them upon us; our alms are largely expended on their pauperism. They show mercy only where they can make proselytes, and found asylums and orphanages chiefly as a means for extorting legislative grants.

"The great city of New-York," adds the bishop, "is absolutely within their power already, and they rob it without remorse. I know not how this evil can be reached; but, as citizens, you know your rights. If these aggressions go on, and ripen to their natural conse-

quences, and involve my beloved country in evils to which all we have yet known is as nothing, it shall not be, in any degree, because I failed in my solemn duty to give timely warning."

As proofs of the literal truth of the above statements of Bishop Coxe, the following facts are given, copied from statistics taken from the comptroller's report and other public records, and prefixed to a petition for the abolition of all such grants, which was numerously signed by protestants of every name, and presented to the late Convention for Revising the Constitution of the State of New-York:

In the document from which we quote, the names of 38 institutions are given to which donations were made by the State in 1866, with the sum granted to each, amounting in the aggregate to $129,025.49. Of these 38 institutions, 32 were Roman Catholic, 5 were protestant, and one Jewish. Of the whole amount

The Roman Catholics received	$124,174 14
The different protestant sects received in all	2,367 03
The Jews received	2,484 32
Total	$129,025 49

It is well remarked in this document that the fact that the Roman Catholics received twenty-five twenty-sixth parts ($\frac{25}{26}$) of the whole amount "shows the tendency of the evil."

"Our Legislature must either have been sympathizers with the tenets of that sect, or the Roman Catholics must have been more persistent in petitioning than other sects. In either event, the result points to a church leaning upon a state for support. It would be interesting and instructive to ascertain how much, in addition to the above, 'donated' by the State, the municipal corporations of the several cities within the State 'donated' during the same period. There has not been time," says this document, "to gather facts in this field, except in the great city of New-York. It has been quite fashionable to charge the Common Council of that city with corruption; but if 'donating' *other people's money* to religious and charitable purposes be an evidence of purity of character, the Common Council of New-York City ought to have been canonized in a body years ago."

"In 1867, by enactment of the Legislature, the 'Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Orphan Children' had appropriated to it $110 per head for its whole number of inmates. By ordinance of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of New-York, passed on or about the 20th of May, 1867, the sum of $80,000 was appropriated for the above purpose, and had to be raised by tax

upon all the taxable property within the city and county of New-York."

"From an examination of the reports of the Comptroller of the city of New-York from 1850 to 1865, the sum of $578,145 will appear to have been drawn from the city treasury for and on account of 'donations.' I would add, that since 1867, when this document was prepared, the amount of 'donations' of public moneys annually drawn from the New-York City treasury, for *sectarian* purposes, has largely increased."

"But the city of New-York, as a large real estate proprietor, has been munificent in its 'DONATIONS' of its *lands* to *sectarian* purposes. One, and the most noted example of this, is the 'lease' to the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, of two entire blocks of ground on Fifth avenue, between Fifty-first and Fifty-third streets, for 99 years, at $1 per annum! The tenant pays the rent with great punctuality, sometimes for a series of years in advance. (See Comptroller's Reports.) This lease was made by the Common Council of the city of New-York in 1846. A cathedral of capacity to seat 15,000 people is being erected on one of these blocks. These lots are worth about one million of dollars!"

"Now, it may be truly said that the above 'donations' of the Common Council of New-York City did not *all* go to *sectarian* and *religious* purposes; but how much *did*, may be inferred by particularizing for a single year. For example, take 1863, *the year of the New-York riots.* Donations general and special for this year were $105,000.

Of this amount there was paid to the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum	$50,000
The House of Mercy, Bloomingdale	15,000
St. Vincent's Hospital	3,000
House of the Good Shepherd	5,000
St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum	5,000
Society for Destitute Roman Catholic Orphan Children	2,000
Monument in Calvary Cemetery (not included in the $105,000).	12,000
To various churches, to pay assessments on their property (not included in the $105,000)	5,522
	$97,522

"So stand the figures for 1863. $97,000 to Roman Catholics for *sectarian* purposes, as above designated, out of $122,000, is a large proportion, and not pleasant to contemplate by the *tax-payers of opposite faith;* but there stand the figures and the facts!

"(See Comptroller's Report for 1863, pages 66, 68, 196, 197.)"

Petition against public Grants for Sectarian Purposes.

"The Common Council of New-York City have made the following *unmistakable sectarian* appropriations for 1867, that is:

St. Francis's Hospital	$5,000
St. Joseph's Asylum	5,000
House of the Good Shepherd	5,000
House of Mercy (on condition that the like amount be raised by private subscription during the year 1867)	25,000
Institution of Mercy, Houston street, on same conditions as above	30,000
St. Bridget's School	10,000
St. Stephen's School, 28th street	5,000
St. Gabriel's School, 37th street	5,000
Holy Innocents' School, 37th street	5,000
School attached to St. Peter's church	5,000
St. Mary's School, 7th and 13th Wards	5,000
St. Teresa's School, Rutgers street	5,000
Transfiguration Church School	5,000
Young Men's Christian Association (declined the following year)	5,000
	$120,000

"These items were included in the legislative tax levy of the year 1867, for New-York County, and confirmed by the Common Council."

THE PETITION.

THE following petition was numerously signed by members and adherents of all protestant denominations, and presented to the convention. This petition takes the only consistent and truly protestant ground, namely, the *entire prohibition* of all such grants of money or other property "to any church, school, college, hospital, asylum, or institution of any kind whatsoever, under the control of any sect or denomination of religionists." The petition was in the following words:

"*To the Honorable the Constitutional Convention of the State of New-York:*

"The undersigned, your petitioners, would respectfully represent to your honorable body that during the past ten years the Legislature of this State, the various municipal corporations, and many of the boards of supervisors, have been in the practice of appropriating the public funds, and donating parcels of land, and other kinds of public property, for the establishment and maintenance of various schools, colleges, churches, hospitals, etc., of a purely sectarian character, as may be seen by the subjoined statement, which is compiled from official sources. Your petitioners are convinced that the donations so made are contrary to the spirit of our institutions and government; are en-

tirely incompatible with that enlightened religious tolerance which taxes no man for the support of a creed to which he is conscientiously opposed; excites an unholy rivalry between different sects of religionists, each vying with the other to obtain the largest amount of plunder from the public treasury; promotes official corruption among those who have the voting of the donations, and, in fact, tends to revive in republican New-York the old idea, (which our fathers long since exploded,) that the church may lean upon the state, and that the state must support the church. The American people have ever protested against a union of church and state, and your petitioners do most solemnly and earnestly protest against this practice; they therefore respectfully but earnestly urge your honorable body to insert a clause into the constitution prohibiting the Legislature, municipal, county, or town authorities throughout the State from donating or appropriating any moneys or other property to any church, school, college, hospital, asylum, or institution of any kind whatsoever, that shall or may be under the control, either directly or indirectly, of any sect or denomination of religionists."

In the above list of appropriations, following the *thirteen* grants to Roman Catholic institutions, there was one to a protestant institution, "the New-York Young Men's Christian Association." In order to remove this apparent inconsistency with their well-known principles, it is due to this excellent institution to insert the following extracts from their Sixteenth Annual Report for the year 1868:

Page 18. "During the previous session of the Legislature, unknown to and unsolicited by us, an appropriation was made to our society of $5000. We were *not aware of the fact until the bill was signed*, and the Legislature had adjourned, or we would have declined the donation, believing it an unfair burden on an already overtaxed city; but finding, if we did so, it would pass into the hands of the Common Council as 'unappropriated funds,' we concluded it best to add the amount to our building fund."

Page 19. "At this session, near its close, an appropriation of the same amount was again proposed, *unknown to us*, until entered in the tax-levy. Before the bill went to the Senate, at the advice of a majority of the board, the president telegraphed as follows:

"LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR STEWART L. WOODFORD, *President of Senate, State of New-York, Albany:*

"We understand the tax levy for this city, now before your body, includes a gift of $5000 to the Young Men's Christian Association of New-York, made without our application or knowledge. We respectfully ask that the sum be stricken from the bill, on the ground that all state appropriations to religious bodies are, in our opinion, contrary to the spirit of free institutions, and opposed to the voluntary Christian system to which our organization looks for support. For the Board of Directors,

"WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR., *President.*

"NEW-YORK, May 4, 1868."

"The appropriation was therefore withdrawn, and we are led to believe

our action strengthened the opposition to like appropriations, and resulted in the striking out of large amounts which would have been given to *sectarian* institutions. Report signed, WILLIAM E. DODGE, JR., *President.*"

It is much to be regretted that some benevolent institutions of a sectarian character, connected with different denominations of protestants, have, in a few instances, recently followed the example of Romanists, in accepting, if they did not solicit, from the public authorities similar "grants" or "leases" of land at a merely nominal rent.

It is true the amount of these recent subsidies has been very small, compared with the enormous grants to Roman Catholic institutions; yet, small as they have been, their acceptance has had the effect, as was doubtless the intention of the donors, of silencing remonstrance against the grasping rapacity of Romanists, who, at the bidding of the priesthood, are ever ready to sell their votes in a body to the political party who will make the most valuable bid.

There are few subjects upon which the great body of protestants in America are more cordially agreed than the *voluntary principle* in the support of religion and religious institutions, and no public man among them can sooner cripple his influence than by any approach toward the advocacy of the old world doctrine of a *union of church and state.*

The injustice and the wrong of taxing the great body of the people, or the members of any one denomination, for the maintenance of the sectarian institutions of any other, is so transparent and so flagrant that few American protestants fail to see it at a glance. The almost universal remonstrance which has come up from all parts of the land against these recent derelictions from protestant principle is an encouraging proof that, in spite of a few individual exceptions, the great American protestant heart is right upon the doctrine of *voluntaryism in religion* and the *separation of church and state.*

LIST OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCILS ACCORDING TO THE REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D.

"An *œcumenical council,*" says Dr. Schaff, the well-known ecclesiastical historian, "is a misnomer in the present divided state of Christendom. It implies the colossal presumption of Rome, which is its *proton pseudos*, that it represents the whole church of Christ. Against this one half of the Christian world protests: the Greek Church, on the basis of its ancient patriarchial organization and the early œcumenical councils; the Protestant, on the ground of the Holy Scrip-

tures, which recognize but one Supreme Head of the church, and make the church coextensive with Christian believers. An œcumenical or universal council, strictly speaking, is one in which the church of the whole *inhabited earth* is represented; but, in point of fact, even those which were most numerously attended embraced but a small portion of Christendom, and became œcumenical only by the open or tacit acquiescence of the rest. Of the three hundred and eighteen fathers of the Council of Nicæa, the first in the list, there was but one Latin bishop present, Hosius, of Spain; and in that of Constantinople, the second, there was none at all. As to the laity, they have no representation whatever in Catholic councils, unless we except the Roman emperors in the Greek councils. The number of the members of the Council of the Vatican exceeds nine hundred. Yet it can never become properly universal or œcumenical, as little as the Council of Trent, as it never will receive the assent of Greek and Protestant Christendom.

There are *seven* œcumenical councils which are recognized as such, both by the orthodox Greek and the Latin Church, and, with some restrictions, also by the orthodox branches of protestantism. These are as follows:

1. The first Council of Nicæa, 325. It was called by Emperor Constantine the Great, held at Nicæa, in Bithynia, near the imperial residence of Nicomedia. It consisted of three hundred and eighteen bishops, all from the East, except Hosius, of Cordova. It was occasioned by the Arian controversy, and decided in favor of the strict divinity of Christ, which was set forth in the famous Nicene Creed, still held in the highest honor in all branches of orthodox Christendom. The Nicene Council stands first in authority as well as chronologically among œcumenical councils, and is called 'The Great and Holy Council'! In the Greek Church, the Nicene Creed takes the place of the Apostles' Creed.

2. The first Council of Constantinople, held 381, summoned by Theodosius the Great. It consisted of but one hundred and fifty bishops, as the emperor summoned only those who were orthodox. It reaffirmed and enlarged the Nicene Creed, and brought it into its present shape. It marks the final overthrow of the Arian heresy in the Roman empire.

3. The Council of Ephesus, 431, called by Theodosius II., consisting of one hundred and ninety-eight—among whom were for the first time papal delegates from Rome—marks the conclusion of the first act in the Christological war, and resulted in the condemnation of Nestorianism, or the doctrine that held to the duality of natures, but virtually denied the unity of the person of Christ. As its action was merely

negative, it stands lowest among the first four œcumenical councils. It gave rise to the Nestorian schism.

4. The Council of Chalcedon, 451, summoned by the Emperor Marcion at the request of Pope Leo I. It was composed of five hundred and twenty, or, according to some authorities, of six hundred and thirty bishops, including three delegates from Rome, and two bishops of North-Africa. This council stands next in importance to that of Nicæa. It settled the orthodox dogma of the person of Christ, by condemning Eutychianism, as well as Nestorianism, and teaching that Jesus Christ is 'truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting, consubstantial with the Father as to his Godhead, consubstantial also with us as to his manhood. . . One and the same Christ in two natures without confusion, without conversion, (against Eutychianism,) without severance, and without division, (against Nestorianism,) both natures concurring in one person.'

The doctrinal decisions of these four councils relating to the Holy Trinity and the divine human constitution of Christ's person are universally adopted in the Christian Church—protestant as well as Catholic. But their disciplinary canons are regarded as binding only by the Greek Church. Even the Latin Church dissents from some of these canons, especially the one which relates to the rival patriarchs of Constantinople and Rome.

The next three œcumenical councils are likewise recognized by the Greek and Latin churches, but are of less importance. They are as follows:

5. The Second Council of Constantinople, called by the Emperor Justinian, in 553, for the adjustment of the tedious Monophysite controversy and the condemnation of the three chapters so called—that is, the Christological views of Theodoret, Ibas, and Theodore of Mopsuestia. It emphasized the doctrine of the unity of Christ's person, and made some concessions to the Monophysites, but without reconciling them to the Council of Chalcedon.

6. The Third Council of Constantinople, held 680, under Constantine Psogonatus. It condemned Pope Honorius and the doctrine of Monothelitism—that is, that Christ had only one will. It completed the orthodox Christology.

7. The Second Council of Nicæa, held 787, under the Empress Irene, for the settlement of the iconoclastic controversy. It belongs more to the history of worship and ritualism than of doctrine, and sanctioned the moderate use of images as helps to devotion.

The foregoing seven constitute *the first class* of œcumenical councils, the only ones which can properly be so called. The Greek Church holds them in the highest veneration, and celebrates their memory an-

nually on the first Sunday in Lent, called the Sunday of orthodoxy. On that day the ancient councils are dramatically reproduced in the public worship. The Greek Church looks forward to an eighth œcumenical council that shall heal all the divisions in Christendom.

A *second class* of œcumenical councils embraces those which are recognized only by the Roman Catholic Church, and rejected by both the Greek and the Protestant. Some of them are disputed even by Roman Catholics. They were all convened by popes and attended only by Latin bishops. They are as follows:

8. The Fourth Council of Constantinople, A.D. 869.
9. The First Lateran Council, (held in the Lateran palace of the Pope, in Rome,) 1123.
10. The Second Lateran Council, 1139.
11. The Third Lateran Council, 1179.
12. The Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.
13. The First Council of Lyons, 1245.
14. The Second Council of Lyons, 1274.
15. The Council of Pisa, 1409.
16. The Council of Constance, 1414–1418.
17. The Council of Basel, 1431–1439.
18. The Fifth Lateran Council, 1512–1517.
19. The Council of Trent and Tyrol, 1545–1563.
20. The Council in Rome, 1869–1870.

The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel are recognized by the Gallicans, but rejected by the Ultramontanists."

CANONS OF THE CONSTITUTION DE FIDE, OR CONCERNING THE FAITH.

PASSED APRIL 24, 1870.

OF GOD, THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.

1. If any one shall deny one true God, Creator and Lord of things visible and invisible; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

2. If any one shall not be ashamed to affirm that, except matter, nothing exists; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

3. If any one shall say that the substance and essence of God and of all things is one and the same; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

4. If any one shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the divine substance; or that the divine essence by the manifestation and evolution of itself becomes all things; or lastly, that God is universal or indefinite be-

ing, which by determining itself constitutes the universality of things, distinct according to genera, species, and individuals; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

5. If any one confess not that the world, and all things which are contained in it, both spiritual and material, have been, in their whole substance, produced by God out of nothing; or shall say that God created, not by his will, free from all necessity, but by a necessity equal to the necessity whereby he loves himself; or shall deny that the world was made for the glory of God; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

OF REVELATION.

1. If any one shall say that the one true God, our Creator and Lord, can not be certainly known by the natural light of human reason through created things; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

2. If any one shall say that it is impossible or inexpedient that man should be taught, by divine revelation, concerning God and the worship to be paid to him; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

3. If any one shall say that man can not be raised by divine power to a higher than natural knowledge and perfection, but can and ought, by a continuous progress, to arrive at length, of himself, to the possession of all that is true and good; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

4. If any one shall not receive as sacred and canonical the books of Holy Scripture, entire with all their parts, as the Holy Synod of Trent has enumerated them, or shall deny that they have been divinely inspired; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

OF FAITH.

1. If any one shall say that human reason is so independent that faith can not be enjoined upon it by God; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

2. If any one shall say that divine faith is not distinguished from natural knowledge of God and of moral truths, and therefore that it is not requisite for divine faith that revealed truth be believed because of the authority of God, who reveals it; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

3. If any one shall say that divine revelation can not be made credible by outward signs, and therefore that men ought to be moved to faith solely by the internal experience of each, or by private inspiration; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

4. If any one shall say that miracles are impossible, and therefore that all the accounts regarding them, even those contained in Holy Scripture, are to be dismissed as fabulous or mythical; or that miracles can never be known with certainty, and that the divine origin of Christianity can not be proved by them; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

5. If any one shall say that the assent of Christian faith is not a free

act, but inevitably produced by the arguments of human reason; or that the grace of God is necessary for that living faith only which worketh by charity; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

6. If any one shall say that the condition of the faithful, and of those who have not yet attained to the only true faith, is on a par, so that Catholics may have just cause for doubting, with suspended assent, the faith which they have already received under the magisterium of the church, until they shall have obtained a scientific demonstration of the credibility and truth of their faith; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

OF FAITH AND REASON.

1. If any one shall say that in divine revelation there are no mysteries, truly and properly so called, but that all the doctrines of faith can be understood and demonstrated from natural principles, by properly cultivated reason; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

2. If any one shall say that human sciences are to be so freely treated that their assertions, although opposed to revealed doctrine, are to be held as true, and can not be condemned by the church; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

3. If any one shall assert it to be possible that sometimes, according to the progress of science, a sense is to be given to doctrines propounded by the church different from that which the church has understood and understands; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

Therefore we, fulfilling the duty of our supreme pastoral office, entreat, by the mercies of Jesus Christ, and, by the authority of the same our God and Saviour, we command, all the faithful of Christ, and especially those who are set over others, or are charged with the office of instruction, that they earnestly and diligently apply themselves to ward off and eliminate these errors from holy church, and to spread the light of pure faith.

And since it is not sufficient to shun heretical pravity, unless those errors also be diligently avoided which more or less nearly approach it, we admonish all men of the further duty of observing those constitutions and decrees by which such erroneous opinions as are not here specifically enumerated have been proscribed and condemned by this holy see.

Given at Rome in public session, solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the twenty-fourth day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of our pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of St. Polten,*
Secretary of the Vatican Council.

THE DECREE ON PAPAL INFALLIBILITY.

THE following is the authorized copy of the Decree of the Council on the Papal Infallibility, in the original Latin:

PASSED JULY 18, 1870.

"PIVS EPISCOPVS SERVVS SERVORVM DEI SACRO APPROBANTE CONCILIO AD PERPETVAM REI MEMORIAM."

PASTOR aeternus et episcopus animarum nostrarum, ut salutiferum redemptionis opus perenne redderet, sanctam aedificare Ecclesiam decrevit, in qua, veluti in domo Dei viventis, fideles omnes unius fidei et charitatis vinculo continerentur. Quapropter, priusquam clarificaretur, rogavit Patrem non pro Apostolis tantum, sed et pro eis, qui credituri erant per verbum eorum in ipsum, ut omnes unum essent, sicut ipse Filius et Pater unum sunt. Quemadmodum igitur Apostolos, quos sibi de mundo elegerat, misit sicut ipse missus erat a Patre: ita in Ecclesia sua Pastores et Doctores usque ad consummationem saeculi esse voluit. Ut vero episcopatus ipse unus et indivisus esset, et per cohaerentes sibi invicem sacerdotes credentium multitudo universa in fidei et communionis unitate conservaretur, beatum Petrum caeteris Apostolis praeponens in ipso instituit perpetuum utriusque unitatis principium ac visibile fundamentum, super cuius fortitudinem aeternum exstrueretur templum, et Ecclesiae coelo inferenda sublimitas in huius fidei firmitate consurgeret. Et quoniam portae inferi ad evertendam, si fieri posset, Ecclesiam contra eius fundamentum divinitus positum maiori in dies odio undique insurgunt; Nos ad catholici gregis custodiam, incolumitatem, augmentum, necessarium esse iudicamus, sacro approbante Concilio, doctrinam de institutione, perpetuitate, ac natura sacri Apostolici primatus, in quo totius Ecclesiae vis ac soliditas consistit, cunctis fidelibus credendam et tenendam, secundam antiquam atque constantem universalis Ecclesiae fidem, proponere, atque contrarios, dominico gregi adeo perniciosos errores proscribere et condemnare.

CAPUT I.

DE APOSTOLICI PRIMATUS IN BEATO PETRO INSTITUTIONE.

Docemus itaque et declaramus, iuxta Evangelii testimonia, primatum iurisdictionis in universam Dei Ecclesiam immediate et directe beato Petro Apostolo promissum atque collatum a Christo Domino fuisse. Unum enim Simonem, cui iam pridem dixerat: Tu vocaberis Cephas. postquam ille suam edidit confessionem inquiens: Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi, solemnibus his verbis allocutus est Dominus: Beatus

es Simon Bar-Iona: quia caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed Pater meus, qui in coelis est: et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum: et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in coelis: et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in coelis. Atque uni Simoni Petro contulit Iesus post suam resurrectionem summi pastoris et rectoris iurisdictionem in totum suum ovile, dicens: Pasce agnos meos: Pasce oves meas. Huic tam manifestae sacrarum Scripturarum doctrinae, ut ab Ecclesia catholica semper intellecta est, aperte opponuntur pravae eorum sententiae, qui constitutam a Christo Domino in sua Ecclesia regiminis formam pervertentes, negant solum Petrum prae caeteris Apostolis, sive seorsum singulis sive omnibus simul, vero proprioque iurisdictionis primatu fuisse a Christo instructum; aut qui affirmant, eundem primatum non immediate directeque ipsi beato Petro, sed Ecclesiae, et per hanc illi ut ipsius Ecclesiae ministro delatum fuisse.

Si quis igitur dixerit, beatum Petrum Apostolum non esse a Christo Domino constitutum Apostolorum omnium principem et totius Ecclesiae militantis visibile caput; vel eundem honoris tantum, non autem verae propriaeque iurisdictionis primatum ab eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo directe et immediate accepisse; ANATHEMA SIT.

CAPUT II.

DE PERPETUITATE PRIMATUS BEATI PETRI IN ROMANIS PONTIFICIBUS.

Quod autem in beato Apostolo Petro princeps pastorum et pastor magnus ovium Dominus Christo Iesus in perpetuam salutem ac perenne bonum Ecclesiae instituit, id eodem auctore in Ecclesiae, quae fundata super petram ad finem saeculorum usque firma stabit, iugitur durare necesse est. Nulli sane dubium, imo saeculis omnibus notum est, quod sanctus beatissimusque Petrus, Apostolorum princeps et caput, fideique columna et Ecclesiae catholicae fundamentum a Domino nostro Iesu Christo, Salvatore humani generis ac Redemptore, claves regni accepit: qui ad hoc usque tempus et semper in suis successoribus, episcopis sanctae Romanae Sedis, ab ipso fundatae, eiusque consecratae sanguine, vivet et praesidet et iudicium exercet. Unde quicumque in hac cathedra Petro succedit, is secundum Christi ipsius institutionem primatum Petri in universam Ecclesiam obtinet. Manet ergo dispositio veritatis, et beatus Petrus in accepta fortitudine petraea perseverans suscepta Ecclesiae gubernacula non reliquit. Hac de causa ad Romanam Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse semper fuit omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fideles,

ut in ea Sede, e qua venerandae communionis iura in omnes dimanant, tamquam membra in capite consociata, in unam corporis compagem coalescerent.

Si quis ergo dixerit, non esse ex ipsius Christi Domini institutione seu iure divino, ut beatus Petrus in primatu super universam Ecclesiam habeat perpetuos successores; aut Romanum Pontificem non esse beati Petri in eodem primatu successorem; ANATHEMA SIT.

CAPUT III.

DE VI ET RATIONE PRIMATUS ROMANI PONTIFICIS.

Quapropter apertis innixi sacrarum litterarum testimoniis, et inhaerentes tum Praedecessorum Nostrorum, Romanorum Pontificum, tum Conciliorum generalium disertis, perspicuisque decretis, innovamus oecumenici Concilii Florentini definitionem, qua credendum ab omnibus Christi fidelibus est, sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, et Romanum Pontificem in universum orbem tenere primatum, et ipsum Pontificem Romanum successorem esse beati Petri Principis Apostolorum, et verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput, et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorem existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Iesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum etiam in gestis oecumenicorum Conciliorum et in sacris canonibus continetur.

Docemus proinde et declaramus, Ecclesiam Romanam disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinere principatum, et hanc Romani Pontificis iurisdictionis potestatem, quae vere episcopalis est, immediatam esse: erga quam cuiuscumque ritus et dignitatis pastores atque fideles, tam seorsum singuli quam simul omnes, officio hierarchicae subordinationis, veraeque obedientiae obstringuntur, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; ita ut custodita cum Romano Pontifice tam communionis, quam eiusdem fidei professionis unitate, Ecclesia Christi sit unus grex sub uno summo pastore. Haec est catholicae veritatis doctrina, a qua deviare salva fide atque salute nemo potest.

Tantum autem abest, ut haec Summi Pontificis potestas officiat ordinariae ac immediatae illi episcopalis iurisdictionis potestati, qua Episcopi, qui positi a Spiritu Sancto in Apostolorum locum successerunt, tamquam veri pastores assignatos sibi greges, singuli singulos, pascunt et regunt, ut eadem a supremo et universali Pastore asseratur, roboretur ac vindicetur, secundum illud sancti Gregorii Magni: Meus honor est honor universalis Ecclesiae. Meus honor est fratrum meorum solidus vigor. Tum ego vere honoratus sum, cum singulis quibusque honor debitus non negatur.

Porro ex suprema illa Romani Pontificis potestate gubernandi universam Ecclesiam ius eidem esse consequitur, in huius sui muneris exercitio libere communicandi cum pastoribus et gregibus totius Ecclesiae, ut iidem ab ipso in via salutus doceri ac regi possint. Quare damnamus ac reprobamus illorum sententias, qui hanc supremi capitis cum pastoribus et gregibus communicationem licite impediri posse dicunt, aut eandem reddunt saeculari potestati obnoxiam, ita ut contendant, quae ab Apostolica Sede vel eius auctoritate ad regimen Ecclesiae constituuntur, vim ac valorem non habere, nisi potestatis saecularis placito confirmentur.

Et quoniam divino Apostolici primatus iure Romanus Pontifex universae Ecclesiae praeest, docemus etiam et declaramus, eum esse iudicem supremum fidelium, et in omnibus causis ad examen ecclesiasticum spectantibus ad ipsius posse iudicium recurri; Sedis vero Apostolicae, cuius auctoritate maior non est, iudicium a nemine fore retractandum, neque cuiquam de eius licere iudicare iudicio. Quare a recto veritatis tramite aberrant, qui affirmant, licere ab iudiciis Romanorum Pontificum ad Oecumenicum Concilium tamquam ad auctoritatem Romano Pontifice superiorem appellare.

Si quis itaque dixerit, Romanum Pontificem habere tantummodo officium inspectionis vel directionis, non autem plenam et supremam potestatem iurisdictionis in universam Ecclesiam, non solum in rebus, quae ad fidem et mores, sed etiam in iis, quae ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiae per totum orbem diffusae pertinent; aut eum habere tantum potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem huius supremae potestatis; aut hanc eius potestatem non esse ordinariam et immediatam sive in omnes ac singulas ecclesias, sive in omnes et singulos pastores et fideles; ANATHEMA SIT.

CAPUT IV.

DE ROMANI PONTIFICIS INFALLIBILI MAGISTERIO.

Ipso autem Apostolico primatu, quem Romanus Pontifex tamquam Petri principis Apostolorum successor in universam Ecclesiam obtinet, supremam quoque magisterii potestatem comprehendi, haec Sancta Sedes semper tenuit, perpetuus Ecclesiae usus comprobat, ipsaque oecumenica Concilia, ea imprimis, in quibus Oriens cum Occidente in fidei charitatisque unionem conveniebat, declaraverunt. Patres enim Concilii Constantinopolitani quarti, maiorum vestigiis inhaerentes, hanc solemnem ediderunt professionem: Prima salus est, rectae fidei regulam custodire. Et quia non potest Domini nostri Iesu Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, haec, quae dicta sunt, rerum

probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper catholica reservato religio, et sancta celebrata doctrina. Ab huius ergo fide et doctrina separari minime cupientes, speramus, ut in una communione, quam Sedes Apostolica praedicat, esse mereamur, in qua est integra et vera Christianae religionis soliditas. Approbante vero Lugdunensi Concilio secundo, Graeci professi sunt: Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam summum et plenum primatum et principatum super universam Ecclesiam catholicam obtinere, quem se ab ipso Domino in beato Petro Apostolorum principe sive vertice, cuius Romanus Pontifex est successor, cum potestatis plenitudine recepisse veraciter et humiliter recognoscit; et sicut prae caeteris tenetur fidei veritatem defendere, sic et, si quae de fide subortae fuerint quaestiones, suo debent iudicio definiri. Florentinum denique Concilium definivit: Pontificem Romanum, verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiae caput et omnium Christianorum patrem ac doctorum existere; et ipsi in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem Ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo plenam potestatem traditam esse.

Huic pastorali muneri ut satisfacerent, Praedecessores Nostri indefessam semper operam dederunt, ut salutaris Christi doctrina apud omnes terrae populus propagaretur, parique cura vigilarunt, ut, ubi recepta esset, sincera et pura conservaretur. Quocirca totius orbis Antistites nunc singuli, nunc in Synodis congregati, longam ecclesiarum consuetudinem et antiquae regulae formam sequentes, ea praeser. tim pericula, quae in negotiis fidei emergebant ad hanc Sedem Apostolicam retulerunt, ut ibi potissimum resarcirentur damna fidei, ubi fides non potest sentire defectum. Romani autem Pontifices, prout temporum et rerum conditio suadebat, nunc convocatis oecumenicis Conciliis aut explorata Ecclesiae per orbem dispersae sententia, nunc per Synodos particulares, nunc aliis, quae divina suppeditabat providentia, adhibitis auxiliis, ea tenenda definiverunt, quae sacris Scripturis et apostolicis Traditionibus consentanea Deo adiutore cognoverant. Neque enim Petri successoribus Spiritus Sanctus promissus est, ut eo revelante novam doctrinam patefacerent, sed ut eo assistente traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent. Quorum quidem apostolicam doctrinam omnes venerabiles Patres amplexi et sancti Doctores orthodoxi venerati atque secuti sunt; plenissime scientes, hanc sancti Petri Sedem ab omni semper errore illibatam permanere, secundum Domini Salvatoris nostri divinam pollicitationem discipulorum suorum principi factam: Ego rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.

Hoc igitur veritatis et fidei numquam deficientis charisma Petro eiusque in hac Cathedra successoribus divinitus collatum est, ut excel-

so suo munere in omnium salutem fungerentur, ut universus Christi grex per eos ab erroris venenosa esca aversus, coelestis doctrinae pabulo nutriretur, ut sublata schismatis occasione Ecclesia tota una conservaretur, atque suo fundamento innixa firma adversus inferi portas consisteret.

Atvero cum hac ipsa aetate, qua salutifera Apostolici muneris efficacia vel maxime requiritur, non pauci inveniantur, qui illius auctoritati obtrectant; necessarium omnino esse censemus, praerogativam, quam unigenitus Dei Filius cum summo pastorali officio coniungere dignatus est, solemniter asserere.

Itaque Nos traditioni a fidei Christianae exordio perceptae fideliter inhaerendo, ad Dei Salvatoris nostri gloriam, religionis Catholicae exaltationem et Christianorum populorum salutem, sacro approbante Concilio, docemus et divinitus revelatum dogma esse definimus; Romanum Pontificem, cum ex Cathedra loquitur, id est, cum omnium Christianorum Pastoris et Doctoris munere fungens, pro suprema sua Apostolica auctoritate doctrinam de fide vel moribus ab universa Ecclesia tenendam definit, per assistentiam divinam, ipsi in beato Petro promissam, ea infallibilitate pollere, qua divinus Redemptor Ecclesiam suam in definienda doctrina de fide vel moribus instructam esse voluit; ideoque eiusmodi Romani Pontificis definitiones ex sese, non autem ex consensu Ecclesiae irreformabiles esse.

Si quis autem huic Nostrae definitioni contradicere, quod Deus avertat, praesumpserit; ANATHEMA SIT.

Datum Romae, in publica Sessione in Vaticana Basilica solemniter celebrata anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo septuagesimo, die decima octava Iulii.

Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo quinto.

Ita est.

JOSEPHUS, *Episcopus S. Ippolyti,*
Secretarius Concilii Vaticani.

TRANSLATION OF THE DECREE ON PAPAL INFALLIBILITY

PASSED JULY 18, 1870.

"PIUS BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR AN EVERLASTING REMEMBRANCE."

THE Eternal Pastor and Bishop of our souls, in order to continue for all time the life-giving work of his redemption, determined to build up the Holy Church, wherein, as in the house of the living God, all who believe might be united in the bond of one faith and one charity. Wherefore, before he entered into his glory, he prayed unto the

Father, not for the apostles only, but for those also who through their preaching should come to believe in him, that all might be one even as he the Son and the Father are one. As then he sent the apostles whom he had chosen to himself from the world, as he himself had been sent by the Father: so he willed that there should ever be pastors and teachers in his church to the end of the world. And in order that the episcopate also might be one and undivided, and that by means of a closely united priesthood the multitude of the faithful might be kept secure in the oneness of faith and communion, he set blessed Peter over the rest of the apostles, and fixed in him the abiding principle of this two-fold unity, and its visible foundation, in the strength of which the everlasting temple should arise and the church in the firmness of that faith should lift her majestic front to heaven. And seeing that the gates of hell with daily increase of hatred are gathering their strength on every side to upheave the foundation laid by God's own hand, and so, if that might be, to overthrow the church: we, therefore, for the preservation, safe-keeping, and increase of the Catholic flock, with the approval of the Sacred Council, do judge it to be necessary to propose to the belief and acceptance of all the faithful, in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal church, the doctrine touching the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred apostolic primacy, in which is found the strength and solidity of the entire church, and at the same time to proscribe and condemn the contrary errors, so hurtful to the flock of Christ.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC PRIMACY IN BLESSED PETER.

We therefore teach and declare that, according to the testimony of the gospel, the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal church of God was immediately and directly promised and given to blessed Peter the apostle by Christ the Lord. For it was to Simon alone, to whom he had already said, Thou shalt be called Cephas, that the Lord after the confession made by him, saying, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, addressed these solemn words: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood have not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven. And it was upon Simon alone that Jesus after his resurrection bestowed the jurisdic-

tion of chief pastor and ruler over all his fold in the words, "Feed my lambs: feed my sheep." At open variance with this clear doctrine of Holy Scripture as it has been ever understood by the Catholic Church are the perverse opinions of those who, while they distort the form of government established by Christ the Lord in his church, deny that Peter in his single person, preferably to all the other apostles, whether taken separately or together, was endowed by Christ with a true and proper primacy of jurisdiction; or of those who assert that the same primacy was not bestowed immediately and directly upon blessed Peter himself, but upon the church, and through the church on Peter as her minister.

If any one, therefore, shall say that blessed Peter, the apostle, was not appointed the prince of all the apostles, and the visible head of the whole church militant; or that the same directly and immediately received from the same our Lord Jesus Christ a primacy of honor only, and not of true and proper jurisdiction; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE PERPETUITY OF THE PRIMACY OF BLESSED PETER IN THE ROMAN PONTIFFS.

That which the Prince of shepherds and great Shepherd of the sheep, Jesus Christ our Lord, established in the person of the blessed apostle Peter to secure the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the church, must, by the same institution, necessarily remain unceasingly in the church; which, being founded upon the rock, will stand firm to the end of the world. For none can doubt, and it is known to all ages, that the holy and blessed Peter, the prince and chief of the apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, and lives, presides, and judges, to this day and always, in his successors the bishops of the holy see of Rome, which was founded by him, and consecrated by his blood. Whence, whosoever succeeds to Peter in this see, does by the institution of Christ himself obtain the primacy of Peter over the whole church. The disposition made by incarnate truth therefore remains, and blessed Peter, abiding through the strength of the rock in the power that he received, has not abandoned the direction of the church. Wherefore it has at all times been necessary that every particular church—that is to say, the faithful throughout the world—should agree with the Roman Church, on account of the greater authority of the princedom which this has received; that all being associated in the unity of that see whence the rights of communion spread to all,

might grow together as members of one head in the compact unity of the body.

If, then, any should deny that it is by the institution of Christ the Lord, or by divine right, that blessed Peter should have a perpetual line of successors in the primacy over the universal church, or that the Roman pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter in this primacy; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POWER AND NATURE OF THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Wherefore, resting on plain testimonies of the sacred writings, and adhering to the plain and express decrees both of our predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, and of the general councils, we renew the definition of the Œcumenical Council of Florence, in virtue of which all the faithful of Christ must believe that the holy apostolic see and the Roman pontiff possesses the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman pontiff is the successor of blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and is true vicar of Christ, and head of the whole church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him in blessed Peter to rule, feed, and govern the universal church by Jesus Christ our Lord; as is also contained in the acts of the general councils and in the sacred canons.

Hence we teach and declare that by the appointment of our Lord the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound, by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the church throughout the world, so that the church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor through the preservation of unity both of communion and of profession of the same faith with the Roman pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation.

But so far is this power of the supreme pontiff from being any prejudice to the ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which bishops, who have been set by the Holy Ghost to succeed and hold the place of the apostles, feed and govern, each his own flock, as true pastors, that this their episcopal authority is really asserted, strengthened, and protected by the supreme and universal pastor;

in accordance with the words of St. Gregory the Great, My honor is the honor of the whole church. My honor is the firm strength of my brethren. I am truly honored, when the honor due to each and all is not withheld.

Further, from this supreme power possessed by the Roman pontiff of governing the universal church, it follows that he has the right of free communication with the pastors of the whole church, and with their flocks, that these may be taught and ruled by him in the way of salvation. Wherefore we condemn and reject the opinions of those who hold that the communication between this supreme head and the pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded; or who make this communication subject to the will of the secular power, so as to maintain that whatever is done by the apostolic see, or by its authority, for the government of the church, can not have force or value unless it be confirmed by the assent of the secular power. And since by the divine right of apostolic primacy, the Roman pontiff is placed over the universal church, we further teach and declare that he is the supreme judge of the faithful, and that in all causes, the decision of which belongs to the church, recourse may be had to his tribunal, and that none may reopen the judgment of the apostolic see, than whose authority there is no greater, nor can any lawfully review its judgment. Wherefore they err from the right course who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the judgments of the Roman pontiffs to an œcumenical council, as to an authority higher than that of the Roman pontiff.

If then any shall say that the Roman pontiff has the office merely of inspection or direction, and not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal church, not only in things which belong to faith and morals, but also in those which relate to the discipline and government of the church spread throughout the world; or assert that he possesses merely the principal part, and not all the fullness of this supreme power; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, both over each and all the churches and over each and all the pastors and the faithful; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

CHAPTER IV.

CONCERNING THE INFALLIBLE TEACHING OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the apostolic primacy, which the Roman pontiff, as the successor of Peter, prince of the apostles, possesses over the whole church, this holy see has always held, the perpetual practice of the church confirms, and œcumenical councils also have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. For the

fathers of the Fourth Council of Constantinople, following in the ootsteps of their predecessors, gave forth this solemn profession: the first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of the true faith. And because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ can not be passed by, who said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, these things which have been said are approved by events, because in the apostolic see the Catholic religion and her holy and well-known doctrine has always been kept undefiled. Desiring, therefore, not to be in the least degree separated from the faith and doctrine of that see, we hope that we may deserve to be in the one communion, which the apostolic see preaches, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion. And, with the approval of the Second Council of Lyons, the Greeks professed that the Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full primacy and preëminence over the whole Catholic Church, which it truly and humbly acknowledges that it has received with the plenitude of power from our Lord himself in the person of blessed Peter, prince or head of the apostles, whose successor the Roman pontiff is; and as the apostolic see is bound before all others to defend the truth of faith, so also if any questions regarding faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgment. Finally, the Council of Florence defined: that the Roman pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole church.

To satisfy this pastoral duty our predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrine of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved genuine and pure where it had been received. Therefore the bishops of the whole world, now singly, now assembled in synod, following the long-established custom of churches, and the form of the ancient rule, sent word to this apostolic see of those dangers especially which sprang up in matters of faith, that there the losses of faith might be most effectually repaired where the faith can not fail. And the Roman pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling œcumenical councils, or asking for the mind of the church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular synods, sometimes using other helps which divine providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognized as conformable with the sacred Scriptures and apostolic traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by his revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that by his assistance they might inviolably keep

and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the apostles. And indeed all the venerable fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox doctors have venerated and followed their apostolic doctrine; knowing most fully that this see of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error according to the divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the prince of his disciples: I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.

This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith was conferred by heaven upon Peter and his successors in this chair, that they might perform their high office for the salvation of all; that the whole flock of Christ kept away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the pasture of heavenly doctrine; that the occasion of schism being removed, the whole church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.

But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the apostolic office is most of all required, not a few are found who take away from its authority, we judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office.

Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the Sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals: and that therefore such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the church.

But if any one—which may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition; LET HIM BE ANATHEMA.

Given at Rome in public session, solemnly held in the Vatican Basilica, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy, on the eighteenth day of July, in the twenty-fifth year of our pontificate.

In conformity with the original.

JOSEPH, *Bishop of St. Polten,*
Secretary to the Vatican Council.

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United States, Romish missions in, 641; statistics of Romanism in, 642.

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William the Conqueror appeals to the pope to license his invasion of England, 266; pays Peter-pence, but refuses to do homage to Pope Gregory for the kingdom of England, 252; arrests Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, not as a bishop, but as an earl, 267.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF POPES, GENERAL COUNCILS, AND REMARKABLE EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF ROMANISM.

In the following table, the list of the bishops of Rome up to 606, *and the popes after that (taken chiefly from Bower), is printed in capitals with a cross † ; the kings of England, after the conquest, with an asterisk * : and other famous sovereigns in the same characters, without any mark.*

In reference to the GENERAL COUNCILS, *it is well known that Romanists are divided among themselves, into fiercely contending sects and parties, as to which of the councils possess a claim to that character. In compiling the complete list of the General Councils embodied in the following table, we have adopted the most popular and generally received list among Romanists, as given by Father Gahan in his popular manual of Roman Catholic Church History. At the same time, we have mentioned some other Councils which have, by some Romish authors, been regarded as General.*

65. Martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul.

Note.—PETER is asserted by Romanists to have been the first POPE of Rome. Of this, however, there is not a particle of evidence. Different and opposing lists are given of his supposed immediate successors, which have been mentioned in this work (page 48, *note*), but as Romish writers disagree among themselves, we shall commence our chronological catalogue of the bishops of Rome, with VICTOR, who is the first of whom anything of importance is certainly known. The names previous to Victor, generally inserted in the catalogues by *apostolic successionists*, sometimes in one order and sometimes in another, are Linus, Cletus, or Anacletus (sometimes one and sometimes two persons), Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius.

100. Death of the apostle John, the last of the apostles.

192. † VICTOR, bishop of Rome. In the dispute with the eastern Christians about the time of observing Easter, Victor excluded them from fellowship with the church of Rome. This is the first instance on record of this kind of Romish tyranny and assumption. His excommunication of the eastern Christians was regarded by them as of no authority whatever. (See p. 32.)

201. † ZEPHYRINUS

219 † CALIXTUS.

223. † URBANUS.

230. † PONTIANUS.

235. † ANTERIUS.

236. † FABIANUS.

250. Paul the hermit, during the persecution of Decius, betakes himself to the deserts of Egypt, where he lives for upwards of 90 years.

251. † CORNELIUS.

252. † LUCIUS.

253. † STEPHEN

256. Council of Carthage relative to the baptism of heretics. St. Cyprian excommunicated by Stephen, bishop of Rome, for deciding contrary to his opinion in this council. His excommunication regarded as of no authority, which is a proof that papal supremacy was not yet established

257. † SIXTUS II.

258. Martyrdom of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

259. † DIONYSIUS.

269. † FELIX

270. About this time, Anthony, an Egyptian, the founder of Monasticism, retires to the deserts, where he continued till his death in 356, at the age of 105.

275. † EUTYCHIANUS.

283. † CAIUS.

296. † MARCELLINUS.

308. † MARCELLUS.

310. † EUSEBIUS.

311. † MELCHIADES.

312. Supposed miraculous conversion of the emperor Constantine. He takes Christianity under the patronage of the State.

314. † SYLVESTER.

314. Ministers forbidden to marry after ordination at the council of Ancyra.

325. FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL at *Nice*. Arianism condemned, and the Nicene creed framed.

336. † MARK.

337. † JULIUS

347. Council of Sardis allows of appeals to Rome. One of the first steps toward papal supremacy.

352. † LIBERIUS.

356. Death of Anthony the hermit aged 105.

363. Attempt of Julian the apostate to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem frustrated.

366. DAMASUS. Bloody contest between Damasus and Ursicinus, his rival competitor for the See of Rome. 137 persons killed in the church itself.

372. Law of Valentinian, empowering the bishops of Rome to judge other bishops.

381 SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL, *first of Constantinople*. The distinct personality and deity of the Holy Spirit declared, in opposition to the tenets of Macedonius.

384. †SIRICIUS The first bishop of Rome who issued decrees enjoining celibacy on the clergy.

386. St. Ambrose professes miraculously to discover the bodies of two saints, as he could not consecrate the church at Milan without relics.

395. Jerome translates the bible into the Latin Vulgate.

398. †ANASTASIUS.

402. †INNOCENT.

410. Rome besieged and sacked by Alaric, king of the Goths.

417. †ZOSIMUS.

417. Appeal of Apiarius, a presbyter of Africa, to Zosimus, bishop of Rome. The decree of Zosimus in his favor rejected by the African bishops, and their own independence asserted, proving that papal supremacy was not yet established.

419. †BONIFACE.

422. †CELESTINE

430. Death of Augustine, bishop of Hippo.

431. THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL, at *Ephesus*, condemns Nestorius for refusing to apply to the Virgin Mary, the title of "Mother of God." The result of this controversy contributes much toward originating the idolatrous worship of the Virgin. Opinions of Pelagius also condemned.

432. †SIXTUS III.

440 †LEO THE GREAT.

451. FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL at *Chalcedon*. The opinions of Eutyches condemned, relative to the nature of Christ. This council decrees the same rights and honors to the bishop of Constantinople as to the bishop of Rome.

452. Leo, bishop of Rome, visits the camp of the ferocious Attila, king of the Huns, and prevails upon him to retire from Italy.

454. Rome taken and pillaged by Genseric, king of the Vandals.

461. †HILARIUS.

461. Death of Symeon Stylites, the pillar saint, aged 69, after spending 47 years on tops of different columns; the last of which was 60 feet high.

467. †SIMPLICIUS.

476. End of the Western empire. Augustulus deposed and banished by Odoacer, the Gothic conqueror, king of the Heruli.

483. †FELIX II.

492. †GELASIUS.

496. †ANASTASIUS II.

496. Dec. 25, Clovis, king of the Franks, baptized with 3000 of his subjects.

498. †SYMMACHUS.

500. Fierce and bloody schism at Rome between the rival bishops Symmachus and Laurentius.

514. †HORMISDAS.

523. †JOHN.

526. †FELIX.

529. Benedict founds the order of Benedictine monks, and builds his monastery on Mount Cassino. The monks of Clugni, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, and the Celestines, established in after ages, were regarded as different branches of the Benedictine order.

530. †BONIFACE II. Another disgraceful schism at Rome between Boniface II. and Dioscurus.

532. †JOHN II.

535. †AGAPETUS.

536. †SILVERIUS.

537. †VIGILIUS, who succeeds Silverius, after intriguing with the Emperor to drive him from his See.

553. FIFTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *second of Constantinople*. The opinions of Origen condemned.

555. †PELAGIUS.

560. †JOHN III.

574. †BENEDICT.

578. †PELAGIUS II.

590. †GREGORY THE GREAT.

591. Gregory strenuously opposes the title of Universal Bishop, which had been assumed by the bishop of Constantinople, and pronounces him who accepts it to have the pride and character of anti-Christ. In opposition to it, hypocritically adopts for himself the title 'Servus Servorum Dei'— 'Servant of the servants of God."

596. Augustin the monk lands in Kent, England, as a missionary from Rome. Ten thousand baptized on Christmas day.

601. Gregory orders that images should be used in churches, but not worshipped.

602. Phocas, a centurion, cruelly murders the emperor Mauritius, his wife and children, and usurps his throne

605. †SABINIAN.

606. †POPE BONIFACE III. EPOCH OF THE PAPAL SUPREMACY. Birth of Popery proper. Boniface obtains from the tyrant and murderer Phocas the title of UNIVERSAL BISHOP, and the Pope is thus proved to be ANTI-CHRIST, *Saint Gregory* being witness. Boniface, properly speaking, was *the first of the popes*.

608. †BONIFACE IV.

615. †DEUSDEDIT.

619. †BONIFACE V.

622. *Era of the Hegira*, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca to Medina.

625. †HONORIUS.

634. Commencement of the Monothelite controversy.

636. *Jerusalem taken* by the Saracens under Omar, who retain it 429 years, till taken by the Turks in 1065.

638. †SEVERINUS.

640. †JOHN IV.

642. †THEODORE.

649. †MARTIN, who was banished by the emperor Constans II. to Taurica Chersonesus, where he died.

656. †EUGENIUS.

657. †VITALIANUS.

667. The Pope by his sole authority appoints Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, who is detained three months at Rome to have his head shaved with the Romish tonsure.

672. †ADEODATUS.

676. †DONUS.

678. †AGATHO.

680. SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *third of Constantinople*, condemns Monothelitism and anathematizes pope Honorius for heresy.

682. †LEO II.

684. †BENEDICT II., who obtains a decree from the emperor Constantine IV., permitting the election of popes without imperial confirmation. Revoked by Justinian two years after.

685. †JOHN V.

686. †CONON.

687. †SERGIUS.

692. The council at Constantinople called *Quinisext*, because regarded as supplementary to the fifth and sixth general councils. Causes great contention between the East and West.

701. †JOHN VI.
715. †JOHN VII.
708. †SISINNIUS
708. †CONSTANTINE.
710. The emperor Justinian kisses the feet of pope Constantine, while on a visit to Constantinople. Supposed to be the origin of the custom of kissing the Pope's feet.
715. †GREGORY II.
726. Commencement of the great controversy on image worship. The emperor Leo issues his first decree against image-worship.
730. Leo's second decree enjoining the removal or destruction of images, occasions tumults at Constantinople and Rome.
732. †GREGORY III.
734. The Emperor sends a fleet against the refractory Romans, which is lost at sea.
740. Luitprand, king of the Lombards, invades and lays waste the papal territories, and the Pope applies for help to Charles Martel, mayor of the palace in France.
741. Death of the emperor Leo, the great opposer, and pope Gregory, the great advocate of image worship, and also of Charles Martel, all in the same year.
741. †ZACHARY.
751. PEPIN of France, son of Martel, encouraged by pope Zachary, dethrones king Childeric III. of France, and usurps his place.
752. †STEPHEN II.
754. Council at Constantinople, called by the emperor Constantine V., condemns image-worship. The Greek church claims this as *the seventh general council*. The Romish church denies it.
756. EPOCH OF THE POPES' TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY. Pepin of France compels Aistulphus, king of the Lombards, to yield up the exarchate of Ravenna, to the See of Rome, which thus becomes a temporal monarchy.
757. †PAUL.
767. †STEPHEN III.
772. †ADRIAN.
772. CHARLEMAGNE of France, son of Pepin.
774 Charlemagne visits Rome, and confirms and enlarges the donation of Pepin.
781. Charlemagne visits Rome a second time, and causes his son Carloman to be crowned king of Lombardy, and Lewis, king of Aquitaine.
787. SEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL. The infamous empress Irene convenes *the second council of Nice*, called by the Latins *the seventh general council*, which establishes the worship of images.
794. The body of Albanus, the proto-martyr of Britain, said to be revealed to Offa, king of Mercia, who build St. Alban's monastery.
795. †LEO III.
800. Charlemagne crowned EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS by pope Leo, at Rome
817. †PASCHAL.
824. †EUGENIUS II.
827. †VALENTINE.
827. *EGBERT of England, who unites the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy into one kingdom.
828. †GREGORY IV.
831. Paschasius Radbert, the inventor of *Transubstantiation*, publishes his treatise on that subject.
844. †SERGIUS II. This pope changed his original name of *Os Porci*, upon the pretext of imitating the Saviour, who altered Simon to Peter. This is the origin of the custom that has ever since been followed of every pope assuming a new appellative after his election.
847. Rabanus Maurus writes in opposition to Paschasius, against the newly-invented doctrine of Transubstantiation.
855. †BENEDICT III.
858. †NICHOLAS.
863. †*Fatal schism between the Latin and the Greek churches.* Pope Nicholas excommunicates Photius, who had been appointed patriarch of Constantinople by the emperor Michael, in the place of Ignatius, upon the appeal of the latter to Nicholas. The excommunication is disregarded, and Photius in his turn excommunicates the Pope.
867. †ADRIAN II.
869. EIGHTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *the fourth of Constantinople.* At this council the legates of pope Adrian presided; Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed, and the banished patriarch Ignatius appointed in his stead, who had been recalled from his exile by the emperor Basil, the murderer of his predecessor. This proceeding partially healed the schism between the Latin and Greek churches.
872. †JOHN VIII.
872. *ALFRED THE GREAT, of England.
875. CHARLES THE BALD, grandson of Charlemagne, after a fierce contest with other descendants of Charlemagne, crowned Emperor at Rome on Christmas day, by pope John VIII., who was rewarded by Charles with many costly presents. From this time, the popes claimed the right of confirming the election of the emperors.
882. †MARINUS.
884. †ADRIAN III.
885. †STEPHEN V.
891. †FORMOSUS.
896. †BONIFACE VI.
896. †STEPHEN VI.
897. †ROMANUS.
898. †THEODORE II.
898. †JOHN IX.
900. †BENEDICT IV
903. †LEO V.
903. †CHRISTOPHER.
904. †SERGIUS III. At this time a notorious prostitute named Theodora and her two equally infamous daughters, Theodora and Marozia, ruled at Rome, and appointed popes by their influence. Pope Sergius had a bastard son by Marozia, who was afterward made pope (John XI.), through the influence of his mother.
911. †ANASTASIUS III
913. †LANDO.
914. †JOHN X.
929. †LEO VI.
929. †STEPHEN VII.
931. JOHN XI. He was the bastard son of the harlot Marozia, by pope Sergius III.
936. †LEO VII.
939. †STEPHEN VIII.
941. Dunstan, the English monk, made abbot of Glastonbury.
942. †MARINUS II.
946. †AGAPETUS II.
956. †JOHN XII.
960. Dunstan made archbishop of Canterbury.
963. †LEO VIII.
965. †JOHN XIII.
968. Custom of baptizing bells introduced by pope John XIII., who places a new bell in the Lateran, which he baptizes by the name of John.
969. A commission granted by king Edgar to Dunstan against the married clergy of England.
972. †BENEDICT VI.

974. †DONUS II.
975. †BENEDICT VII.
984. †JOHN XIV.
985. †JOHN XV.
988. Death of *Saint* Dunstan.
993. Pope John XV. canonizes Saint Udalric. This is the first time a pope exercised alone the prerogative of saint-making. In this year the feast of All Souls was established, through the influence of Odilo, abbot of Clugni.
996. †GREGORY V.
999. †SILVESTER II.
1000. About this time a wide-spread panic prevailed relative to the expected conflagration of the earth.
1003. †JOHN XVII.
1003. †JOHN XVIII.
1009. †SERGIUS IV.
1012. †BENEDICT VIII.
1024. †JOHN XIX.
1033. †BENEDICT IX.
1045. Berenger of Tours publicly opposes Transubstantiation.
1045. †GREGORY VI.
1046. †CLEMENT VI.
1047. †DAMASUS II.
1048. †LEO IX.
1054. The schism between the Greek and Latin churches made irreparable. Vehement dispute between the patriarch Michael Cerularius and pope Leo IX. Three papal legates sent to Constantinople, who, before their return, publicly excommunicate Cerularius and all his adherents; who afterward excommunicates the legates and their followers, and burns the act of excommunication they had pronounced against the Greeks.
1055. †VICTOR II. The monk Hildebrand, afterward pope Gregory VII., empowered to go to Germany, and select a pope. Nominates Victor II., who is chosen.
1056. HENRY IV., emperor of Germany.
1057. †STEPHEN IX.
1058. †BENEDICT X.
1058. †NICHOLAS II.
1059. Origin of the *college of Cardinals*. Pope Nicholas issues a decree confining the election of future popes to the *college of Cardinals*, and granting to the great body of the clergy and the Roman people, who had heretofore had a vote in the elections, only a *negative* power. This negative power was annulled a century later under pope Alexander III.
1061 †ALEXANDER II.
1065. Jerusalem taken by the Turks from the Saracens.
1066. *WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. Conquest of England, under the sanction of the Pope, by WILLIAM OF NORMANDY.
1073. †GREGORY VII., or HILDEBRAND.
1075. Commencement of the controversy between the Pope and the Emperor relative to investitures of bishops.
1077 The emperor Henry IV. excommunicated and deposed by pope Gregory VII., and his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Submits to the Pope, and stands three days in the court of the Pope's palace before admitted to his presence.
1078. Berenger compelled to renounce his opinions against Transubstantiation.
1086. †VICTOR III.
1087. *WILLIAM II. (Rufus) of England.
1088. †URBAN II.
1088 Berenger dies persisting in his opinions against Transubstantiation, and bitterly repenting his dissimulation.
1091. Under pope Urban, the ceremony of sprinkling the forehead with ashes on Ash-Wednesday is established, in a council at Benevento.
1095. First invention of *rosaries* to pray by.
1095. *Crusades* to the Holy Land resolved on in the council of Clermont, under pope Urban. *First Crusade* under Peter the hermit.
1098. Council at Rome, in which pope Urban argues against clerical homage to kings, because to priests it is granted "to create God, the Creator of all things."
1099. †PASCHAL II.
1099. Jerusalem taken by the Crusaders.
1100. *HENRY I., of England.
1109. Death of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, after a fierce contest with king Henry, who is in no haste to appoint a successor.
1113. Knights of John of Jerusalem associated.
1118. †GELASIUS II.
1118. Order of Knights Templars formed.
1119. †CALIXTUS II.
1122. NINTH GENERAL COUNCIL. *First in the Lateran* palace at Rome chiefly on the subject of investitures. Plenary indulgence granted to crusaders to Palestine.
1124. †HONORIUS II.
1126. The Pope grants a commission to his legate, cardinal Crema, against the married clergy of England, who is himself detected in the grossest licentiousness, the night after the national council.
1130. †INNOCENT II.
1135. *STEPHEN (of Blois), king of England.
1139. TENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *second of Lateran*, relative to a schism in the papacy, caused by the claims of Peter Leo, called by his adherents Anacletus II. The doctrines of Arnold of Brescia condemned, who had maintained that the Pope and the priesthood should only possess a spiritual authority, and be supported by the voluntary offerings of the people.
1143. †CELESTINE II.
1144. †LUCIUS II.
1115. †EUGENIUS III.
1147. *Second crusade*, excited by St. Bernard.
1152. FREDERICK (Barbarossa), of Germany.
1152. Gratian's papal decretals collected.
1153. †ANASTASIUS IV.
1154. †ADRIAN IV.
1154. *HENRY II. (Plantagenet), king of England.
1155. Arnold of Brescia burnt.
1155. King Henry receives Ireland as a *gift* from pope Adrian. Commencement of the contest between the popes and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa.
1159. †ALEXANDER III.
1159. Thirty dissenters from Popery are persecuted to death in England. First instances of death for heresy in that country.
159. Peter Waldo preaches against the corruptions of Popery.
1161. Kings Henry II. of England, and Louis VII. of France, lead together the Pope's horse at the castle of Toici on the Loire.
1163. Beginning of the dispute between the king of England and Thomas a Becket.
1171. Murder of Becket, who is soon after canonized.
1177. Frederick Barbarossa leads the Pope's mule through St. Marks Square.
1179. ELEVENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *third of Lateran*. Pope Alexander issues a violent and cruel edict against the Albigenses, or Wal

denses. At this council it was ordained that a two-thirds vote of the cardinals should in future be necessary to the election of a pope.

1181. † LUCIUS III.

1184. Pope Lucius issues a cruel edict against the Waldensian heretics

1185. † URBAN III.

1187. † GREGORY VIII.

1187. Jerusalem re-taken by Saladin.

1188. † CLEMENT III.

1189. * RICHARD II. (Cœur de Lion), of England.

1189. *Third crusade*, under king Richard of England, and Philip Augustus of France.

1191. † CELESTINE III.

1192. Battle of Ascalon. Saladin defeated by Richard, Cœur de Lion.

1198. † INNOCENT III.

1198. Pope Innocent sends his orders to king Richard of England, and the archbishop of Canterbury, to demolish the works of an episcopal palace commenced at Lambeth, which they reluctantly obeyed in the January and February following. With this year the Annals of Baronius close, and the Annals of Raynaldus commence.

1199. * JOHN of England.

1202. *Fourth crusade* sets out from Venice.

1207. Pope Innocent and his legate excommunicate count Raimond of Thoulouse for refusing to exterminate his heretical subjects. Compels a few monks at Rome to choose Langton archbishop of Canterbury. Commencement of the Mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

1208. In consequence of king John s opposition to Langton, the Pope lays England under an interdict.

1209. Otho crowned Emperor at Rome, after taking an oath of allegiance to the Pope. Crusade against the Albigenses in France commenced. Destruction of Beziers, &c.

1211. King John excommunicated. Lavaur taken by the bloody Montfort and the crusaders in France, and the inhabitants burnt for heresy.

1212. FREDERICK II., of Germany.

1213. King John's disgraceful submission to Pandulph, the Pope's Legate. Yields up his kingdom, and receives it back as a vassal of the Pope.

1215. TWELFTH GENERAL COUNCIL, *fourth of Lateran*. Transubstantiation first declared an article of faith. Auricular confession to a priest enjoined at least once a year. Decree of pope Innocent III. passed for the persecution of heretics, and enjoining upon all princes the duty of extirpating them out of their dominions. In the same council, Innocent excommunicated the barons of England, for their opposition to his now faithful vassal, king John.

1215. *Magna Charta*, the great charter of English liberty, extorted by the barons of England from king John, who signs it at Runnymede.

1216. * HENRY III., of England.

1216. † HONORIUS III.

1227. † GREGORY IX.

1228. The emperor Frederick makes an expedition to Palestine, and the Pope invades his dominions in his absence.

1233. The *Inquisition* established, and committed to the charge of the Dominicans.

1239. Frederick is publicly and solemnly excommunicated on account of his quarrel with pope Gregory.

1241. † CELESTINE IV.

1243. † INNOCENT IV.

1245. THIRTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL *First of Lyons*. The emperor Frederick deposed by pope Innocent IV. The Cardinals first distinguished in this council by the RED HAT.

1248. *Fifth crusade*, under St. Louis of France.

1250. Frederick II. dies after a long and successful opposition both to the temporal and spiritual weapons of the Pope.

1254. † ALEXANDER IV.

1261. † URBAN IV.

1264. The festival of *Corpus Christi*, or body of Christ, in which the consecrated wafer is carried about in procession, instituted by pope Urban IV.

1265. † CLEMENT IX.

1265. Charles of Anjou, at the invitation of the Pope, invades Sicily: kills Manfred, son of Frederick II., the head of the Ghibeline party, and usurps his throne.

1268. † GREGORY X.

1272. * EDWARD I., of England.

1274. FOURTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL. *Second of Lyons*. To consider the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, and the state of the Christians in Palestine. Election of popes in *conclave* decreed.

1276. † INNOCENT V.

1276. † ADRIAN V.

1277. † NICHOLAS III.

1278. Pope Nicholas III. obtains from the emperor Rudolph of Hapsburg, a deed of the independence of the Papal States on the Empire.

1280. † MARTIN IV.

1281. Pope Martin excommunicates the emperor of Constantinople.

1282. The *Sicilian vespers*, a massacre in which more than 4000 French were destroyed in Sicily.

1285. † HONORIUS IV.

1288. † NICHOLAS IV.

1292. † CELESTINE V., the hermit.

1294. † BONIFACE VIII. This haughty and tyrannical man ascends the papal throne after persuading the simple-minded Celestine to resign.

1298. OTTOMAN, or OTHMAN, the founder and first Sultan of the Turkish empire.

1300. Establishment of the Romish Jubilee. A vast multitude at the Jubilee of Boniface at Rome. Commencement of the quarrel between pope Boniface and Philip the Fair of France. Boniface issues his famous bull *Unam Sanctam*.

1303. † BENEDICT XI.

1304. † CLEMENT V.

1305. Commencement of the residence of the popes at Avignon in France, frequently called by the Romans the seventy years captivity in Babylon.

1307. * EDWARD II.

1309. FIFTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, at *Vienne*, in France. The order of Knights Templars suppressed, and many of them cruelly tortured and slain upon most absurd charges.

1314 † JOHN XXII.

1324. Birth of the English Reformer, JOHN WICKLIFF, the morning star of the Reformation.

1327. * EDWARD III.

1334. † BENEDICT XII

1342. † CLEMENT VI., who reduces the time of the Jubilee to once in 50 years.

1347. Suppression of the Flagellants, or self-whippers, on account of their sensuality.

1350. Celebrated Jubilee of Clement VI. at Rome.

1352. † INNOCENT VI.

1362. † URBAN V.

1371. †GREGORY XI.

1373. Birth of John Huss, the Bohemian reformer and martyr.

1374. Pope Gregory XI., at the persuasions of *Saint* Catherine of Sienna, removes his court from Avignon to Rome. End of the *seventy years' captivity.*

1377. *RICHARD II.

1378 *URBAN VI. Tumult of the populace at Rome for an Italian pope, in consequence of which Urban VI. is elected. The cardinals retire to Fondi, and elect another pope, the cardinal of Geneva, known as Clement VII. This is the origin of the *Great Western Schism*, which continued till the election of Martin V. by the council of Constance, A. D. 1417. *John Wickliff* writes his work "on the Schism of the Popes."

1383. Wickliff completes his translation of the New Testament.

1384. Wickliff dies, and is buried in the chancel of his church at Lutterworth.

1389. †BONIFACE IX.

1399. *HENRY IV.

1400. Cruel outrage of the papists upon the Waldenses in the valley of Pragela.

1404. †INNOCENT VII.

1406. †GREGORY XII.

1409. †ALEXANDER V.

1409. *Council of Pisa*, called by some writers the *Sixteenth General Council*, assembles to heal the papal Schism, but only makes it worse by electing a third pope, known as Alexander V. There were now *three rival popes*, cursing and excommunicating each other.

1410. †JOHN XXIII.

1410. John Huss excommunicated by the Pope.

1413. *HENRY V. of England.

1414–1418. SIXTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, at *Constance*, which condemns John Huss and Jerome, who are burnt alive, orders Wickliff's bones to be dug up and burnt, and terminates the Western Schism by the election of pope Martin V.

1417. †MARTIN V.

1418. John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) roasted alive by the papists in England.

1422. *HENRY VI.

1424. Death of John Zisca of Bohemia.

1428. The bones of Wickliff, the first translator of the New Testament into English, dug up and burned, 44 years after his death, according to the sentence of the council of Constance.

1431. †EUGENIUS IV.

1431–1443. *Council of Basil*, regarded by some as a *General Council*. Protracted quarrel between this council and pope Eugenius, with his opposition council of Ferrara.

1437. SEVENTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL, at *Ferrara*, and afterwards at *Florence*. Sustains the cause of pope Eugenius against the council of Basil.

1444. Invention of printing.

1447. †NICHOLAS V.

1450. Jubilee of pope Nicholas at Rome. Accident by which ninety-seven persons were thrown from the bridge of St. Angelo and drowned, in consequence of the throng.

1453. Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

1455. †CALIXTUS III.

1458. †PIUS II. (Æneas Sylvius).

1461. *EDWARD IV. of England.

1464. †PAUL II.

1471. †SIXTUS IV.

1472. Pope Sixtus issues his bulls against the freedom of the press.

1483. *EDWARD V. of England.

1483. *RICHARD III. of England.

1483. Birth of Martin Luther, the great German reformer.

1484. †INNOCENT VIII.

1485 *HENRY VII. of England.

1487. Pope Innocent VIII. issues a violent bull for the extirpation of the Waldenses.

1491 Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella. End of the Moorish kingdom in Spain.

1491. Birth of Ignatius Loyala, the founder of the Jesuits.

1492. †ALEXANDER VI., the Devil's masterpiece.

1492. Columbus discovered America.

1493. May 2d. Pope Alexander VI. issues his bull granting the newly-discovered regions of America to the Spaniards.

1501. Pope Alexander VI. decrees that no book shall be printed in any diocess without the sanction of the bishop.

1502. Tetzel, the Dominican friar, appointed seller of indulgences.

1503. †JULIUS II., the warrior.

1506. Foundation stone of St. Peter's church laid by pope Julius.

1509. *HENRY VIII. of England.

1510. Luther dispatched on a journey to Rome on behalf of his monastery at Wittemberg.

1511. *Council of Pisa.* They quarrel with pope Julius, and pass a decree suspending him from his office.

1512–1517. *Fifth council of Lateran.* The proceedings of the council of Pisa annulled and condemned by order of pope Julius. Decrees passed forbidding, under heavy penalties, the freedom of the press, and enjoining the extirpation of heretics.

1513. †LEO X.

1515. FRANCIS I. of France.

1516. CHARLES V., emperor

1516. Zwingle, the Swiss reformer, begins to publish the gospel at the convent of Einsidlen.

1517. Luther begins his opposition to the proceedings of Tetzel, the peddler of indulgences.

Oct. 31. Fixes his theses against indulgences to the door of the church at Wittemberg.

1518. August 23d. Cardinal Cajetan commissioned as legate by pope Leo to reduce Luther to submission.

October 7–17th. Luther at Augsburg before Cajetan.

November 28th. Luther appeals from the Pope to a general council.

December. Zwingle appointed preacher in the cathedral of Zurich, in Switzerland.

1520. June 15. Bull of pope Leo anathematizing the books and doctrines of Luther.

October 6th. Luther publishes his famous tract on the Babylonish captivity of the church.

December 10th. Luther burns the Pope's bull in Wittemberg.

1521. Cortez completes his conquest of Mexico

1521. January 3d. Leo issues his bull excommunicating Luther as an incorrigible heretic.

April 17. Luther's first appearance before the Diet of Worms.

April 28. On his return from the Diet, he is seized and confined in the castle of Wartburg, where he translates the New Testament into German.

1522. †ADRIAN VI.

1523. †CLEMENT VII

1525. Battle of Pavia. Francis I. taken prisoner by Charles V.

1529. Diet of Spires, in which the popish party triumphed. Reformers called PROTESTANTS for protesting against the decision of this Diet.

1534. † PAUL III.

1534 Ignatius Loyala, Lainez, Xavier, and four others, form themselves into "THE SOCIETY OF JESUS."

1540. The order of JESUITS sanctioned by a bull of pope Paul.

1540. Dissolution of monasteries in England by Henry VIII.

1545. EIGHTEENTH GENERAL COUNCIL at *Trent* begins Dec. 13th.

1546. Feb. 18th. Luther's death during a visit to his native village at Eisleben.

1547. * EDWARD VI. of England.

1550. † JULIUS III.

1552. Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indians, dies in sight of China.

1553. * MARY of England.

1555. † MARCELLUS II.

1555. † PAUL IV.

1555. Queen Mary begins her persecutions.

Oct. 16th. Latimer and Ridley burnt.

1556. March 21st. Cranmer burnt.

1558. * ELIZABETH of England.

1560. † PIUS IV.

1560. CHARLES IX. of France.

1560. Inquiry in Spain relative to priestly *solicitation* of females at confession. Number of criminals found so great that the Inquisition deemed it expedient to hush it up, and consign the depositions to oblivion.

1560. Horrible butchery of the Waldenses of Calabria, by order of Pius IV.

1560. Reformation in Scotland, completed by John Knox.

1563. December 4th. Closing session of *the council of Trent.*

1566. † PIUS V.

1569. Pope Pius V. issues his bull of excommunication and deposition against queen Elizabeth.

1572. † GREGORY XIII.

1572. August 24. The horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew's in France.

1582. The *New Style* introduced into Italy by pope Gregory, who ordered the 5th of October to be counted the 15th.

1585. † SIXTUS V.

1587. Mary, queen of Scots, beheaded.

1590. † URPAN VII.

1590. † GREGORY XIV.

1591. † INNOCENT IX.

1592. † CLEMENT VIII.

1596. Baronius, the great Romish annalist, raised to the dignity of Cardinal.

1598. Tolerating edict in France, called the edict of Nantes.

1603. * JAMES I. of England.

1604. Jesuits expelled from England by royal proclamation.

1605. The gunpowder plot of the Jesuit Garnet and others, to blow up the English king and both houses of parliament.

1606. † LEO XI.

1606. † PAUL V.

1609. Galileo discovers the Satellites of Jupiter.

1621. † GREGORY XV.

1622. Establishment of the *Congregation* De Propaganda Fide at Rome.

1623 † URBAN VIII.

1625. * CHARLES I. of England.

1627. Establishment of the *College* De Propaganda Fide.

1631. Daillé writes his celebrated work on the Fathers.

1633. Galileo imprisoned by the Inquisition for asserting that the earth moves.

1641. October 23. Irish rebellion, and bloody massacre of the Protestants.

1643. LOUIS XIV. of France.

1644. † INNOCENT X.

1649. * COMMONWEALTH. Oliver Cromwell.

1655. † ALEXANDER VII.

1660. * CHARLES II. of England.

1666. Great fire of London.

1667. † CLEMENT IX.

1670. † CLEMENT X.

1676. † INNOCENT XI.

1685. * JAMES II.

1685. Revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. Renewal of cruel persecutions in France.

1689. * WILLIAM III. and MARY of England

1689. † ALEXANDER VIII.

1692. † INNOCENT XII

1700. † CLEMENT XI.

1702. * ANNE of England.

1704. Pope Clement XI. decides against the Jesuits' mode of *converting* the Chinese, by adopting their heathen ceremonies.

1713. Pope Clement's bull *unigenitus*, against the Jansenist Quesnel's work on the New Testament.

1714. * GEORGE I. of England.

1715. LOUIS XV. of France.

1715. Pope Clement's second decree allowing the Chinese heathen ceremonies in Christian worship, if regarded as *civil* and not *religious* institutions.

1724. † BENEDICT XIII.

1727. * GEORGE II. of England.

1730. † CLEMENT XII.

1740. † BENEDICT XIV.

1752. *New Style* introduced in Britain. September 3d reckoned 14th.

1758. † CLEMENT XIII.

1759. Jesuits expelled from Portugal.

1760. * GEORGE III. of England.

1762. Martyrdom of the Huguenot pastor Rochette and the brothers Grenier, at Thoulouse in France.

1764. Jesuits expelled from France.

1767. " " from Spain.

1768. " " from the Two Sicilies and Parma.

1769. † CLEMENT XIV.

1773. July 21st. Bull of pope Ganganelli, or Clement XIV., finally abolishing the order of the Jesuits.

1774. † PIUS VI.

1774. LOUIS XVI. of France.

1781. November 7th. A woman burnt alive at Seville. The last public burning of the Inquisition in Spain.

1798. The papal government suppressed by the French.

Feb. 26. The Pope quits Rome, and retires for refuge to a convent near Florence. Afterward transferred to France, where he died in August, 1799.

1800. † PIUS VII. The Cardinals at Venice elect cardinal Chiaramonti as Pope, who is crowned at Venice on the 21st of March.

1800. July 25th. Bonaparte restores the pope to his sovereignty at Rome, who makes his public entry July 25th.

1808. The Inquisition in Spain suppressed by Bonaparte.

1809. Pope Pius VII. deposed by the French, (May 17th,) and taken captive to France.

1814. The pope is restored to freedom and power, after a captivity of five years, upon the overthrow of Bonaparte by the allied armies.

1814. July 21st. Inquisition in Spain reëstablished upon the restoration of the Catholic King Ferdinand VII.

1814. August 7th. Bull of Pope Pius VII. restoring the order of the Jesuits.

1820. * GEORGE IV. of England.

1820. Inquisition in Spain finally suppressed by the Cortes.

1822. † LEO XII.

1825. The last popish Jubilee at Rome.

1829. † PIUS VIII.

1830. * WILLIAM IV. of England.

1831. † GREGORY XVI.

1837. Persecutions by the papists of the protestant exiles of Zillerthal, who are driven from their homes in the Tyrol, to seek an asylum in Prussia.

1837. * VICTORIA of England.

1842. October 27th. Public burning of Bibles by the Romish priests at Champlain, N. Y.

1844. May 2d. A woman condemned to death for heresy by the papists of the Portuguese island of Madeira.

1844. May 8th. Bull of Pope Gregory XVI. against the *Christian Alliance* and Bible Societies.

1844. August 8th. The exhibition of the pretended *holy coat* of our Saviour by the Romish priests at Treves, which continues till October 6th. John Ronge, for protesting against this imposture, is excommunicated, and forms a new German Catholic church upon protestant principles.

1844. Civil war caused in Switzerland by the efforts of the Jesuits to obtain the control of education.

1845. The British government (chiefly by means of Sir Robert Peel) grants an endowment to Maynooth Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, of £26,000, or over $120,000, annually. Causes an immense excitement among protestants in Great Britain.

1846. † PIUS IX.

1848. February. Revolution in France. Louis Philippe driven from the throne. Great excitement at Rome.

1848. November 25th. The pope escapes in disguise from Rome to Gaeta.

1849. February 9th. The Constituent Assembly of Rome decrees the deposition of the pope from his temporal power, and the establishment of a republic.

1849. April 24th. The French land at Civita Vecchia, sent by Louis Napoleon to the assistance of the pope.

1849. April 29th. The Romans under Garibaldi win a battle over the French troops.

1849. July 1st. The Roman republic compelled to capitulate to the French army. Garibaldi escapes.

1849. August 8th. Ugo Bassi, the chaplain to Garibaldi, taken and shot.

1850. Pius IX. returns from Gaeta to Rome, in May, after an exile of seventeen months.

1850. Nicholas Wiseman created Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster.

1852. November 3d. Earl Roden visits the persecuted Madial, imprisoned in Tuscany for Bible-reading.

1853. Father Gavazzi, the eloquent priest-patriot, lands at New-York, March 20th.

1854. Bedini, the pope's nuncio, visits America. February 6th. A public meeting of Italians in New-York, denounces Bedini for his cruelty and tyranny in Italy.

1854. December 8th. Establishment of the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

1858. Great excitement relative to the stolen Jew boy, Mortari. The Jews of New-York hold an indignation meeting relative to his abduction.

1859. War between Austria on the one side, and France and Sardinia on the other. The Austrians are beaten. July 11th. The war ended by the peace of Villa Franca.

1860. March 29th. Bull of excommunication against Victor Emanuel and others.

1864. December 8th. The pope issues his bull against civilization, and syllabus of errors.

1867. June 29th. Centennial celebration at Rome of St. Peter's martyrdom.

1867. July 26th. Austria votes to abolish the concordat with Rome.

1869. December 8th. The Council of the Vatican opened.

1870. July 18th. Papal infallibility proclaimed by the pope.

1870. September 20th. Rome captured, and the pope deposed from his temporal sovereignty.

1870. October 2d. The people of Rome, by a vote of a thousand to one against the pope, reject him as sovereign, and choose Victor Emanuel. Rome becomes the capital of the Italian kingdom

GLOSSARY

OF TECHNICAL OR ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS CONNECTED WITH ROMANISM.

ABBOT (OR ABBE).—The chief or ruling monk of an abbey.

ABBEY.—A monastery of persons devoted by vow to a monastic life.

ABSOLUTION.—The third part of the sacrament of penance; signifying the remission of sins.

ACOLYTE.—One of the lower orders of the priesthood in the Roman church.

ADVENT.—The four Sundays preceding Christmas day. The first Sunday in Advent is the first after November 26th.

AGNUS DEI (*lamb of God*).—A consecrated cake of wax stamped with the figure of a lamb, supposed to have the power of saving from diseases, accidents, &c.

ALB.—A vestment worn by priests in celebrating mass. So called from its color, *alba*—white.

ALL SAINTS.—An annual feast in honor of all the saints and martyrs, celebrated on the first of November.

ALL SOULS.—A festival, appointed for praying all souls out of purgatory; principally out of regard to those poor souls who had no living friends to purchase masses for them. Celebrated November 2d.

ALTARS in the Romish church are built of stone, to represent Christ, the foundation-stone of that spiritual building, the church. There are three steps to an altar, covered with carpet, and adorned with many costly ornaments, according to the season of the year.

AMICT.—A part of the emblematic dress of the priest in celebrating mass. It is made of linen and worn on the neck, and sometimes forms a sort of hood for the head. It is said to represent how Christ was blindfolded and spit upon.

ANATHEMA.—A solemn curse pronounced by ecclesiastical authority.

ANNATS OR ANNATES.—A year's income, due, anciently, to the popes on the death of any bishop, abbot, parish priest, &c., to be paid by his successor.

ANNUNCIATION.—A festival celebrated on the 25th of March, in memory of the annunciation or tidings brought by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary of the incarnation of Christ. On this festival, the Pope performs the ceremony of marrying or cloistering.

APOCRISARIUS.—A kind of legate or ambassador from the Pope to the court of some sovereign.

ASH WEDNESDAY.—The first day of Lent. It arose from a custom of sprinkling ashes on the heads of such as were then admitted to penance. The ashes must be made of the olive tree, laid on the altar, blessed, and strewed on the heads of priests and laity.

ASSUMPTION of the Blessed Virgin, a festival held August 15th, in memory of the pretended assumption of the Virgin Mary to Heaven, body and soul, without dying.

AUGUSTINS.—An order of monks who observe the rule of St. Augustine, properly called Austin friars.

AURICULAR CONFESSION.—Confession made in the ears of a priest privately.

AUTO DA FE, or *act of faith*, is a solemn day held by the Inquisition for the roasting alive of heretics.

AVE MARIA (*hail Mary*).—A common salutation or prayer to the Virgin.

BAN.—A sentence of the Emperor, by which a person is forbidden shelter or food throughout the empire, and all are commanded to seize the person who is put under the *ban of the Empire*. Charles V. put Luther to the ban of the Empire after the Diet of Worms.

BARTHOLOMEW'S (ST.) DAY.—A festival celebrated on the 24th of August; St. Bartholomew was one of the twelve apostles. On this day was the horrid massacre of Paris in 1572.

BEADS-MAN, from *bede*, a prayer, and from counting the beads. A prayer-man, one who prays for another.

BEAD-ROLL.—This was the catalogue of those who were to be mentioned at prayers. The king's enemies were thus cursed by name in the bead roll at St. Paul's.

BEATIFICATION (from *Beatus*, *happy*).—The act by which the Pope declares a person happy after death.

BENEDICTINES.—An order of monks who profess to follow the rules of St. Benedict. In the canon law they are called *black* monks, from the color of their habit; in England they were called black friars.

BENISON.—A blessing.

BERNARDINS.—A sect first made by Robert, Abbot of Moleme, and reformed by St. Bernard, Abbot of Clervaux. Their usual habit is a white gown.

BOURDON.—A staff, or long walking-stick, used by pilgrims.

BREVIARY.—The Roman Catholic Common *Prayer-Book*, generally in Latin.

BRIEFS, APOSTOLICAL, denote letters which the Pope dispatches to princes and other magistrates touching any public affair.

BROTHERS.—Lay-brothers among the Romanists are those persons who devote themselves, in some convent, to the service of the monks.

BULL.—A written letter, dispatched by order of the Pope, from the Roman chancery, and sealed with a leaden stamp (*bulla*).

CANDLEMAS DAY, Feb. 2, called also the *feast of the purification of the Blessed Virgin*. Called Candlemas, because on this feast, before Mass is said, the candles are *blessed* by the priests, for the whole year, and a procession made with them.

CANON, i. e. rule; it signifies such rules as are presented by councils concerning faith, discipline, and manners, as the canons of the council of Trent.

CANONS.—An order of *religious*, distinct from monks.

CANONICAL HOURS.—There were seven:—1. *Prime*, about six A. M. 2. *Tierce*, about nine. 3. *Sext*, about twelve at noon. 4. *Nones*, about two or three P. M. 5. *Vespers*, about four or later. 6. *Complin*, about seven. 7. *Matins;* and *Lauds* at midnight.

CANONIZATION (*Saint making*).—A solemn official act of the Pope, whereby, after much solemnity, a person reputed to have wrought miracles, is entered into the list of the saints.

CAPUCHIN.—Monks of the order of St. Francis, so called from *capuce* or *capuchon*, a stuff cap or cowl with which they cover their heads. They are clothed with brown or grey, always barefooted, never go in a coach, nor even shave their beard.

CARDINAL.—A prince of the church, distinguished by wearing the red hat; and who has a voice in the Roman conclave at the election of a Pope.

CARMELITES.—An order of mendicants or begging friars, taking their name from Carmel, a mountain in Syria, formerly inhabited by the prophets Elijah and Elisha, and by the children of the prophets, from whom this order pretends to descend in an uninterrupted succession.

CAROZO.—A kind of conical pasteboard cap, with devils and flames painted on it, worn by the condemned victims of the Inquisition, on their way to the flames at the Auto da fè.

CARTHUSIANS.—An order of monks instituted by St. Bruno about the year 1086, remarkable for the austerity of their rule, which obliges them to a perpetual solitude, a total abstinence from flesh, even at the peril of their lives, and absolute silence, except at certain times. Their houses were usually built in deserts, their fare coarse, and discipline severe.

CASSOCK, the gown of a priest.

CATECHUMEN.—One who is receiving instruction preparatory to Baptism.

CATHEDRAL.—A church wherein a bishop has a see or *seat* (*cathedra*).

CATHOLIC.—Universal or general—Charitable, &c. This term is monopolized by the Romish church, though destitute of the slightest claim to it.

CELEBRANT.—The priest officiating in any religious ceremony.

CHALICE.—The cup or vessel used to administer the wine in the mass.

CHASUBLE.—A kind of cape open at the sides, worn at mass, with a cross embroidered on the back of it.

CHILDERMAS DAY, called also Innocents' Day, held December the 28th, in memory of Herod's slaughter of the children.

CHRISM.—A mixture of oil and balsam, consecrated by the bishop on holy Thursday, with great ceremony, used for anointing in Confirmation, Extreme Unction, &c.

CHRISTMAS (CHRISTI MISSA), that is, the mass of Christ. A festival, celebrated December the 25th, to commemorate the birth of Christ.

CHRYSOM.—A white linen cloth used in baptism.

CINCTURE.—A girdle with which the priest in the mass binds himself, said to represent the binding of Christ.

CISTERTIAN MONKS.—A religious order founded in the nineteenth century by St. Robert, a Benedictine and Abbot of Moleme.

CLOISTER.—A house for monks or nuns.

COLLEGE.—A society of men set apart for learning or religion, and also the house in which they reside.

COLOBIUM.—A tunic or robe.

COMMENDAM, in the church of Rome, is a real title of a regular benefice, such as an abbey or priory given by the Pope to a secular clerk, or even to a layman, with power to dispose of the fruits thereof during life.

COMPLIN.—The last act of worship before going to bed.

CONCEPTION OF THE VIRGIN MARY, a feast observed December 8th.

CONCLAVE.—The place in which the cardinals of the Romish church meet, and are *shut up*, in order to the election of a Pope. (From Latin *con*, and *clavis*, a key.)

CONFITEOR.—Latin for *I confess*, the term applied to a general confession of sins.

CONFIRMATION.—Imposition of hands by a bishop, given after baptism. According to the church of Rome, it makes the recipients of it perfect Christians.

CONSISTORY.—A college of cardinals, or the Pope's senate and council, before whom judiciary causes are pleaded.

COPE.—An ecclesiastical habit. It was, at first, a common habit, being a coat without sleeves, but was afterwards used as a church vestment, only made very rich by embroidery and the like. The Greeks pretend it was first used in memory of the mock-robe put upon our Saviour.

CORPORAL.—A fair linen cloth thrown over the consecrated elements at the celebration of the eucharist.

CORPUS CHRISTI, or *Corpus Domini* (the body of Christ or of our Lord)—a feast held on the Thursday after Trinity-Sunday, in which the consecrated wafer

is carried about in procession in all popish countries, for the adoration of the multitude.

Council.—An ecclesiastical meeting, especially of bishops and other doctors, deputed by divers churches for examining of ecclesiastical causes. There are reckoned eighteen *general councils*, besides innumerable provincial and local ones.

Cowl.—A sort of monkish habit worn by the Bernardines and Benedictines. Some have distinguished two forms of cowls, the one a gown reaching to the feet, having sleeves and a capuchon, used in ceremonies; the other, a kind of hood to work in, called also scapular, because it only covers the head and shoulders.

Crosier.—The pastoral staff, so called from its likeness to a cross, which the bishops formerly bore as the common ensign of their office, and by the delivery of which they were invested in their prelacies.

Crucifix.—A picture or figure of Christ on the Cross in common use among papists.

Crusade.—A holy war, or an expedition against infidels and heretics, as those against the Turks for the recovery of Palestine, and against the Albigenses and Waldenses of France in the thirteenth century.

Curiall.—A class of officers attached to the Pope's court.

Dalmatica.—A vestment or habit of a bishop and deacon, so called because it was first invented in Dalmatia. It had sleeves to distinguish it from the colobium, which had none. It was all white before, but behind had two purple lines, or stripes.

Datary.—An officer in the Pope's court, always a prelate and sometimes a cardinal, deputed by the Pope to receive such petitions as are presented to him touching the provision of benefices. This officer has a substitute, but he cannot confer any benefice.

Decree.—An ordinance enacted by the Pope, by and with the advice of his cardinals in council assembled, without being consulted by any person thereon.

Decretal.—The collection of the decrees of the Pope. Several forged collections of the decrees of the early popes have been published.

Degradation.—The ceremony of unrobing a priest, and thus degrading him from the sacred office; always performed previous to delivering up a heretical priest to the secular power to be burnt.

Dirige.—A solemn service in the Romish church; hence, probably, our *Dirge*.

Dispensation.—Permission from the Pope to do what may have been forbidden.

Dominicans.—An order of mendicant friars, called, in some places, Jacobins, Predicants, or preaching friars.

Dulia and *hyperdulia*. (See Latria.)

Ember Weeks or Days.—Fasts observed four times in the year; that is, on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday after the first Sunday in Lent; after Whit-Sunday; after the 14th of September; and after the 13th of December. According to some, *ember* comes from the Greek *hemera*, a day; according to others, from the ancient custom of eating nothing on those days till night, and then only a cake, baked under the embers, called *ember-bread*.

Epiphany, called, also, the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles. Observed on the 6th of January, in memory of the Star appearing to the wise men of the East.

Eucharist.—A name for the Lord's supper.

Excommunication.—An ecclesiastical penalty, whereby persons are separated from the communion of the Romish church, and consigned to damnation.

Exorcism.—Ceremony of expelling the Devil performed, preparatory to the administration of baptism, by Romish priests.

Exorcist.—One of the inferior orders of the ministry, whose office it is to expel devils.

Extreme Unction.—One of the sacraments of the Romish church, adminis-

tered to the dying, as a passport to Heaven, consisting of anointing the feet, hands, ears, eyes, &c., with holy oil or chrism.

FEASTS OF GOD.—*Fêtes de Dieu.* A solemn festival in the Romish church, instituted for the performing a peculiar kind of worship to our Saviour in the eucharist.

FIANCELS.—*Betrothing.*—A ceremony performed by the priest, after which an oath was administered "to take the woman to wife within forty days, if holy church will permit."

FRANCISCANS.—A powerful order of mendicant friars in the Romish church, following the rules of St. Francis.

FRIARY.—A monastery or convent of friars.

GIPCIERE.—A small satchel, wallet, or purse.

GOOD FRIDAY.—A fast in memory of the sufferings and death of Christ, celebrated on the Friday before Easter.

GRADUAL.—A part of the mass service, sung while the deacon was ascending the steps. (*Gradus.*)

GRAAL.—The *Saint Graal*, or holy vessel, was supposed to have been the vessel in which the paschal lamb was placed at our Saviour's last supper.

HERETICS.—A name given by papists to all Christians not of their church.

HIERARCHY.—A sacred government or ecclesiastical establishment.

HOLY ROOD DAY.—May 3.—A feast in memory of the pretended miraculous finding of the true Cross, by Helena in the year 326.

HOLY WATER, a mixture of salt and water, blessed by the priest, to which the papists attribute great virtues.

HOST.—A term applied to the wafer, after it has been turned into a god by the priest (from the Latin *hostia*, a sacrifice.)

I. H. S. and I. N. R. I.—Letters on the wafer that signify *Jesus hominum Salvator*, "Jesus the Saviour of men," and *Jesus Nazarenus, Rex Judæorum*, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," being the initials of the Latin words.

INCENSE.—A rich perfume, burning of itself, or exhaled by fire, offered by Romanists in their worship.

INDULGENCE.—In the Romish theology, the remission of temporal punishments due to sin, and supposed to save the sinner from purgatory. The Popes have made vast sums of money by the sale of them.

IN PETTO.—Held in reserve.

INTERDICT.—A censure inflicted by popes or bishops, suspending the priests from their functions, and consequently the performance of divine service. An interdict forbids the performance of divine service in the place interdicted. This ecclesiastical censure has frequently been inflicted in France, Italy, Germany and England.

INTROIT.—The beginning of public devotions among the Papists.

JESUITS.—A famous religious order in the Romish church, founded by Ignatius Loyala, a Spaniard, A. D. 1534.

JUBILEE.—A grand church solemnity, or ceremony, celebrated at Rome—*now* every 25 years—wherein the Pope grants a *plenary indulgence* to all who visit the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome.

KYRIE ELEISON.—"Lord, have mercy upon me!" a form of prayer often used.

LAMMAS DAY.—August 1. Celebrated in the Romish church, in memory of St. Peter's imprisonment.

LATRIA.—The kind of worship due to God and to the consecrated wafer, distinguished from *dulia* or *hyperdulia*, paid to the saints, relics, &c. An unmeaning distinction invented by Romanists to shield themselves from the charge of idolatry.

LEGATE, from Latin *legatus*.—A cardinal or bishop, whom the Pope sends as his ambassador to sovereign princes.

LENT, called in Latin *quadragesima*.—A time of mortification, during the space of *forty days*, beginning on Ash-Wednesday and ending on Easter Sunday wherein the people are enjoined to fast, in commemoration of our Saviour's fasting in the desert.

MAGDALEN (ST.) THE RELIGIOUS OF.—A denomination given to many communities of nuns, consisting generally of penitent courtesans.

MALISON.—A curse.

MANIPLE.—A portion of the dress of a priest in celebrating mass, worn upon the left arm.

MARIOLATRY.—A term frequently and justly applied by protestants to the idolatrous worship of the Virgin Mary.

MASS.—The office or prayers used in the Romish church at the celebration of the eucharist. The sacrifice of the Mass is the pretended offering in sacrifice of the body of Christ (created from the wafer by the priest) every time the eucharist is celebrated, as a true propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. The word is supposed to be derived from the expression anciently used, when the congregation was dismissed before the celebration of the sacrament "ita *missa* est" (thus the congregation is dismissed). In process of time the word missa (*mass*) was employed to designate the service about to be performed.

MAUNDAY THURSDAY.—The Thursday before Good Friday; probably so called from the Latin *dies mandati;* that is, the day of command to commemorate the charge given by our Saviour to his disciples before his last supper—or from the word *mandatum*, a command, the first word of the anthem sung on that day (John xiii., 34), "A new commandment," &c.

MENDICANTS.—Begging friars, as the Franciscans, Dominicans, &c.

MIRACLE.—A prodigy. Some effect which does not follow from the known laws of nature.

MISERERE (*have mercy*).—A lamentation. The beginning of the 51st penitential psalm.

MONTH'S MIND.—A solemn office for the repose of the soul, performed one month after decease.

NATIVITY OF CHRIST.—Christmas day, December 25th.

NATIVITY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.—A festival held on the 24th of June.

NATIVITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.—A festival held September 8th.

NOVITIATE.—The time spent in a monastery or nunnery, by way of trial, before a vow is taken.

NOVICE.—One who has entered a religious house, but not yet taken the vow.

NUN.—A woman secluded from the world in a nunnery, under a vow of perpetual chastity.

NUNCIO.—An ambassador from the Pope to some Catholic prince or state.

OBIT.—A funeral celebration or office for the dead.

OBLATÆ.—Bread made without leaven and not consecrated, yet blessed upon the altar; anciently placed upon the breasts of the dead.

ORDERS.—The different ranks of the ministry in the Romish church. The number of orders is seven, ascending as follows: porter, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon and priest.

ORIEL.—A portico or court; also, a small dining-room, near the hall, in monasteries.

PALL.—A pontifical garment worn by popes, archbishops, &c., over the other garments, as a sign of their jurisdiction.

PALM SUNDAY.—The Sunday next before Easter, kept in memory of the triumphant entry of Christ into Jerusalem.

PALMER.—A wandering votary of religion, vowed to have no settled home.

PASCH EGGS.—Easter eggs, from *pascha*—the pascha, the passover

PASSION WEEK.—The week preceding Easter, so called from our Saviour's passion, crucifixion, &c.

PATEN.—A little plate used in the sacrament of the eucharist.

PATERNOSTER.—(*Our Father*) the Lord's prayer. Also used for the chaplets of beads, worn by nuns round their necks.

PATRIARCH.—A church dignitary superior to archbishops.

PAX, or PAXIS (an instrument of *peace*).—A small plate of silver or gold, with a crucifix engraved or raised upon it, which, in the ceremony of the mass, was presented by the deacon to be kissed by the priest, and then to be handed round and kissed by the people, who delivered it to each other, saying, "Peace be with you." It is said to be now disused.

PAX.—The vessel in which the consecrated host is kept.

PENANCE.—Infliction, public or private, by which papists profess to make satisfaction for their sins.

PETER-PENCE.—An annual payment from various nations to the Pope; at first voluntary, but afterward demanded as a tribute.

PISCINÆ.—Sinks where the priest emptied the water in which he washed his hands, and all consecrated waste stuff was poured out.

PIX, or PYX.—The box or shrine in which the consecrated host is kept.

PLACEBO.—The vesper hymn for the dead.

PLANETA.—Gown, the same as the chasuble; a kind of cape, open only at the sides, worn at mass.

PLENARY.—Full, complete. Plenary indulgence is the remission of all the purgatorian and other temporal penalty due up to the time it is given.

PORTESSE, or PORTASSE.—A breviary, a portable book of prayers.

PRIOR.—The officer in a priory, corresponding to an abbot in an abbey.

PRIORY.—A convent, in dignity below an abbey.

PURGATORY.—A place in which souls are supposed by the Papists to be purged by fire from carnal impurities, before they are received into heaven, unless delivered by papal indulgences.

REQUIEM.—A hymn imploring for the dead *requiem* or rest.

REREDOSS.—The screen supporting the rood-loft.

ROCKET.—The bishop's black satin vestment, worn with the lawn sleeves.

ROGATION WEEK (from *Rogo*, to ask, pray).—The next week but one before Whitsunday, because certain litanies to saints are then used.

ROOD.—An image of Christ on the cross in Romish churches.

ROOD-LOFT.—In churches, the place where the cross is fixed.

ROSARY.—A chaplet or string of beads, on which prayers are numbered. There are *ten* small beads to every *one* large one. The small ones signify so many *Ave Marias*, or prayers to the Virgin. The large ones so many *paternosters*, or prayers to God.

SACRAMENT.—Thus defined by the Romish authors of the catechism of the council of Trent: "A thing subject to the senses, and professing, by divine institution, at once the power of signifying sanctity and justice, and of imparting both to the receiver." The sacraments of the Romish church are seven, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders and Matrimony.

SACRING, SAUNCE, or SAINTS' BELL.—A small bell which is used to call to prayers and other holy offices.

SACRISTY.—The place in a church where the sacred utensils and the consecrated wafer are kept.

SAN BENITO.—The garment worn by the victims of the Inquisition, at the Auto da fè, with devils and flames painted on it. Those who were to be burnt alive had the flames pointing upward. Such as had escaped this horrible fate, pointing downward.

SANTA CASA, or SANTISSIMA CASA, the pretended *holy house* of the Virgin Mary carried by angels through the air, from Nazareth to Loretto in Italy.

SANTA SCODELLA.—The pretended holy porringer in which the pap of the infant Jesus was made, kept in the *Santa Casa*, and exhibited to the pilgrims by Romish priests.

SAVIOUR, ORDER OF OUR.—A religious order so called, founded 1344, under the rule of St. Augustine.

SCAPULAR, or SCAPULARY.—A badge of peculiar veneration for the Virgin Mary, said to have been given, in person, by the Virgin Mary to a hermit named Simon Stock, to be worn by her devotees as "a sign of salvation, a safe-guard in danger, and a covenant of peace." It forms a part of the habit of several orders of monks. Of the scapular there is a friary or fraternity, who profess a particular devotion to the virgin. They are obliged to have certain prayers, and observe certain austerities in their manner of life. The devotees of the scapular celebrate their festival on the 10th of July.

SCLAVINA.—A long gown worn by pilgrims.

SHRIFT, or SHRIVE.—Confession to a priest.

SHROVETIDE.—The time of Confession.

SINS, THE SEVEN MORTAL.—Pride, idleness, envy, murder, covetousness, lust, gluttony.

SOUTANE.—A cassock, or clerical robe.

STOLE.—A part of the emblematical dress of the priest, worn in celebrating mass; a kind of linen scarf, hanging loosely from the shoulders in front.

SUFFRAGAN.—A bishop considered as subject to the metropolitan bishop.

THURIBLE.—A censer or smoke-pot to burn incense in.

TONSURE.—The particular manner of shaving the head, as practised by Romish priests and monks.

TRINITY-SUNDAY.—A feast in honor of the Trinity on the octave of Whitsunday.

VIATICUM (from *Via*, *way*).—The term applied to the Eucharist, when administered to a dying person, or one who is on his *way* to the unseen world.

VULGATE.—A very ancient Latin translation of the Bible, made by Jerome, and the only one which the church of Rome acknowledges to be authentic. The council of Trent placed the Vulgate higher in point of authority than the inspired Hebrew and Greek texts.

UNHOUSELLED.—Without receiving the sacrament.

URSULINES.—An order of nuns, who observe the rule of St. Augustine; chiefly noted for educating young maidens. They take their name from their institutrix, St. Ursula, and are clothed in white and black.

WEEPING-CROSS.—A cross where penitents offered their devotions.

WHITSUNDAY, or *Pentecost* (*fiftieth*).—A feast in memory of the descent of the Holy Ghost fifty days after the resurrection. Called Whitsuntide from the catechumens being anciently clothed in *white*, on this festival, at their Baptism.

TESTIMONIALS

TO THE

FORMER EDITIONS

OF THE

HISTORY OF ROMANISM,

BY THE

Rev. John Dowling, D. D.

TESTIMONIALS

FROM ALL PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS,

Selected from Notices of the Original Edition of

DOWLING'S HISTORY OF ROMANISM.

THE PUBLISHER,

In presenting the following extracts from a few of the flattering reviews and notices of this "History of Romanism," would return his grateful acknowledgments to the public who have received the work with so much earnestness and enthusiasm, and also to the numerous and warm-hearted friends of Protestantism in the editorial and clerical ranks, who have forwarded to him the highest commendations of the learning, ability and research exhibited by the author in the preparation of the work, and of the style of printing, embellishment and binding in which the publisher has issued it from the press.

This valuable history which, by common consent of the Protestant Press, has been pronounced the standard authority upon the subject of which it treats, has already attained a circulation of upwards of twenty thousand copies. The great characteristic merit of this work consists in the fact of its being based almost entirely upon Romish authorities—for the most part inaccessible to Protestant readers. It is the result of immense research and labor, and is the most comprehensive and reliable work of its class extant.

In compiling the following list of selections from the large number of reviews and testimonials which have been received, the publisher has been governed more by a desire to introduce the OPINIONS OF ALL THE LEADING DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANS, than by a wish to select the most flattering and commendatory, from any one particular denomination.

From the Protestant Churchman (New York).

This is a beautiful volume. Good service has been done for the cause of truth by its publication, and it certainly ought to secure for its author an enviable reputation among contributors to the standard literature of the day. We think that it cannot but reflect much credit on the skill, patience, industry and judgment of the author.

As a book of reference, the work will be found valuable. The evidence of what Romanism is, and has been,—evidence which until now, has been scattered over a wide field, and embraced in an immense number of works in different languages, is here brought together and condensed in a comparatively small compass; and those who wish to become better informed on the subject, can find all they desire, without the toil and expense of wading through libraries of books, and composing and arraying for use, the scattered materials of a host of writers. The author appears very justly to have conceived the idea of a work, which has long been regarded as a desideratum by a large portion of those interested in the great controversy with the Romanists.

From the Episcopal Recorder (Philadelphia.

This work is by the Rev. John Dowling, of New York. It traces its subject from the earliest corruptions of Christianity to the present time. It has a full Chronological Table, with Analytical and Alphabetical Indexes and Glossary. It is ornamented with a large number of interesting and appropriate engravings. It is a large, handsome volume, and full of valuable information.

From the Rev. L. Giustiniani, D. D., formerly a Roman Catholic Priest in the City of Rome, and author of a popular work, entitled "Papal Rome as it is."

If the reader wishes to be acquainted with the errors of Romanism, he has only to open the pages of Dowling's History; if he is desirous to know of her cruelties, he can find all in that work; if he likes to know of her soul-destroying doctrines, he will find it in the decretals of the principal councils, the Lateran, and the Tridentinum included. If the reader is anxious to read an epitome of the history of the popes, and their corrupt lives; of their inhuman persecution of the Waldenses; their ambition; their intrigues; their avariciousness; their tyranny; their blood-thirstiness; their superstitions, and their mummeries, he can find all in Dowling's History proved and authenticated by the most accredited authors of the Church of Rome.

It is got up in the finest style, and would be an ornament upon every centre table; useful in every family, and a valuable reference book in every library. In one word it is a library and not a book. The plates are well executed; I have seen all the buildings, sceneries, &c., and was an eye witness of all these ecclesiastical functions, or rather theatrical performances, and am delighted to see them so faithfully represented in the plates.

L. GIUSTINIANI.

From the Lutheran Observer.

This is a large and beautiful volume, containing a comprehensive and complete history of Romanism, through the whole period of its existence. In many other works the errors of the papacy are discussed and refuted; in this, the author relates the story of their origin, progress and fruits, as developed in the history of the Romish communion. Here the reader may see its unscriptural doctrines and ceremonies, the lives of its most distinguished popes, the proceedings of its celebrated councils, the details of its tyranny over monarchs and States; its inquisitions, tortures, and massacres; the efforts of good men in various ages to deliver the world from its thraldom; all presented in their chronological order. From a partial examination, we think it is an able work, comprising the results of extensive reading and research, and well adapted to fill an important chasm in our literature.

From the New York Christian Intelligencer.

Dr. Dowling is already favorably known to the reading public. In the present extensive and important work, he has performed his task with learning, ability and tact, and has succeeded in presenting within the compass of a single volume, a clear, succinct, well written and well authenticated History of Romanism, its Ceremonies, Doctrines, Councils, Popes, Inquisitions, &c., from the earliest ages down to the present time. Heretofore, in order to possess an adequate knowledge of Popery in all its ages, it has been necessary to possess and to study a library of books on the subject. In this work, facts scattered through hundreds of volumes, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, and many of them in the Latin language, have been brought together chronologically arranged, and condensed, and related in the author's pleasing and attractive style; thus supplying a chasm that has long been felt by those who wished to become familiar with that subject, which is destined for years to come to be the great subject of controversy in America—Romanism, and with it mental and political slavery; or Protestantism, the Bible, and with it liberty of thought, of worship, and of the press. This is the book for Americans. Place it beside your Bibles. Compare its records of crime and the Papal principles it exposes, with the holy doctrines and immaculate life of Jesus of Nazareth. When you have done this, you will have no difficulty in determining whether or not Romanism is Christianity.

From the New York Evangelist.

We ought to have noticed this excellent and beautiful work before. It possesses many and very strong claims for popular favor, and we do not doubt that it is destined to have an extraordinary sale. It is one of the most elegantly embellished and executed works we have ever seen issued from the American press; containing a large number of highly finished engravings, illustrative of the ceremonies, superstitions, persecutions and incidents of Romanism, which often tell a most eloquent tale, and are of real utility, as well as highly ornamental. The work itself is characterized by great research, and a comprehensive and Scriptural view of the nature and history of the Popish system. It presents a succinct, but sufficiently full, history of the rise, progress, errors, cruelties, and present condition of the Papacy, authenticated by reference to the most undoubted historic sources, related in a spirited, engaging and impressive style, and arranged in the most lucid manner. It abounds in facts and incidents, and, with its beautiful illustrations, is better adapted to furnish a vivid and impressive portraiture of Romanism as it is, than any other book we know of.

From the Philadelphia Presbyterian.

This work exhibits a comprehensive view of Romanism—from its first origin to the present day. Such a work required deep and protracted research. The author has availed himself of the writings of both Protestants and Papists, and has brought together a greater mass of information on the history, the spirit, and the doings of Popery, than we have ever seen before in one volume. When the enemy is coming in upon us like a flood, it is time to lift up such a standard. The deluded votaries of the Man of Sin may raise the cry of persecution, and recreant Protestants may join in the cry, but all who value the truth of God, and the civil and religious independence of our country, will hail the appearance of such a work.

From the New York Observer.

Dowling's History of Romanism.—In one handsome octavo volume we have here a complete history of Romanism from the earliest corruptions of Christianity to the present time. It is prepared by the Rev. J. Dowling, of this city, and published by E. Walker, and we presume will be circulated very widely, as it gives, in popular style and comprehensive form, such a history of Popery as cannot be found by the general reader. We think the book cannot fail to attract general attention. The engravings with which it is profusely illustrated are by Lossing, and are beautiful specimens of the art.

From the Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D. D., New York.

Among the candidates for public patronage which a press of extraordinary prolificacy is throwing out upon the world, we have of late seen nothing to excel this production of Dr. Dowling's. Its typography is of remarkable accuracy and beautiful finish. Its illustrations, fifty-two in number, are also of a high order and truly appropriate. No pains appear to have been spared in the mechanical execution of the book, to make it attractive to all classes.

But, after all, these are matters of inferior importance. Many a book of beautiful exterior is on the whole perfectly worthless. We are happy to commend the author in the present case, as well as the publisher. A glance at his quotations, authorities, and table of contents, shows that he has diligently investigated his subject, and studied well the ever-varying aspects of an unvarying superstition. We feel under many obligations to him for furnishing us with such a book of references—a book with such a minute analysis preceding it; such a particular caption for every page, and such a full index at the close; matters very much neglected in American books, but never lost sight of by German Scholars.

We welcome such a book as Dr. Dowling's with all our heart, and, if we could, would introduce it into every family in the land.

EDWIN F. HATFIELD.

From the Rev. S. G. Speer, Troy.

The subject of which Dr. Dowling treats is one of immense and immediate interest. It ought to be well understood by every man in America. It relates to matters upon which Papists and Protestants must soon join issue, not theoretically alone, but practically, and in earnest. Read, citizens of this threatened republic, and understand for yourselves. Dr. Dowling has done a great work, he writes chronologically, logically, and with the force of resistless truth. It is already adjudged worthy of the merit of a standard book. Read it, every man that can buy or borrow it.

S. G. SPEER.

From Rev. W. W. Newell, D. D., of New York.

An intimate acquaintance with the Author of this History—his deep research, and earnest interest in the present crisis of Romanism, enable me heartily to recommend this work to my beloved people.

W. W. NEWELL.

From the Christian Advocate and Journal (New York).

An elegant volume, printed on good paper, with large, clear, readable type, and illustrated with about fifty spirited engravings, illustrative of some prominent facts in the History of Romanism, the description of which is embodied in the page adjoining the engraving. The History is divided into nine books, the titles of which will not be easily forgotten, when the facts are laid up in the memory—"Popery in embryo,"—"Popery in its glory, or the World's Midnight," "Popery, the World's Despot," &c. The expense of this work will be great, and we really hope that Mr. Walker will meet with an adequate compensation for his well meant and timely effort to expose, not "one of the greatest," but the greatest abomination that was ever palmed upon the world.

From Zion's Herald (Boston).

A fine large volume, giving, in considerable detail, the history of the Papacy from the beginning down to the present time, including the late movements in England and Germany, with full chronological tables and analytical indices. It supplies a desideratum. We have full discussions of the doctrines and usages of Popery, but no comprehensive and, at the same time, popular history of it. Dr. Dowling's work includes the leading events of its history—its corruptions, especially, are exposed with an unsparing hand, and form a picture of appalling enormity. It is written in a popular style. Its engravings are numerous and finely executed. The book will doubtless be popular, and cannot fail to produce a profound conviction of the terrible iniquity of anti-Christ.

From the Rev. George Coles, Assistant Editor of the Christian Advocate & Journal.

Having seen a copy of Walker's edition of Dowling's History of Romanism, I cannot but express my gratitude to Almighty God, that such a concise and complete development of "the Mystery of Iniquity" is now presented to the public, in a form so elegant and attractive. A single glance at the book and a moment's inspection of its contents, are enough, I should suppose, to induce every lover of his country and his Bible, to furnish himself and the rising generation with a copy.

GEORGE COLES,
Assistant Editor of the Christian Advocate.

From the Rev. Spencer H. Cone, D. D., New York.

"The History of Romanism" by my excellent friend and brother, the Rev. John Dowling, of New York, is quite equal to my expectations, when occasionally examining a proof sheet, or an engraving, as the work was passing through the press. Since its publication, I have looked over the volume, and am much pleased with its embellishments, and typographical execution. Its matter is deeply interesting and highly important, embracing an array of historical facts which exhibit "the man of sin" in his true character, a character directly opposed to the happiness of the human family, and to the mind and ex

ample of our adorable Saviour, who instead of destroying men's lives, "went about doing good." The glossary, tables, and indexes, will enable the reader to find without difficulty or delay, any fact the details of which he may at the moment wish to know; and the practical use of the work is hereby greatly enhanced. We cordially commend it to our fellow-citizens, not only for its intrinsic worth, but its peculiar adaptation to "Our Times," when so many are teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

SPENCER H. CONE,
Pastor of the First Baptist Church, N. Y.

From the Rev. Rufus Babcock, D. D., formerly President of Waterville College.

I have examined with interest and carefulness a large part of the volume recently published by Mr. Walker, entitled "Dowling's History of Romanism." I find that its beautiful and expensive illustrations, are among its least recommendations. The author appears to have brought to the execution of this great work, unwearied industry, genuine and thorough scholarship, and scrupulous fidelity. The ascertainment and development of truth, is his great object, as is every where apparent. Hence the care he has evinced to adduce the original text of his authorities in very many instances, side by side with the translation of them furnished for the benefit of unlearned readers. This candor and fairness, is of the utmost importance under such circumstances, and cannot fail to render this volume a standard authority in the great controversy which the signs of the times indicate as now near at hand. If every intelligent Protestant would make himself master of the facts here luminously presented and arranged, he would be ready to meet the wily advocates of Romish error in every Protean form it may assume.

RUFUS BABCOCK.

From Rev. Benjamin M. Hill, D. D., Secretary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

I have examined the History of Romanism, by Rev. Dr. Dowling, with much satisfaction. It embodies a great amount and variety of matter, connected with the rise and progress of Romanism, with which all should be familiar.

While the book will supply a deficiency in our literature upon that subject, of great importance at the present time, in every part of our country, I think it will prove especially useful in the valley of the Mississippi, where Romanists are making great efforts to obtain power, and where many evangelical ministers and others suffer inconvenience on account of their scanty libraries.

BENJAMIN M. HILL.

From the New York Recorder.

Whatever relates to the history of the Papal church, cannot fail to have even peculiar interest in the times on which we are fallen. The present signs of the religious world indicate the approach of a moral contest with the Papacy, such as there has not been since the days of the Reformation. Under this view, the appearance of the work, whose title is given above, is opportune. It is written with the ready, popular eloquence, for which the well-known author is distinguished, and cannot fail to arrest attention to the controversy of which he treats. It is a strongly Protestant work, and exhibits the deformities of Popery with great power. Even those who are reluctant to admit that Popery could ever have wrought itself out in the horrors which have be charged upon it, will be constrained to acknowledge the dangers of the Papal system, and to dread its further extension. As a weapon for popular controversy, Dr. Dowling's work has peculiar adaptations, and will command a very extensive circulation. The work is elegantly printed and embellished.

From the Baptist Record (Philadelphia).

This is a splendid book and splendidly illustrated. A work supplying a vacancy in the religious literature of the age, which has long been deplored by intelligent Protestants.

Thanks to Dr. Dowling for this happy result of his devoted labors, and the Protestant public will have cause to thank him too. Let it be circulated. This work is a faithful history of Popery. The author has given the subject years of reflection and study, and

has written with energy, precision and perspicuity. We cheerfully recommend this History to the Protestant community, believing that it is designed to accomplish great good, and overcome a prejudice which we fear is every day becoming more and more prevalent, viz., that the Church of Rome in the present day is not that Apostate blood-stained and blood-thirsty thing it was in the days of Queen Mary. But Dr. Dowling proves clearly and distinctly from History that Popery is unchanged.

From the Christian Watchman (Boston).

This work which we announced some time ago, has appeared in a very handsomely printed and illustrated royal octavo volume of near 700 pages. Such a work has long been needed, and we are glad that one so well qualified for the task as Dr. Dowling has undertaken to supply it. Commencing with the early history of Christianity, the writer traces out the steps by which the papal assumptions advanced to that extent of usurpation and corruption which have marked its progress in latter ages. In doing this he has been obliged to remove many scenes of vice and profligacy which exhibit Popery in all its deformity and loathsomeness. Much credit is due to the enterprising publisher, Mr. E. Walker, for the elegant style in which the book is presented to the public.

From the Christian Reflector (Boston).

The arrangement is lucid, the facts are well attested, the style is vigorous, and the subject is one of surpassing interest. We have read several pages, and turned to different parts of the book, and have found nothing dry—nothing dull. The issue of such a book is timely. Of its usefulness there cannot be a doubt. Its comprehensiveness, embracing as it does every fact of moment, gives it superior advantages over any other history for general reading or ordinary reference. We congratulate our brother, the esteemed author, on having so well accomplished so important a work, and on having so tasteful and enterprising a publisher to give the results of his labor to the world.

From the Albany Religious Spectator.

This work cannot fail to meet with a cordial welcome from every true friend of Protestantism. It goes back to the very birth of Popery, and shows us the process of its growth, the influences by which it has been sustained, and the substantial identity of its character from the beginning to the present hour. It is a work of most laborious research, and relies for its statements chiefly upon authorities which the Romanists themselves will not question. It is full of engraved illustrations, which are executed with great beauty, and by which many of the statements are rendered far more vivid and impressive. We doubt whether there is another work from which so much may be learned of the history, the character, and the tendencies of Romanism, as from this.

From the Protestant Banner (Philadelphia).

Dowling's History of Romanism presents a compendious history from the earliest corruption of Christianity to the present time, with full chronological table, analytical and alphabetical indexes and glossary. From the examination which we have been able to afford its pages, it seems to us the most elaborate popular work on the subject which has appeared in this country. We bespeak for it an extensive circulation.

From the New York American Republican.

This important work commences with the earliest corruptions of Popery, and traces them to the present time. It is most admirably arranged with chronological and analytical tables, and also a glossary. Altogether, this is the most important work for the use of families, for the rising generation, and the present day and age, which has appeared. The learned author, justly concludes, that there can be no doubt that the Pope and his adherents have formed the deliberate design of obtaining the ascendancy in this country. Most heartily do we commend it to all who want to understand the Catholic question.

From the American Advocate (Philadelphia).

To fulfill the desires of such as wish to become acquainted with Romanism, and to enable them to put themselves in possession of all facts and arguments, sustained by ap-

peal to authentic documents, which are necessary to enable each one for himself to form an enlightened opinion on this important question, we do not know a work that we can more cheerfully recommend to our readers than Dowling's History of Romanism.

From the St. Joseph's County Republican (Michigan).

The work presents Popery in its true light, in all its hideous deformity, and unparalleled barbarity and should be circulated extensively in the Western States, particularly in the valley of the Mississippi.

From the Rev. Doctor Eaton, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Hamilton Literary and Theological Seminary.

I have, with some care, looked through "Dowling's History of Romanism," and am prepared to express a decidedly favorable opinion of its merits. No facts in history are better authenticated than those Dr. Dowling has connected and arranged in this volume, to illustrate the principles and spirit of Romanism. His authorities are unquestionable and may be confidently relied on; and the whole work, with its various illustrations, faithful as they are to fact and truth, gives a just view of the prominent and characteristic features of that giant form of spiritual wickedness and despotism so graphically delineated by the pen of inspiration, and so frightfully developed in the history of the Romish hierarchy. I am happy, therefore, to learn that Dr. Dowling's authentic history is meeting with a rapid sale and an extensive circulation. The Protestant public owe him many thanks for his work, which possesses a high value, and must be one of standard reference; an armory whence to draw weapons to battle with the "Beast," and in my opinion a fearful battle is approaching. GEO. W. EATON.

From the Millenial Harbinger, edited by Alexander Campbell, the able and learned antagonist of Robert Owen, on Infidelity, and of Bishop Purcell, on Popery.

We desire for this book a very large circulation. It is very opportune just at this crisis. Everything civil, moral, religious—all our birthrights are assailed by every advance of this mammoth superstition in our beloved and happy land—an idolatry and a superstition which have spread darkness, error, delusion and misery over the fairest portion of this earth, prevented the conversion of the world, and built its fortunes by every species of violence—war, perfidy, and persecution, upon the ruins of man's best and dearest rights of personal liberty, life and happiness. It is only necessary to enlighten this community in the true spirit and character of the Papal system, to secure them against its insidious attacks upon everything we, as a people, hold dear and sacred. Let every one who buys this work communicate freely to all around him the developments which it reveals, and the facts which it records. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

From the Christian Secretary, Hartford.

DOWLING'S HISTORY OF ROMANISM.—Having given this book a pretty thorough examination, we are prepared to speak of its merits. The volume is divided into nine books, as follows: Popery in Embryo—Popery at its Birth—Popery advancing—Popery in its glory—Popery the World's Despot—Popery on a Tottering Throne—Popery at Trent—Popery drunk with the Blood of the Saints—Popery in its Dotage.

Dr. Dowling has done good service to the cause of evangelical truth in preparing this volume for the press—a task that must have cost him immense labor and research—and we should be glad to have a copy of it placed in the hands of every family in the country.

From the Montreal Register, edited by the Rev. Dr. Cramp, Author of the History of the Council of Trent, Reformation in Europe, &c.

We have just received a copy of this important work. A cursory inspection has convinced us that it possesses merits of a high order. We are pleased to see that Dr. Dowling furnishes ample references to his authorities.

This work is admirably adapted to revive true Protestant feeling, and excite the dormant zeal of the churches. The matter is well arranged; the facts unquestionable; the style, lucid; and the spirit, catholic, in the proper sense of the term. Its extensive circulation will be highly advantageous to Protestantism.